PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION
VIKRAM UNIVERSITY, UJJAIN
OCTOBER 1972

Published by

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
POONA-4, INDIA
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PREFACE

The twenty-sixth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference was originally scheduled to be held at Ujjain, under the auspices of the Vikram University, in the last week of December 1971. But the inevitable involvement of India in the war with Pakistan on behalf of Bangladesh necessitated its postponement. When this postponement was announced we were not at all sure when the Ujjain Session could be re-convened. However, thanks to the wisdom and courage of India's political leadership and the remarkable intrepidity and tactics of her armed forces, the war ended within a brief period of less than a fortnight in a resounding victory for India and Bangladesh. Thereafter, the Local Committee at Ujjain lost no time in picking up the threads and again plunged into its interrupted work with renewed energy and vigour. Eventually, we had quite a successful Session at Ujjain from the 22nd to the 24th of October 1972.

I am sorry to have to repeat my two earlier complaints—one about the inadequacy of the funds available for the publication of the *Proceedings* of a Session and the other about the palpable indifference of some Section Presidents toward their post-Session duties.

All the same, it is hoped that, even as it is, this volume of the *Proceedings* of the Ujjain Session reflects, in miniature, the main trends and achievements of oriental scholarship in India. As such, it may also give cause for serious introspection.

Bhandarkar O. R. Institute,
Poona
July 25, 1975

R. N. Dandekar

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

(Regd. under Act XXI of 1860)

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA-4, INDIA

26th SESSION, 1972

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Prof. Dr. D. C. Sircar
General President

General President's Address

by

D. C. SIRCAR

Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta

FRIENDS,

I am extremely thankful to the Members of the Executive Committee as well as to all the other types of members of the All-India Oriental Conference for the great honour they have done me by electing me President and inviting me to preside over the present sesison of the Conference at Ujjayinī. Indeed, I consider myself no better than a pigmy compared to the four giants hailing from the same region of our Motherland as myself, who were similarly honoured previously and presided over the sessions of the Conference during its life of half a century, *viz.*, H. P. Sastri at Lahore (1928), R. C. Majumdar at Darbhanga (1948), S. K. De at Bombay (1949) and S. K. Chatterji at Ahmedabad (1953). On this occasion, I seek the blessings of my teachers who have been a source of inspiration to me throughout my life, and also the friendly co-operation of all scholars attending the present session of the Conference.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that we have assembled today at Ujjayinī (lat. 23° 11′ 10″, long. 75° 51′ 45″) which is one of the oldest cities intimately associated with our history and civilization and is sanctified by the great temple of the god Mahākāla-Śiva and immortalised by the traditions of the mighty king named Vikramāditya, the extirpator of the Śakas. Of course, I am one of those who believe that the saga of king Vikramāditya, traditionally associated with the foundation of the era of 58 B. C., developed essentially on the basis of the achievements of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II (376-413 A. D.), styled Vikramāṅka or Vikramāditya, who destroyed the Śaka house of Ujjayinī and extended the empire of the Guptas to the shores of the Arabian Sea in the west and became associated, in popular legends, with the foundation of the said era about the eighth century A. D. That, however, does not minimise the importance and greatness of Ujjayinī, the glory of which has been sung by our greatest poets including Kālidāsa who flourished in the early period and

Rabindranath Tagore who died in 1941. The references to the celebrated city of Ujjayinī or Viśālā standing on the river Śiprā and to the great god Mahākāla in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* are well known to all students of Sanskrit literature. Two of Tagore's poems, which made Ujjayinī a dreamland to me in my school-days, are the *Svapna* (Dream), in which the poet describes his visit, in a dream, to the ancient city in search of his beloved of a former birth, and the *Sekāl* (Old Times) which speaks of his imaginary experiences if he would have lived in Kālidāsa's age. I am thrilled to feel that today I am at that very place of my dream.

The expression 'Oriental Studies' really means the critical and detailed study of various aspects of the history and culture of all the lands of Asia, particularly of the ancient and medieval periods, although, in our country, the studies are more or less confined to early Indian subjects so that, to us, 'Oriental' practically means 'Indological'. Such studies were begun in India by European scholars and administrators who were eager to know the people of India and the neighbouring territories, and in January, 1784, a number of them headed by William Jones founded the Asiatic Society in Calcutta for an enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences and literatures of Asia. Their eagerness was accelerated by the discovery of the close relation of Sanskrit especially with Greek, Latin and other languages of Europe. Indian scholars began to participate seriously in the studies after the middle of the nineteenth century, the only notable Indian contributor to the Asiatic Society's periodical during the first hundred years after its foundation being R. L. Mitra who read 84 articles and notes at the Society's meetings between 1865 and 1887 and published 38 papers in the pages of its Journal between 1855 and 1884, some of his articles also appearing in full in the proceedings of the Society's meetings. About the close of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, the Society witnessed greater activity of Indian scholars, and its Journal published numerous articles from Indians like S. C. Das (32 articles during 1881-1907), M. M. Chakravarti (27 articles during 1882-1934) and S. C. Vidyabhushan (24 articles during 1902-18). However, about this time there were a number of other Indological periodicals published from different areas of India, some of the most important among them being the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Epigraphia Indica* and the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Now we have many learned societies and many journals even though the standard of all of them may not be upto our expectation.

The International Congress of Orientalists was founded in Europe, with its first session held in 1873 in Paris. In the concluding years of the last century between 1874 and 1899, the said Congress held eleven other sessions at such centers as London, St. Petersburg, Florence, Berlin, Leiden, Vienna, Stockholm, Geneva, Paris and Rome. A few Indian scholars including the great Indologist R. G. Bhandarkar attended some early sessions of the Congress, and an attempt was also made to get one of its sessions held in India, because it was not possible for a large number of Indian scholars to attend the sessions of the Congress held in Europe. However, the attempt to hold a session of the International Congress of Orientalists in India did not materialise at the time.

In 1911, the Dutch Indologist J. Ph. Vogel, then an officer in the Archaeological Survey of India, offered a suggestion regarding the estalblishment of an Indian Congress of Orientalists to meet periodically at different centres of learning in our country, in which Indian scholars would have an opportunity to meet one another and discuss various problems of study and research. Vogel apparently wanted an Indian institution of the type of the International Congress of Orientalists, then quite popular among the scholars of Europe. The proposal was received with enthusiasm, although the first session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at Poona eight years later on the 5th, 6th and 7th November, 1919 under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. This Institute, which was destined to play an important part in the study of Indology, was started on the 6th July, 1917, on the occasion of the completion of the eightieth year by R. G. Bhandarkar who was now invited to preside over the first session of the Conference. Since then the All-India Oriental Conference is holding its session once in two years and has been offering opportunity to the Indologists, especially of our country, to meet and conduct their scholarly deliberations. In later times, some other institutions of the kind have been started, one of the most notable among them being the Indian History Congerss which is holding, since 1937, an annual meeting that is attended by the students of Indian history from all parts of the country. There are similar conferences of the students of Philosophy, Linguistics and some other subjects.

Unfortunately, however, the idea of establishing a Central Institute for research in Indian history, archaeology, manuscripts, etc., mooted as early as July, 1911, at a Conference of Indologists held at Simla, never materialised. In 1955, the Government of India, in its eagerness to encourage study and research in the country, started an Institute of Advanced Study at the former viceregal palace at Simla at a considerable cost; but it has been a disappointment to those who were clamouring for a Central Institute of. Oriental or Indological Studies all these years, because the Simla Institute seems to have been putting emphasis on studies other than Early Indian. Besides, a difficulty is that Simla is devoid of an academic atmosphere and it is not easy for a new institution to develop a good library without which there can be no serious study of any subject. Most of the old publications on Indological subjects are now out of print, though some of them have been recently reprinted. No advanced study of Indology is also possible in our newly started universities which have no libraries worth the name. The current notion that an educational institution requires primarily a palatial building and enough money is wrong because good teachers, serious students and an adequate library must be at least as important, if not more. However, now that the Simla Institute is already functioning, there should be a serious and continuous effort for the development of its library so that it can satisfactorily serve the needs of a centre of advanced Indian studies in future. We feel that there should also be a special emphasis on early Indian studies at the Institute.

The Simla Institute is not the only organisation that proves the eagerness of the Government of India to spend liberally in the cause of study and research. There are other institutions like the Indian Council of Social Science Research, under the auspices of which various scholars are working on a large number of research and publication schemes. The University Grants Commission has created Centres of Advanced Study in numerous subjects at the universities, and a large number of Research Associates, Senior and Junior Fellows and Research Scholars are working on many projects in each of them. The Commission is also spending money on various other schemes. Both the Government of India and many of the State-Governments have instituted a number of prizes for research publications and are subsidizing the publication of old and new books. While the Governments must be congratulated for such commendable work, the results of the projects may not be regarded as very satisfactory in all cases. We have seen a book winning one of our State Government prizes, which is full of grammatical and linguistic errors. Some subsidized Sanskrit works published with translations into a regional language are likewise not at all free from errors. In any case, if a scheme of work now languishes or dies, it is usually not for a lack of funds, but for the want of serious and capable workers. We are happy to mention that the post-graduate study of Ancient Indian History and Culture which was introduced in the University of Calcutta by the great educationist Asutosh Mookherjee in 1918 is now in the curricula of a number of Indian Universities. It is also a matter of satisfaction that, outside India also, more money is now being spent on Indological studies and many new institutions are cropping up especially in the western countries, such as the Scandinavian Institute of Asian

Studies (Copenhagen), the Seminar of Indology at the Free University of Berlin, the Institute of Advanced Studies attached to the Department of Sanskrit and Pali at the University of Edinburgh, the Buddhist Centre at the University of Halle and others of the kind. In this connection, we cannot also forget the work of such institutions as the Institute Française at Pondichery, the American Institute of Indian Studies at Poona, the American Institute of Banaras and the West German and Italian Archaeological missions conducting excavations respectively in the Mathura District in India and in the Swat territory in West Pakistan.

We have referred above to reprints of out-of-print works which are very much in demand for the libraries of the newly started educational and research institutions. We are greatful to some of our energetic publishers who have reprinted a number of valuable old works in the offset process even though the prices are generally very high. Unfortunately some unscrupulous people have been reprinting similar works in the ordinary process, and such books are generally full of blemishes. We have seen the reprint of a translation of Hiuen-tsang's *Si-yu-ki* showing deplorable lack of diacritical marks in the transliteration of Indian words and names, and another of a translation of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* which exhibits innumerable misprints especially in the quotations in Nāgarī characters.

The study of Indology, started by the Europeans in India, began with a search for inscriptions, coins and manuscripts as well as their collection, study and publication. In the study of epigraphic records, including the decipherment of the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī alphabets and the latter's derivatives, valuable service was rendered by Prinsep, Lassen, Cunningham Fleet, Bühler, Kielhorn, Hultzsch, Lüders, Barnett and others, while in the study of coins. remarkable work was done by scholars including Cunningham, von Sallet, Gardner, Rapson, Smith, Allan and Whitehead. Amongst Indian scholars in the field of epigraphical studies, reference may be made to R. L. Mitra, D. R. Bhandarkar, R. D. Banerji, V. Venkayya, H. Krishna Sastri, N. G. Majumdar and others, while in the field of numismatics, the prominent names include those of R. D. Banerji, D. R. Bhandarkar, S. K. Chakraborty, N. K. Bhattasali and A. S. Altekar. Amongst remarkable epigraphical publications of living Indian scholars, attention may be drawn to V. V. Mirashi's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. IV (*Inscriptions of the Kalacuri-Cedi Era,* 1955) and Vol. V (*Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas,* 1963). For the verification of dates occurring in the inscriptions, L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* has to be regarded as a monumental work.

Although early Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics are subjects of post-graduate study in some of our universities now, activities in the epigraphic field centre practically round the Epigraphical Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, which publishes the *Epigraphia Indica* exclusively for making inscriptional material available to the students of history. The publication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* and *South Indian Inscriptions* volumes and the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* is now the responsibility of the said Branch. Among the former native states, Hyderabad and Mysore had effieient Archaeological Departments, and the latter published numerous inscriptions in a series entitled *Epigraphia Carnatica.* Inscriptions are also edited in various other periodicals of India, and, among the most recently published epigraphs of great historical value, we may mention the Kandahar edicts of Aśoka, the Guntupalli pillar inscription of the Mahāmeghavāhana king Sada, the Andhra epigraph of the West Indian Śaka Satrap Caṣṭana, dated in the year 11, and the Hisse-Borala record of Vākāṭaka Devasena, dated in the Śaka year 380 and Yudhiṣṭhira year 3020.

The *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* now published from the Society's office in the Banaras Hindu University campus, and the *Indian Namismatic Chronicle* published by the Bihar Research Society, Patna, print articles exclusively on coins and seals. In this connection, we are glad to note that studies in early Indian numismatics, popularised in Bengal by R. D. Banerji, D. R. Bhandarkar, S. K. Chakarborty and others, have recently received a fresh impetus, and the University of Calcutta has awarded, in the recent past, the Doctor's degree to several candidates submitting theses on numismatic subjects, such as *Coins of the Greek Rulers of Bactria and India* (Lahiri, 1963), *Tribal Coins of Ancient India* (Dasgupta, 1965), *Kuṣāṇa Coinage—a Critical Study* (Chattopadhyay, 1966), *Foreign Influence on Indian Coin-names* (Bandyopadhyay, 1968) and *Discovery af Ancient Coins in Bihar* (Singh, 1969), some of which have already been published. Mention may also be made of such recent publications of the Calcutta numismatists as *A Catalogue af Early Indian Coins in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University* (Raychaudhury, 1962), *Studies in Indian Coins* (Sircar, 1968), *Indian Coins in the Musēe Guimet, Paris* (Bhattacharya, 1969), *Early Indian Coins and Currency System* (Maity, 1970) and *Nanā on Lion—a Study in Kuṣāṇa Numismatic Art* (Mukherjee, 1970).

In the collection and cataloguing of manuscripts, some of the great names amongst European scholars are Mackenzie, Colebrooke, Wilson, Aufrecht, Weber, Peterson, Kielhorn, Bühler, Burnell and Bendall and, amongst Indians, we may mention R. L. Mitra, R. G. Bhandarkar, S. R.

Bhandarkar and H. P. Sastri besides many others. The scholars who edited and translated the manuscripts are too many to be mentioned amongst both Europeans and Indians; but of course they include most of the cataloguers. Reference may be made here to the discovery and publication of such valuable works as Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and the plays ascribed to Bhāsa as late as the first quarter of the present century. A large number of important Jain texts have been published in the recent past. Many original works and their translations were published in the Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta), Sacred Books of the East (Oxford), Pali Text Society (London), Harvard Oriental Series and such other series as the Calcutta, Varanasi, Mysore, Bombay and Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Calcutta Oriental Series, Gaekwad Oriental Series (Baroda), Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series (Varanasi), etc. There are now various other institutions engaged in the publication of manuscripts, *e. g.*, the Singhi Jain Series of Calcutta, the Purāṇa series of Varanasi, the Pali Buddhist series of Nalanda, the Buddhist Sanskrit series of Darbhanga, etc. The critical editions of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, practically completed respectively by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and the Oriental Institute, Baroda, are remarkable achievments. The publication of the *Ṛgveda* with Sāyaṇa's commentary by the Vedic Saṃśodhan Maṇḍal, Poona, has also to be mentioned in this connection. Cheap editions of the epics and Purāṇas, often printed in the regional script and bearing translation into the regional language, were published by various organisations in different parts of the country. Amongst these, the cheap publications of the Vaṅgavāsī Press of Calcutta and the Gītā Press of Gorakhpur are very popular. The old Asiatic Society of Calcutta is vigorously pursuing its activities, one of the many works it has recently undertaken for publication being B. Bhattacharya's English translation of Vardhamāna's *Daṇḍaviveka*.

Writing of the history of early Indian literature, particularly Sanskrit, was begun in Europe by Max Müller and other savants, and the works of authors like Weber, Macdonell, Keith, Winternitz and Farquhar are of great value. Amongst Indians in this field, mention may be made of the work of S. K. De on *Kāvya* and *Alaṁkāra*, P. V. Kane and S. N. Dasgupta on *Alaṁkāra*, C. V. Vaidya on *Śruti*, etc., and M. Krishnamachariar on Classical Sanskrit literature. In the field of lexicography, side by side with works like the German *Woerterbuch* and Monier-Williams' Dictionary, which are great achievements, the works of Indians like Radhakanta Deb, Taranath Tarkavachaspati and V. S. Apte are consulted with respect.

The Archaeological Survey was created in the latter half of the nineteenth century and numerous sites were explored by Cunningham, the first

Director General of the Survey, and his assistants. Excavations received emphasis on the reorganisation of the Survey about the beginning of the present century when John Marshall was appointed its Director General. Indian archaeology also owes a great debt to Mortimer Wheeler who served as Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India for a number of years after Marshall. Amongst the innumerable excavated sites, some of the most important are those associated with the prehistoric Harappa civilization beginning in the 3rd millennium B. C. The monumental discoveries resulting from the said excavations have pushed back the beginning of Indian civilization to an age almost coeval with the civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Amongst Indians who have conducted the Survey's excavation work, in various parts of the country, some of the great names are those of D. R. Bhandarkar, R. D. Banerji, D. R. Sahani, K. N. Dikshit, N. G. Majumdar and M. S. Vats. Besides the Survey, excavations are now also conducted by the Archaeological Departments of some of the States and universities.

Archaeological explorations and excavations led to the discovery of a large number of ancient monuments as well as early images in stone, bronze and stucco, and paintings and other antiquities. Arrangements were made for the preservation of parts of the ruined monuments, and images, etc., in museums, of which we have at present a large number in different parts of the country. In the study of architecture, sculpture, painting and inconography, the Europeans were the poineers as usual. Among them we may mention Cunningham, Burgess, Foucher, Fergusson, Havell, Smith, Marshall, Grünwedel, Kramrisch and others. Among the followers of the pioneers in the field, the greatest name is that of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, a Ceylonese of South Indian origin. As regards Indians, excluding those scholars who are hpppily still with us at present, some of the great workers are T. A. Gopinatha Rao, H. Krishna Sastri, R. D. Banerji, R. P. Chanda, N. K. Bhattasali, B. Bhattacharya, B. C. Bhattacharya, J. N. Banerjea, V. S. Agrawala and others.

The reconstruction of the lost history of ancient India on the basis of the material collected and studied down to the close of the nineteenth century was attempted, about the beginning of the present century, by V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India*. In this connection, we may also mention Indian efforts in works like H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India* first published in 1923. These works have run into many editions, a comparative study of which gives us some idea about the progress gradually made, year after year, in widening our knowledge of early Indian history. We may compare a text-book for school-students published about the middle of the nineteenth century and another of the same category published a century later. A book of the first type, seen by us, deals with our history from the earliest times down to the days of Lord Canning in 466 pages, out of which the ancient, medieval and modern periods cover respectively 18, 111 and 337 pages. In the account of the early period in 18 pages, the auther deals with the Non-aryans, the *Ṛgveda* and *Manusmṛti*, the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* and the history of Alexander's invasion and of Chandragupta Maurya. In contrast, we find in a second work of the same type, published even before the Second World War, the history of India written in 414 pages dealing with the said periods respectively in 119, 171 and 124 pages. This book not only gives a fuller sketch of the political history of ancient India, but also deals with the various aspects of cultural life. The difference between the two books is the result of the spade-work and reconstuction already done, though the work in both these fields is continuing and is sure to go on for many years to come.

Just as Smith's work was an attempt to sort and arrange the accumulated stores of knowledge in a somewhat connected account of the political and cultural history of India, J. D. Mayne's *A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*, first published in 1878, and J. Jolly's *Rechte und Sitte*, 1896 (translated by B. K. Ghosh under the title *Hindu Law and Custom*, 1928), were meant to give an idea about the social customs and legal practices of the ancient Indians on the basis of the published texts or their translations. Such works have now been practically superseded by P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra* (in five volumes), which is a monument of the author's diligence, perseverance and erudition. We may also mention in this connection, V. Raghavan's valuable *New Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit and Allied Works and their Authors* which is compiled on the lines indicated by, but is an attempt to improve upon, Aufrecht's monumental work entitled *Catalogus Catalogorum—An Alphabetical List of Sanskrit Works and Authors*, Parts I (1891), II (1896) III (1903). There are many other similar projects now in the hands of Indian scholars such as the *Vedic Word Concordance* and *Grammatical Word Indices* (Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur), *Dictionary of Sanskrit Language on Historical Principle* (Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona), the *Śatapiṭaka Series* dealing with works on Indian culture and its influence on other Asian countries (International Academy of Indian Culture, now at New Delhi), the *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* and *Glossary of Technical Terms in Indian Art and Aesthetics* (Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University), *Dictionary of Alaṅkāraśāstra* (Oriental Research Institute, Mysore University), etc.

A brilliant account of early Indian history and culture is found in Vol. I of the series entitled *Cambridge History of India*, in which the chapters were contributed by various experts, the said volume being edited by the great Indologist E. J. Rapson. Recently similar collective efforts have often been made in India and, amongst these, *History of Bengal* Vol. I, edited by R. C. Majumdar and published in 1943 by the University of Dacca, is probably the earliest and, on the whole, the best so far as the standard of the contributions and editorial efficiency are concerned. We have to mention in the same connection the *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* edited by Majumdar and Altekar (1946), *The Age of Nandas and Mauryas* (1967) and *The Mauryas and Sātavāhanas* (1957) edited by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Early History of the Deccan* (1960) edited by G. Yazdani and, above all, the early volumes of Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan's *History and culture of the Indian People* edited by R. C. Majumdar, assisted by A. D. Pusalker, of which Vol. I (*The Vedic Age*) and Vol. II (*The Age of Imperial Unity*) were published in 1951 and other volumes in the subsequent years.

I have given above a rough idea about what has been done and is being done in our country in the field of Indological studies. The facts are more or less known and many of them are sometimes repeated. Now I am inclined to say a few words about another side of the present state and the future of such studies.

In the *Statesman* (Calcutta) dated the 11th November, 1969, one of the distinguished past Presidents of the Conference, published an article entitled 'Oriental Studies in an Era of Intellectual Decline', though in the body of the article the causes and signs of the decline are not delineated. The concluding sentences only say that the All-India Oriental Conference has been, and still continues to be, the most important rallying centre of Oriental studies and research, but that it is difficult to say how far it has maintained the standard set by the preceding generation of scholars. We had, however, occasion, a few years ago, to discuss some of the causes and symptoms of the decline in one of our papers entitled 'Deterioration in Indian Historical Scholarship' appearing in the *Quarterly Review of Indian Historical Studies*, Calcutta, Vol. III, 1963-64. In the said paper, we dealt with such problems as (1) the general deterioration in the standard of Indological studies not only in India, but also in the West, (2) the dearth of efficient, dutiful and erudite teachers in our primary and secondary schools as well as in the colleges and universities, (3) a similar dearth of serious and interested people capable of guiding and conducting research work in our universities and other institutions (wherein novices in the field of research are encouraged to supervise the research work of other youngsters), (4) the increase in the number of educational institutions in spite of such dearth, (5) the futility of attempts to create scholars by mere spending of money in the form of scholarships, fellowships, etc., (6) the microscopic amount of knowledge that the students now generally acquire with their diplomas and degrees, (7) the unwise experimentation with matters connected with education which has been for a long time and still is our greatest problem, (8) the great necessity of attempts to be made to improve our national character, etc. On the publication of the paper, it had three types of reception. Some elderly scholars, including a few past Presidents of the Conference, appreciated its value and generally agreed with our views; but a large group of our colleagues felt that we should have followed the adage *mā brūyāt satyam=a-priyam*, while most younger people in the field of research were greatly annoyed. Unfortunately, the problems are associated with a great disappointment in an idealist's life, and it is difficult for him to shut his eyes to them.

Many years ago, one of the greatest of our historians encouraged me by saying that I would be able to build up a school of research in ancient Indian history, and when I joined the University of Calcutta as Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in 1961 and was expected to serve the University for a period of eleven years in the said capacity, I resolved to create at least eleven historians under my guidance. Now when I have reached near about the end of my career as a University teacher, I am very sorry to admit that, in spite of my best efforts, all the theses produced under my supervision are not upto my expected standard. The reason is that I failed to attract the right type of students in sufficient numbers; but the current dearth of good students is no consolation to me. Since the main problem requires an early solution and I have been unsuccessful in finding out any, I mention it here in the hope that this great assemblage of Indologists may think over the question and may possibly be able to suggest some way out of the difficult situatian.

In the same context, mention may be made of another difficulty. In the field of historical studies, I have sometimes noticed what may be called an exhibition of nationalistic bias. Of course it seems that, howsoever preferable it may appear to a few idealists, the nations of the world will take a very long time to subdue their nationalism and favour internationalism; still, however, we have to realise that the 'national' history of a people does not look like true history at all. The genuine historian is a seeker after truth, who should have very sound and wide knowledge of his subject as well as intelligence and critical acumen ; but, above all, he should be free from bias as far as possible. The illustrious President of the first session of this Conference observed, "The Indian's tendency may be towards rejecting foregin influence on the development of his country's civilization and to claim high antiquity for some of the occurrences in its history. On the other hand, the European scholar's tendency is to trace Greek, Roman or Christian influence at work in the evolution of new points and to modernize the Indian historical and literary events." Neither of these tendencies is commendable. The idea that there are certain features of our ancient civilization which only our people may be able to elucidate from an inside knowledge of the subject may be correct. As a matter of fact, religion of an alien race is admittedly one of the most difficult things to understand. We shall, however, have to guard against prejudiced nationalistic views and should not shut our eyes to the opinions of eminent foreign savants. Especially, the tendency to minimise our shortcomings or to explain away our defects or mistakes should be discouraged. This is also applicable to the writing of the history of one part of our vast country by scholars hailing from the same area and from other parts. Howsoever unpleasant the fact may be, it is possibly better to admit that historians worth the name have not as yet been produced in all parts of India and of the world. Because if this fact is ignored, even an international gathering of scholars world function like a political rather than an academic body. In any case, freedom from prejudices in the evaluation of evidence must characterise our approach to historical criticism, especially freedom from racial or national prejudice and the tendency to blacken or whiten historical characters on account of personal bias. There should be avoidance of special pleading for or against particular systems of government and types of ideas and any kind of racial or individual propensity and action. As far as possible, the deeds, purposes and superstitions of different peoples should be viewed through the spectacle of impartiality. The only prejudice to be tolerated is of course the one in favour of right against wrong about which there was never any difference of opinion amoag the civilized peoples of the world.

It is a matter of regret, however, that the historian is often under pressure to suppress facts unpalatable to his own countrymen as well as those resented by other countries. Thus the Indian historian is advised to remain silent on the destruction of temples and holy images, in the name of religion, by a class of iconoclasts in the early and medieval periods of their history and the influence of ancient Indian culture in the socio-religious life of certain countries outside India. We feel that truth must be said, though without a deliberate attempt to offend other peoples. Otherwise, the spirit of history is likely to be totally obliterated by unacademic considerations in the not distant future. And the sings are already discernible in various parts of the world.

Importance is often attached in our country to the number of one's published writings irrespective of whether they are of any value or not. This attitude usually encourages young men to publish papers, written on a very superficial study of the topics concerned, even in obscure periodicals. In these days, it is very easy to publish not only papers, but even books which are devoid of merit. A young entrant into the field of Indological research should be advised to study the various aspects of a problem as thoroughly as possible and, only after a careful collection of data when he is in a position to present the evidence in favour of a new point of view or against established theories, he may write out his ideas and publish his paper. Even then, if he reaches a conclusion that is contrary to the well-established theory of a scholar of great learning, he should better consider the pros and cons of the problem many times before he publishes his opinion. Of course there may be a big subject on which the young scholar would require several years to complete his search for data; in such a special case, he may write out and publish parts of his dissertation when he feels satisfied that sufficient material has been collected for or against particular points of view. This is because such notes, when published, may attract the attention of others interested in the topics, and the publication of the latter's views may thus lead to the advancement of knowledge. Comments coming from any quarter should be examind with an open mind for the determination of truth. Besides, our young research workers should realise that one well-written monograph or a single brilliant paper may secure for one a place in the world of scholars while carelessly written articles or books create a bad impression which is difficult to eradicate. We have found that in the field of epigraphic studies one establishes his reputation by editing carefully only a few inscriptions while the editor of a large number of epigraphs, who does the work inefficiently, may not earn any fame as an epigraphist. The same is the case with the editors of manuscripts and translators of old texts. Another point to which the attention of our young workers may be drawn is that, in writing out their views, the language should be expressive and the style pleasant, and the arguments should be to the point and not discursive. Young research workers must keep in mind that there cannot be clearness in the presentation of ideas without clarity of thought, which again comes from a mastery of details as regards the evidences. Our young authors should be advised to avoid foot-notes that would look like essays and give the impression of an attempt to bring in all kinds of information—relevant, semi-relevant and irrelevant. They should also note that bibliography is really meant to help the reader and not for an exhibition of the author's pedantry and need not be inflated by useless items not studied or even seen by the author.

It may be noticed in this connection that our scholars are inclined to stick to their views even when they are proved to be wrong. In some such cases, they totally suppress the unpalatable comments in their future writings, and this weakness we have been very sorry to notice in a recent publication of one of our greatest historians. Often again the Indians are very touchy about comments on their views and regard them as a result of personal enmity. A funny instance of this attitude is offered by a recent issue of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, in which one of our most respected elderly scholars introduces the subjects of his controversies with another elderly worker in the field, in the following sentences :" During the last thirty years, .. has been indulging in rancorous attacks on my readings and interpretations of inscriptions and coins in and out of season. Many of my friends have inquired of me the cause of it. I told them that I do not know any. So far as I know, I have not given him any offence. Perhaps it is a case of *Svabhāvo dur-atikramaḥ*." This obviously is an absurd and eccentric complaint resulting from a kind of complex.

There are many problems of early Indian history which have so far baffled our attempts to solve them, Such matters are of various degrees of importance. One of the most important of unsolved problems, which may be mentioned here by way of illustration, is the decipherment of the legends on the prehistoric seals of the Indus Valley. Some scholars think that the language of the legends is Sanskrit, though others take it to be Tamil, while a third group draws our attention in this connection to the close relation of the civilization of the prehistoric Indus Valley with that of ancient Western Asia. Probably the language of some advanced sections of the Pre-Dravidian Proto-Australoid people should also be considered in this connection. As regards the possible relations between the Indus Valley and Western Asia in prehistoric times, we have to admit that there is no Indian who can read the ancient scripts of Western Asia and Northern Africa. Mention may be made, in this context, also of the dearth of Indians who can deal satisfactorily with such sources of Indian history as Greek and Chinese. We even know of some young ladies and gentlemen who have obtained their Doctorate from our universities on theses based on the study of a Sanskrit work such as a Purāṇa, but written without any knowledge of the Sanskrit language, depending entirely on its translation in a modern Indian language. This position requires to be considerably improved.

The importance of Sanskrit in the study of modern Indian languages is not realised in this country. Our experience with students of Indian languages, espcially of those of the Dravidian group, is that nobody can become a master in any of these languages without sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit. Unfortunately the present position is such that even a Master's degree in Sanskrit does not carry enough knowledge of the language. The All-Indla Oriental Conference may consider whether it is possible for it to do anything in such matters. It will indeed be very good if the Conference could be geared up so as to be able to meet the challenge of the changed conditions. In this connection, the attention of the Conference may be specially drawn to the attempts that are being made for encouraging Sanskritic studies in the country without any satisfactory result.

My friends, I have frankly placed before you a few of the problems and difficulties, that I have experienced as an old teacher and researcher in the field of Indological studies. If, in presenting them, I have wounded the feelings of any of you, I sincerely apologise even though hurting anybody was far from my intention. I am extremely thankful to all of you for having given me a patient hearing.

VEDIC SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

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Friends,

I must begin my address by expressing my deep gratitude to the authorities of this All-India forum of Orientalists for the honour they have done me by electing me as the President of the Vedic Section at the 26th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference being held in this ancient seat of learning haloed by the sacred memory of our national poet Kālidāsa. We have come to this sacred placę as pilgrims, in a way, in our long hazardous journey in search of true knowledge, spiritual realization. Ujjayini, besides being an awe-inspiring resort of Sādhakas (उज्जयिन्यां महाकालम् – as it is said in the Purāṇas), was one of the most important centres of Sanskrit learning which once provided not only the fascinating but also most exciting refuge to intellectuals of our country. I, therefore, very much appreciate the honour of being chosen to head the Vedic Section of this Session held in this sacred seat where once learning and scholarship commanded respect and received patronage from one and all, the ruler and the ruled alike. It speaks well of the people of Madhya Pradesh, who certainly deserve our warm songratulations, for having established a University in this old centre of learning haloed by the living memory of great poets and royal patrons.

2. Now coming to the theme of my address, I may mention here, to the disappointment of those who might have expected a learned speech from the President of this Section, that I have decided to deviate from the weary trodden path of my predecessors. First of all I am not submitting before this learned gathering an annotated and ill-assorted index of publications brought out in the Vedic field since our last Session held at Yadavpur. It is simply impossible for a Sectional President to make a satisfactory survey of the work done in the field unless the material becomes readily available to him. Therefore, I may suggest, if such a survey, however ill-assorted it might

be, is expected of a sectional President, that the scholars in the respective fields may make it a point in future to send a copy each of their publications and contributions brought out during the interval of two sessions to the concerned Presidents in order to enable them to include in their Presidential addresses a review of the work and progress done in their respective area of discipline.

3. In my short address I am just touching upon two points that trouble the mind of many of us (1) The preservation of traditional Vedic recitations and, (2) difficulties generally experienced by researchers engaged in serious research work.

4.1 *Preservation of traditional Vedic recitation*

Generations of scholars of the highest eminence have been working in this field for over a century and their dispassionate and methodical study and research have made considerable contribution to our knowledge of Vedas. This study extended to a vast area ranging from the Saṁhitās to the Vedāṅgas covering mythology, religion, philosophy, social structures, linguistics, in short whatever information cultural, historical and linguistic could be gleaned out of this ancient literary monument of the Hindus.

With the large number of critically edited Vedic Texts augmented by the monumental ancillary works such as, the Vedic Word-Index of Hoshiarpur, Vedic Concordance by Bloomfield, Vedic Bibliographies by Renou and Dandekar and so on and the works of permanent value based on the Vedic study, the path of a researcher in this field is broader and safer to-day and he is placed in a better position than his predecessors. However, many of the reference works are to be revised and supplemented to make these works upto-date. But these monumental works cannot be tampered with by feeble hands. Only the centres which have built up a tradition of scientific and sustained work with the sure resources at their disposal can undertake such responsibility.

We are confident that this aspect of Vedic Study will continue without much difficulty. But what we are concerned with here is the rapid decline of oral tradition, with the closure of Vedapāṭhashālās and virtual disappearance of Vedic recitation with accents in some parts of our country. Many of the shākhās which once flourished in different parts are known to-day only by name. The Bāṣkalashākhā of the Ṛgveda is said to have been prevalent in some part of Assam but we are not sure if the oral tradition still lives there. Similar is the case with shaunaka shākhā of the AV still lingering somewhere in Gujarat. As for the YV, some shākhās are preserved in the south as well as in the north. The SV said to have flourished once with its one thousand variations is now found only in three recensions, – Kauthuma, Rāṇāyaniya and Jaimini. Among these three the last two are having very few followers and the oral traditions of the Rāṇāyaniyas may not live long.

While there is a great uniformity in the manner of recitation of the ṚV and YV in the south and Maharashtra, there is marked distinction in the chant of Sāmans sung in the south, on one hand, and the western region-Gujarat and Rajasthan, on the other, as well as in Bengal. Again the recitation of Veda, in general, by Kerala Brahmins who have lead a secluded life for centuries is altogether different from that that has been in vogue in other parts of our country. This unsophisticated Brāhmin community of Kerala have also preserved some of the old pronunciations very correctly. It is, however, doubtful whether we could accept their recitation too, either of the ṚV or of the sāmans as representing the older tradition. The Udātta and Svarita are not pronounced to-day as they were defined by Pāṇini. Therefore it is difficult, if not impossible, to define what was the original tradition of Vedic recitation. The claim of any one region or section of the followers of a shākhā having preserved the older and purer tradition is certainly open to question. The ṚV recited in the region where Taittiriya is universally followed does differ in that the mātrās-raising and lowering of the voice-are a bit prolonged due to the unavoidable impact of the practice of Taittiriya recitation or of the regional language. North Karnatak and Maharashtra recitation of the ṚV appears, in this respect, to be nearer to the old tradition than one prevalent in Tamilnad. The influence of mothertongue on the Vedic recitation is nowhere pronounced more expressively than in Kerala and Bengal. Further the peculiarity of Nambudri Brahmins is that they invariably lengthen the end of vowel of the last pada, thrice the size marked with a fall at each movement, a sort of Cadence with strains. Among the shākhās of SV the Jaiminiya particularly, whether in Kerala or Tamilnad, has altered ḷ into ḻ in the text as also in its melodies. This could happen due to no other reason than the influence of the mother-tongue of the followers of this Shākhā who are found only in the South, – Tamil Nad and Kerala at present. Similarly the Ṛgvedic ḷ found in īḷe and such other vocables is not pronounced correctly by the northerners where the influence or contamination of alien tongue could be traced in their spoken tongue. It is still more interesting to see how *tsaru* is replaced by *caru* in Sandhi in Maitrāyaṇi which is in vogue to-day only in Maharashtra. It is an obvious phonetic contamination due to Marathi, in which, as in Assamese *ca* is pronounced almost like dental sibilant with a touch of dental unvoiced stop. Thus, we can have examples for phonetic contamination even in Vedic Texts which were regarded to have been preserved in their pristine purity. Cognisance of this phonetic contamination however, has been taken notice of in the SV Br. itself when it refers to the pronunciation of yajña as yagṅa, by some people.

Again there is some marked difference in the pronunciation and manner of recitation of ṚV between the Sārasvats and other Brahmins of the western region, Kerala and Karnatak. Similar differences, may be mainly due to difference in intonation,-in the recitation of the same shākhās may be found in other regions, Bihar, Bengal, Assam and Orissa among Brahmin communities of different denominations. Therefore an intensive survey of Vedapāṭha as obtaining to-day in different linguistic regions should be undertaken on a national level and every effort should be made to preserve this oral tradition at least by means of tape-records before some of the still lingering shākhās completely become extinct. In this connection I may say that the Jaiminīyas of the South Kanara district of Mysore have nearly lost their tradition and yet they study their shākhā with the help of Kauthuma version. It may further be known that the difference between the Rāṇāyanīya and the Kauthuma shākhās is just nominal mainly resting in spelling of words like हाउ, ओह्माइ and so on with semivowels at the end in one, with vowels at the end in another, in their puṣpa forms in gānas and also to a small extent in the arrangement and order of verses in the Saṁhitā. Yet they have their own oral tradition with distinct rules applicable to their chant.

Therefore this problem demands our urgent attention. The oral traditions as much as they are in existence to-day, must be preserved at any cost. The museums and similar institutions are spending millions to preserve fossils, broken pot-shells, beads and such remnants of the past civilizations, long buried deep in the sands. Enormous amount is being spent every year on monuments and dilapidated buildings. But we know that they have been preserved only because they were connected with the past. Some of them are connected with historical personalities, good or bad; some are tombs of past monarchs or their consorts and some were their residences. Things similar or far more wonderful can be constructed to-day. But it would indeed be difficult to reconstruct a lost and forgotten language, much more so to know the actual pronunciation of an obsolete language. The Vedic recitation has its own charm and sanctity besides its esoteric value. Once it is lost no amount of research can restore it. Hittite and Tocharian may be reconstructed but the recitation of the Vedas as it prevailed in different oral traditions and different linguistic areas can not be reproduced once the tradition is dead. Therefore something must be done to preserve this unique tradition; and that could be done in view of the vast problems involved therein only on a national scale. We may at least get the recitations of different oral traditions recorded and then distribute them to the centres of research and study, keeping a master copy in the National Archives or some such Institution which is having technical knowledge and resources to check them periodically and transfer the voice to new tapes as warranted from time to time.

I may inform the learned scholars gathered here that a humble beginning was made in this direction by the K. S. Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, when I was the Director. The entire Kauthuma shākhā as recited in Tamilnad has been recorded in all its four pāṭhās viz. Saṁhitā, Grāmegeya, Āraṇyaka, Ūha and Rahasya. Further the Āgneya and Aindra parvans of the Rāṇāyanīya in its two very rare variations, Tāmraparṇī and Gūrjara, with great difficulty were recorded before I left the Institute. This work is to be completed and I feel that some such voluntary organisation as the Vaidik Samshodhan Mandal which has quietly done much work of lasting value may successfully undertake this work of national inportance for the country.

Now I will come to the second point of my speech i. e. difficulties experienced by the serious workers in the field of Indology.

2. *Difficulties generally experienced by Research Workers.*

With the increase in provision in Central Budget, two universities and five Central Institutes absolutely for Sanskrit and Chairs for Sanskrit in almost all Universities in India, we may expect a better deal for Sanskrit in future, although at present it looks as if the patient were put under oxygen tent with periodical blood transfusion and artificial respirators. In spite of this seeming encouragement for Sanskrit on the National scale, much of the good work of lasting value in the field, it must be admitted, is done even to-day by the private Institutes and individuals, with or without encouragement from the Government. Except the fortunate few who happen to be in centres like Poona, Calcutta, Mysore, Benares, and Baroda, the serious research workers in other places, even in Universities do not get adequate facilities, particularly those who work on MSS. I am stating this here from my long experience in this field. With the introduction of Library Cooperation in Universities it is no problem for a worker to get printed books required from other Libraries. But the difficulty felt by scholars is in getting MSS. from MSS. Libraries for their work. The MSS. Libraries have no uniform rule for lending and loaning their MSS. A researcher, who happens to live in a place far removed from the MSS. Libraries, finds it often difficult to get even the required information about a MS. or the collection available on the subject of his special interest. It is always easier to get information about an Indian MS. preserved in the Western Libraries than in our own. It is also easier to get a photostat copy or a microfilm of a MS. from the West. The precious time of a scholar following a serious course of study or research project in the field of Indology is sometimes wasted in search of material and his plan is upset. No scholar will ever venture on a Research Project if he is not confident of availability of material for his work. Therefore many individual scholars are diffident to undertake the work of editing the old MSS. Therefore the MSS. Libraries should be readily accessible to all genuine workers and responsive to their queries; a scholar must be assured that he could get material, MS. or its facsimile from whichever Library it is located. That confidence in a serious worker is yet to be created. Many Libraries, leaving a few, such as the Libraries of B. O. R. I., Poona; of the Oriental Institutes, Baroda and Mysore and so on, do not readily loan MSS. even to the Institutes. A transcript supplied, for which one has patiently to wait for long, is often ill-written. There is no much insistance on hand-writing being attractive and legible. There are, however, some good examples set in this respect by very few Libraries and among them the Adyar Library is one. A faithful transcript bautifully made out on good paper is supplied by this Library within reasonable time.

The statistics will show that much of the good work done in the field of Manuscriptology is carried out in the Centres like Poona and Baroda and these Centres are liberal and sympathetic to scholars and sometimes they go out of their way in order to assist the scholars engaged in text-editing work. We have to follow this good example set by these Libraries. I may, therefore, suggest that some effective arrangement should be made to promptly loan MSS. or supply transcripts to a researcher through the Institute to which he is attached or where he has registered his name.

At present we have no union catalogue of MSS. which could give required informations about MSS. and their location. What we have to-day is the piles of catalogue volumes, some incomplete and some with deceptive information, in which one is likely to get lost. We require a union catalogue of all MSS. preserved in Libraries in India in card form with location from which one can get necessary information about a given MS. and the MSS. available in any one branch of Sanskrit learning.

A large number of Vedic Texts are yet to be critically edited. Leaving the Saṁhitās, there too not all, and a few Brāhmaṇas, Prātiśākhyas and Śrautasūtras, a very vast literature yet remains to be critically edited. This is the major work which demands our attention. In order to assist the serious individual workers in the field an efficient Library service with promise of duplication at a cheaper rate is absolutely necessary and urgently called for.

In view of the magnitude of work yet to be done in the field and in view of its all India character and importance, we feel the necessity of establishing an Advanced Centre of Vedic Study where scholars young and old, without age bar, can work together on the major Vedic projects such as tape-recording and preserving all the shākhās as in vogue at present in different parts of our country, text-editing, and carefully revising and supplementing the reference works already published with arrangement for bibliographical service for scholars working in different places. Such a centre can make itself responsible for gradual build up of a great union catalogue of MSS.; supply of information on MSS., and help to individual scholars by lending material for their text-editing work. A super-structure of sound and advanced research could be built only on a strong basic structure of reliable Vedic Texts with all available commentaries. If we have such a centre then the scholars of eminence without wasting their talent and knowledge can work in peace and contentment as long as they are fit and pass their accumulated experience and wisdom to the posterity. Thus we may be able to preserve the proud heritage of this great land.

It is our bad experience that the Public sector Institutes (if we could use this term here) for various reasons better not to mention them here, are incapable to launch on a long term project which requires continued and sustained attention and hard work besides undisturbed devotion of tried scholars in the field. It would take, further, ages for a public sector Institute, with no guarantee of reliability, to complete a work of the nature and magnitude accomplished by the B. O. R. I. This Institute of Poona with a band of scholars of the highest eminence has raised the prestige and status of Indian scholarship in the world of Indologists. These devoted scholars looking for no award (from any quarters), shunning hollow publicity and not depending on financial help from the Centre, have within the minimum time and expense, successfully accomplished the gigantic task i. e. the critical edition of the MBh. which will ever stand as the proud monument of Indian scholarship. We bow down before the unsuppressable spirit and *unfurling* determination of such band of selfless workers.

Since the B. O. R. I. has completed its gigantic editorial work of MBh., we wonder why the Institute should not lead us and set another example of successful joint work by launching on the schemes suggested above in collaboration of Vaidik Samshodhan Mandala, pooling their resources together.

In conclusion I thank the members of A. I. O. C. once again for the honour they have done me and also the learned audience for giving me a patient hearing.

Thanks to you all once again.

IRANIAN SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Dr. Firoze M. Kotwal, Bombay.

Delegates and Friends,

I sincerely thank the members of the All India Oriental Conference for their kindness in electing me President of the Iranian Section of the conference which is holding its 26th session in the historic city or Ujjain. My sincere thanks are also due to Prof. Maneck F. Kanga for having proposed my name. I am sure that with your goodwill and co-operation I shall be able to fulfil the honourable mission so generously entrusted to me.

In India there are hardly any scholars who are fortunate enough to be able to devote their full energies to original researches in Iranian languages. For most, their day-to-day work is so exacting that they find little time to devote to their studies, however much they may like to do so, However, it will be admitted by one and all that we all owe a debt of gratitude to the Oriental Conferences which spur on all studious scholars, whether mature or in the making, to advance knowledge. Oriental conferences are more essential to us in India than to our worthy counterparts in other countries.

Irreparable loss to Iranian studies

It is customary for the President to bring the research works of scholars to the notice of the members of the Conference and to evaluate the merits thereof. Before embarking upon that task I shall pay my reverential respects to the illustrious luminaries who, while living, adorned the galaxy of scholars. Their departure from this terrestrial world is very much regretted by all of us. Since we last met at Jadavpur in October 1969, Astwihāt (the Demon of Death) has taken from our midst the late Ervad Dr. Peshotan K. Anklesaria, Principal, The M. F. Cama Athornan Institute, Bombay. He was a young and promising scholar who passed away on 1st November 1969, at the age of 42. In spite of the heavy burden of work which he was shouldering at the Institute, and his close contact with several institutions in Bomby, he continued to contribute learned articles to various commemorative volumes. His doctoral dissertation, comprising an edition of chapters 41 to 92 of the Dādestān ī Dēnīg prepared under Prof. W. B. Henning, deserves to be published under the auspices of such affluent bodies as the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, which has been rendering yeoman services to the cause of Indo-Iranian studies by publishing a great many articles of learned scholars of repute in its series of Journals.

Perhaps the greatest loss that Iranian studies have sustained during the period under review was the sad death of Prof. Kaj Barr, who passed away on 4th January, 1970. He was an erudite scholar of the highest order and gentlemanly qualities. His scholarship covered a wide range of arts and sciences. He wrote, for example, about Chinese, Latin and Gipsy Grammar. He had great respect for Zarathushtra whom he has described as a perfect man. After the death of Prof. Arthur Christensen, Prof. Barr continued the work of publishing the facsimile edition of the Avesta-Pahlavi manuscripts deposited in the archives of Copenhagen. The Parsi community is and will remain very grateful to these two Danish scholars for preserving valuable Avesta-Pahlavi manuscripts for posterity in the form of facsimile editions that decorate all well-known libraries of the world. I owe a personal debt of gratitude to Prof. Kaj Barr for evincing keen interest in my doctoral thesis; after thoroughly examining it he had it published under the auspices of the Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in 1969. His pupil Prof. J. P. Asmussen has paid a fitting tribute to his late Guru in the Festschrift dedicated to his memory by the University of Copenhagen, November, 1970, pp. 187–96.

It is indeed, a matter of deep sorrow that Parsi scholars have lost a noble and kind-hearted gentleman in the death of Prof. Dinshah D. Kapadia who passed away on 9th March 1971, at the ripe age of 96. Though far advanced in years he was full of spirit and continued taking a keen interest in the deliberations of the Oriental Conferences, even though much hardship was caused to this nonagenarian. He was a mathematician and had an excellent academic career. He has immortalized his name by his mounmental work in preparation of the Glossary to the Pahlavi Vendidad.

It is a matter of no less regret to know, through Prof. Dr. Mary Boyce, of the sad demise of two well-known Iranian savants, His Excellency Mr. S. H. Taqizadeh and Prof. Mo'in. Mr. Taqizadeh was a distinguished statesman and venerable scholar, and his learned works were chiefly devoted to intricate problems of calendars and chaonology, including specialised studies of the Zoroastrian calendar. His small book " Old Iranian Calendars", which is an epitome for English readers of his very large work in Persian, *Gāh-šumārī*, shows his ingenuity in tackling an otherwise difficult subject. Prof. Henning thought so highly of him that he edited a volume compiled in his honour; it is called " A Locust's Leg ". Prof. Mo'in, a fine lexicographer, also regularly contributed learned articles to journals and memorial volumes. May the souls of the departed worthies find eternal bliss in the Abode of Hymns! Amen!

Progressive trends in Iranian studies

The learned world of Iranian scholars is also very grateful to literary societies for having published a good number of important works. A few of them are enumerated below :-

D. N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, published by Oxford University Press, London, 1971.

Dr. MacKenzie has brought out in condensed form a Pahlavi dictionary covering about 4,000 basic words culled from historical, religious and cosmogonical texts. Being a fluent exponent of the system of transcription which takes notice of historical linguistic facts, he has urged, and I think convincingly, the value of such a transcription in his learned Introduction. In Table I (Intro. p. xi) the author shows the origin of the letters of Book-Pahlavi from Imperial Aramaic. Within a compass of 236 pp. the author has given, in an orderly manner, not only Pahlavi words and their meanings with corroborative evidence from Manichaean Middle Persian, Parthian and Modern Persian, but also an English-Pahlavi index, appendix and words in original script called the Pahlavi Key.

The assistance a beginner or even a researcher could receive from this small dictionary is every great. It should also give encouragement to those progressive-minded scholars who would like to adopt a more realistic method in transcribing Pahlavi texts. The trend is slowly drifting towards a scientific approach and it is earnestly to be hoped that " factors of personal taste and interest " will steadily vanish, with the result that the learned world will be spared further controversy.

In preparation of a comprehensive Pahlavi Dictionary, " A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary " would be of rather less help. For that purpose a complete glossary should be prepared, but only after the reediting of old editions of Pahlavi texts in the light of better mss. preserved in public and private libraries. Just to make a collection of Pahlavi words from old editions without proper scrutiny would defeat the very purpose of this Herculean task.

K. M. JamaspAsa and H. Humbach, *Pursišnīhā A Zoroastrian Catechism* Parts I and II, published by Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1971.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that Dr. JamaspAsa has edited and translated the Pahlavi version of the Pursišnīhā contained in the ms. TD2 in collaboration with Prof. Humbach, who has done the Avestan part of it. They have also published the facsimile edition of the original text in Part II.

It is, indeed, a formidable task to have translated an unedited text and to have provided an apparatus criticus and interpretation of Avestan and Pahlavi words, which should contribute greatly to the compilation of Avestan and Pahlavi dictionaries. The authors are to be congratulated for accomplishing this, and we fervently hope that Dr. JamaspAsa, with a devotion inherited by him from his illustrious ancestors, will take up the gigantic task of editing and translating with illuminating notes the still unedited Commentary to the Pahlavi Vendidad contained in the same ms. TD2. It is to be noted that Dr. Hormazdyar K. Mirza has given a review of the Pursiśnīhā in the Gujarati daily Jām-e Jamshed dated 6th November, 1971.

B. T. Anklesaria, *The Pahlavi Rivayats of Ādur-Farnbag and Farnbag-Srōš*, Parts I and II, Bombay, 1969,

All glory to the pious memory of the late Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, who died as long ago as 1944. He rendered yeoman service to the cause of Pahlavi studies by editing and translating a remarkable number of Pahlavi texts, and his works are gradually seeing the light of day through the devoted labours of his admirers. Dr. K. M. JamaspAsa has published one more of these entitled "The Pahlavi Rivayat of Ādur-Farnbag and Farnbag-Srōš" (in two parts). The first part contains the Pahlavi text and transcription, and the introduction and translation form the second part. Dr. JamaspAsa has written a Preface in which he pays glowing tributes to the scholarly pursuits and discernment of the late Mr. Anklesaria.

In his very learned introduction the late author has drawn plausible conclusions from the existing data and has traced the genealogy of the post-Sasanian Dasturs right from Ādur-Farnbag ī Farrox-Zād, one of the compilers of the Dēnkard, down to Franbag ī Dād-Kay, the compiler of the Zand Āgāhīh, and has given a succinct account of their literary activities. It is largely due to the tenacious nature of the priestly class that a good number of manuscripts were preserved in spite of general persecution by the conquering hordes.

Dr. Gert Klingenschmitt has reviewed the Avestan fragments contained in Mr. Anklesaria's works under the heading" Neue Avesta-Fragmente (Fr. A.)", pp. 111–174, in Munchener Studien, Heft 29, Munchen, 1971.

Firoze M. Kotwal, *The Supplemetary Texts to the šāyest Nē-šāyest*, published by the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab), Copenhagen. 1969.

Through the good offices of Prof. Kaj Barr and Kind guidance and encouragement of Prof. Sir Harold Bailey and Prof. Mary Boyce, the Supplementary Texts to the Šāyest Nē-Šāyest were published by the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen. For its preparation the author used three mss., viz,, K20, M51 and F33. A complete glossary of Pahlavi words supported by evidence from the Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian vocabularies is a distinctive feature of the work under review. Suffice it to say that the edition has received appreciative remarks from scholars in this field, and its value has been acknowledged by the University of Pennsylvania, which has introduced from the current year its study for students taking up Middle Persian.

It will not be out of place to acknowledge with gratitude the Danish Academy's generosity in bearing the entire cost of the publication of the Suppl. T. Šnš. It is so laid down by the founder of the Carlsberg Breweries that the entire profit goes to the Academy for scholarship and research. Even the Tuborg Breweries- a private enterprise- donate a considerable amount of money to research every year. It is almost a saying in Demmark: "Drink beer and support science". Let us hope that such a noble idea will be emulated by the private as well as the public enterprises in India for the advancement of scholarship and research.

The Journals of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Nos. 42 and 43

The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, has published Journals nos. 42 and 43 in 1969 and 1971 respectively. The former, containing the English translations of articles in French bearing on Iranian studies and appearing in the Journal Asiatique of Paris, is of the utmost importance to students of Iranology. The latter journal (no. 43) contains articles relating to topics of interest to Sanskrit scholars. It is to be hoped that the Governing Body of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute will continue to diffuse knowledge of Indo-Iranian studies by publishing translations of such articles.

K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume

The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute celebrated its golden jubilee on 14th February, 1967, when the then Governor of Maharashtra, the late Dr. P. V. Cherian, presided, and the Bharat Ratna P. V. Kane gave a discourse. In order to commemorate the occasion the Governing Body of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute resolved to publish a golden Jubilee volume. Consequently, it was brought out in 1969. Many oriental and occidental scholars have contributed learned articles to this volume.

Bulletin of the Iranian Culture Foundation. Vol. I, Part ii, 1970. It consists of articles written for the Cyrus celebrations, most of which were articles concerned with ancient Iran. One article, edited by the late Prof. Massé, deserves special mention. It contains the notes made by Prof. Darmesteter about his time in Bombay and the mofussil in 1886 also his meetings with members of the Zoroastrian community.

Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky (ed. C. E. Bosworth) Edinburgh, 1971.

The volume contains articles by Prof. Bailey Dr. Bivar, Prof. Boyce, Prof. Frye and Dr. Gershevitch on Zoroastrian and Old Iranian subjects. Most of the other articles are about Islamic times and subjects.

La Persia nel Medioeva, Rome 1971.

This volume, devoted to the Sasanian period, contains a set of articles on Iran in the Middle Ages written by various scholars in several languages.

W. B. Henning Memorial Volume

Prof. Henning passed away in 1967 leaving behind a band of grateful scholars who wished to honour his memory by publishing a memorial volume dedicated to him. Consequently, the way was paved through the joint collaboration of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and the College of Letters and Sciences, University of California, which together helped considerably in the publication of the memorial volume in 1970 by Lund Humphries Publishers Limited. In his "In Memoriam" Dr. Ilya Gershevitch paid a glowing tribute to the scholarly work of Prof. Henning. The bibliography at the beginning of the volume shows the magnitude of Prof. Henning's outstanding contribution in the field of Iranian studies. Prof. Boyce and Dr. Gershevitch acted as editors of the volume which contains research papers by forty-seven scholars.

Codices DH and TD1

The Iranian Culture Foundation has the credit of having published in facsimile editions the old mss. DH and TD1 which belong respectively to the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute Library and the private library of the late Mr. B. T. Anklesaria. The ms. DH contains the Iranian Bundahišn, Zand ī Wohuman Yašt and parts of the Dēnkard. TD1 is the oldest existing ms. of the Iranian Bundahišn, and its publication was eagerly awaited by students of Iranian matters. It is largely due to the painstaking efforts of the late Dr. P. K. Anklesaria that these mss. have seen the light of day in printed form. The ms. DH is fittingly dedicated to the pious memory of the late Seth Merwanji M. Cama, the revered founder of the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute, and the ms. TD1 to the late Seth Behramgore T. Anklesaria, the owner of the ms. The Iranian Culture Foundation has also published in Persian three articles on Zoroastrianism written originally in European languages by Professors K. Barr, J. Asmussen and M. Boyce. Agha Faredoon Vahman translated them into Persian in 1969 with the heading " Dayānat-e Zarthōshtī " for the benefit of the Persian-speaking people of Iran.

Publication of articles in various journals.

A good number of interesting articles have been contributed by scholars to various journals during the last two years. Short notices or passing allusions to them will suffice for the present :.

Asmussen J. P., *A Jewish-Persian Munāzare,* Iran Society Silver Jubilee Volume, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 23-27.

Prof. Asmussen holds that the origin of the Munāzare literature in the Iranian literary works like the Draxt ī Asūrīg is Mesopotamian, and that the Pahlavi work is not at all an imitation of an Arabic prototype.

Bowman R. A., *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis,* Chicago, 1970. (These ritual texts, excavated from the Treasury at Persepolis, are very obscure; but some are carved on pestles and mortars which appear to have been used in religious ceremonies).

Boyce M., *Toleranz und Intoleranze im Zoroastrismus,* Saeculum XXI, Heft 4, 1970, pp. 325–43.

Zoroaster the priest, BSOAS, Vol. XXXIII, Part 1, 1970, pp. 22–38.

On the calendar of Zoroastrian feasts, BSOAS, Vol. XXXIII, Part 3, 1970, pp. 513–39.

Zoroastrianism, Historia Religionum, Vol, II. 1971, pp. 211–36.

Zoroastrian bāj and drōn–I (in collaboration with F. Kotwal), BSOAS Vol. XXXIV, Part 1, 1971, pp. 56–73.

Zoroastrian bāj and *drōn–II* (in collaboration with F. Kotwal), BSOAS, Vol. XXXIV, Part 2, 1971, pp. 298–313.

Prof. Boyce's contribution to Zoroastrianism is useful to scholars and the general public as well. Her knowledge of Zoroastrian customs and rituals is well reflected in the articles mentioned above.

Emmerick R. E., *Some reinterpretations in the Avesta,* TPS, 1966, pp. 1–23.

Dr. Emmerick explains convincingly, as had Prof. Henning earlier, the Av. word *āδū* occurring in the Yašt 5.1, connecting it with B. Sogd. *δwk* " grain, harvest ". His long and detailed interpretation of the Av. word *zāviši* is enlightening.

Notes on the Book of Zambasta, JRAS, 1969, pp. 59–74.

Dr. Emmerick offers a few supplementary remarks on Prof. Bailey's Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta, connecting a few Khotanese words with those of other Iranian languages. His review article entitled " Some Chorasmian and Khotanese Etymologies " of J. Benzing's " Das chwaresmische sprach-material einer Handschrift der Muqaddimat al-Adab von Zamaxšarī", 1968, was published in JRAS, 1970, pp. 67–70. It shows the importance of Chorasmian language which has close affinity with other Iranian languages like the Avestan, Sogdian and Khotanese. But more important are Dr. MacKenzie's articles in BSOAS (XXXIII, Part 3, 1970, pp. 540–559 ; XXXIV, Part 1, 1971, pp. 74–79 ; Part 2, pp. 314–330) entitled " The Khwarezmian glossary " in three parts.

Gignoux P., *L'Inscription de Kartir à Sar Mašhad*, JA, 1968, pp. 387–418. This young scholar has transliterated and translated the inscription of Kardēr at Sar Mašhad with a commentary and explanatory notes. *Glossaire des Inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes*, London, 1972. (The young scholar has prepared a complete glossary of the Pahlavi and Parthian inscriptions published as the first volume of a Supplementary Series of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. In addition to providing considerable assistance to the study of Middle-Persian and Parthian languages. the book offers complete bibliographical references to former editions on the subject.

Hartman S. S., *Secrets for Muslims in Parsi Scriptures*, published in " Islam and its Cultural Divergence ", studies in honour of Gustave E. von Grunebaum, University of Illinois Press, U. S. A., 1971, pp. 63–75. In this interesting article the learned author discusses the uses of the words *darwand* and *jud-dīn* occurring in the Persian Rivāyats.

Herzfeld E., *Persepolis III*, Chicago, 1970. (This is the third volume in Herzfeld's work on Persepolis, published posthumously. It contains magnificent photographs of the carvings over the rock-cut tombs of the Achaemenian kings and of the Ka'ba–yi Zardušt.)

Humbach H., *Puṣpapura—Peshāwar*, MSS, Heft 23, 1968, pp. 45–48. Prof. Humbach compares his readings of the Kharoṣṭhi inscription of Kṣatrapa Tīravharṇa with those of S. Konow, and suggests that Konow's reading Puṣpaura/Puṣpapura = Peshāwar should be "abandoned for good ". In MSS. Heft 27, 1970, pp. 69–74, Prof. Humbach discusses Av. *ϕrisatō. zəma., xšvaš-satō. zəma, nav̨a-satō. zəma.* and *manayən* under the heading " The Problems of Avesta Morphology " In Heft 28, 1970, pp. 43–50, the same scholar makes valuable suggestions regarding the Kara Tepe inscripions in the article " Kara Tepe –Ṭoc̣hi—Surkh Kotal ".

JamaspAsa K. M., *On the Artāy Vīrāz Nāmak*, IIJ, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1970, pp. 116–120.

This young scholar has, of late, published a number of scholarly books relating to Iranian studies. His critical insight into problematic phrases of the Arday Wiraf Namak is commendable.

Schippmann K., *Die iranische Feuerheiligtümer*, Berlin, 1971.

It is a comprehensive survey of the fire-temples of Iran from Achaemenian to Sasanian times, with maps, sketches etc.

Schmidt E., *Persepolis III.* Chicago, 1970.

This is the third volume of Prof. Schmidt's splendid work on Persepolis. It is devoted to the Achaemenian rock-cut tombs and to the Kaʻba-yi Zardušt. It contains superb photographs and learned exposition.

The kind attention of scholars is further drawn to the publication of the following books and articles :-

Abadani F., *Andarz-nāme i Buzurgmeher*, reprint from Anjuman Frahang Iran Bastan, Tehran, 1949 A. H.

Asmussen J. P., *Studier I. Jφdisk-Persisk Litteratur.*
Oversarttelse fra armenisk,

Benveniste E., *Le terme iranien mazdayasna*, BSOAS, Vol. XXXIII, Part 1, 1970.
BSOAS Vol. XXXIII Part 1, 1970 : In honour of Sir Harold Bailey.

Bolognesi G., *Le fonti Diaglettali degli imprestiti iranici in Armeno.*

Christensen A., *Etudes sur le Persan contemporain*, ed. K. Barr, 1970.

Emmerick R. E., *Four Khotanese words*, Asia Major, Vol. XVI, 1971.

Old Age in Sogdian, Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonio Pagliaro Oblata, Rome, 1969.

The Khotanese Suraṅgamasamādhisūtra.

Śaka Grammatical Studies.

Gignoux P., *L'enfer et le paradis d'aprés les sources pehlevies*, JA, CCLVI, 1968.

Les Collections De Sceaux Et De Bulles Sassanides De La Bibliotheque Nationale De Paris, Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei, Roma, 1971.

La Liste Des Provinces De L' Ērān Dans Les Inscriptions De Şābuhr Et De *Kirdīr*, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, T. 19, 1971. *Religions De L'Iran Ancien,* Extrait de l' 'Annuaire de l' E. P. H. E., Tome 79, 1971–72.

Hinz. W., *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, private publication from Wolfgang Lentz Commemorative Volume, Göttingen, 1970.

Hoffmann K., *Zur Yasna Uberlieferung* MSS, 26, Munich, 1969.

Die av. Verbalformen juna Yt. 5.63, niδataeča, Yt. 13.66 und fraδātaeča Yt. 13.68, Studia......oblata, Rome, 1969.

Ito Gikyo, *Gathica VI*, Orient, Vol, VI, 1970

JamaspAsa K. M., *Further To Emēt i Ašavahištān*, MSS 30, Munich, 1972.

Klingenschmitt G., *Die Pahlavi-Version des Avesta*, ZDMG I, 3, Wiesbaden.-

Kanga M. F., *The concept of an ideal priest according to Manushchihr Goshnjaman*, Iran Society Souvenir, Calcutta, 1970.

Lentz W., *Persepolis ein Beitrag zur Funktionsbestimmung*, ZDMG I, 3, Wiesbaden, 1979.

Lommel H., *Gathas des Zarathushtra*, ed,B. Schlerath.

MacKenzie D. N., *Chirstian Sogdian Notes*, BSOAS XXXIII, Part 1, 1970.

"*The Sūtra of causes and effects of actions*" *in Sogdian*, London Oriental Series, 1970.

Mokri M., *La legends de Bežan u Manija.*

Contribution Scientifique aux etudes Iraniennes.

Nawabi Y. M. *Pahlavi Texts* (Reprint)

Neusner J., *A history of the Jews in Babylonia—V. Later Sasanian times.*

Nyberg H. S., *The Pahlavi inscription at Mishkin*, BSOAS XXXIII, Part 1. 1970.

Narten J., *Jav. apa. ẋvanvainti*, MSS 27, Munich, 1970.

Perikhanian A., *Notes sur le lexique Iranien et Armenien*, Review des études Armeniennes, Paris, 1968.

Schlerath B. (ed.), *Zarathushtra.* (A mixed volume of papers by various scholars, of various dates, reprinted in German translation).

Shaki Mansour, *Some basic tenets of the eclectic metaphysics of the Dēnkard*, Archiv Orientalni 38, Prague, 1970.

Taffazoli A., *Notes Pehlevies-I* JA, Paris, 1970.

Pahlavica, Acta Orientalia, 33, 1971.

Wilber D. N., *Persepolis. The archaeology of Parsa, seat of the Persian kings.*

Windfuhr G. L., *Diacritic and distinctive features in Avestan*, JRAS, 91, 1971.

Study of Zoroastrianism in the University of Manchester

It is a matter of legitimate pride for us all that the religion of Zoroaster has been accorded a place in the curriculum set by the Department of Comparative Religion, University of Manchester. Now there are about eighty students engaged on a general course of Religions of Western Asia. These students are 2nd year undergraduates who have to attend six lectures on Zoroastrianism. A special course comprising about fifty lectures on Zoroastrianism with set texts in translation is prescribed for the 3rd year. Moreover, the University of Manchester has the credit of starting the first Honours Degree in Comparative Religion in England. I am much indebted to Mr. J. R. Hinnells, who conducts these courses in Zoroastrianism for furnishing me with this information.

A silent worker in the field of Iranian studies

I deem it my duty to introduce to this august body Ervad R. R. Motafram who is teaching at the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute, Bombay. After doing his M. A. in Avesta-Pahlavi Ervad Motafram has been devoting his spare time to research work in Pahlavi. He has to his credit the following works which he has submitted to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay :—

1. Dēnkard Book IV—introduction, transcription, translation and critical glossary.
2. Glossary of select words of *Wičidagīhā ī Zādspram* with an introduction and index.
3. Concordance of Pahlavi glossaries.

Pahlavi words from 21 existing glossaries and some other sources are contained in this concordance. There are about 10,000 words arranged in an order based on the letters of the Pahlavi alphabet.

The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, has further assigned him the work of preparing the transcription, translation, critical notes and glossary of the *Riwāyat ī Ēmēd ī Ašwahištān*. It is to be hoped that the Governing Body of this well-known Institute will encourage this young scholar by publishing his researches in the forthcoming series of its journals.

I, once again, thank the honourable members of the All India Oriental Conference for conferring this honour upon me and also for giving me a patient hearing.

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Dr. Ramaranjan Mukherji

Jadavpur University, Calcutta

Friends !

I am deeply honoured by being elected the President of the Classical Sanskrit Section of the 26th session of the All India Oriental Conference. I confess I was feeling rather shaky and was not feeling inspired to conduct the proceedings of this section, not because I could not appreciate the honour conferred on me, but because I realised my humble self too small in comparison to those, who presided over this section in earlier sessions. Classical Sansksit Section, as a matter of fact, is the biggest section of the All India Oriental Conference, and its deliberations are enriched by participation of a number of scholars, who present their thoughts on diverse aspects of Sanskrit literature and criticism. The task of the President is not simply to request the learned participants to present their papers or to invite questions on the thoughts introduced, but to find out the common trend of thought in the papers and to bring out a tuneful whole, so that the deliberations of the section can find their real meanings and implications, as moulded in one whole. Unfortunately I consider myself unable to perform this job, and consequently at this moment, when I am going to deliver the Presidential Address, I am being reminded of the misgivings and worries of Kālidāsa that the attempt of the weak to undertake the performance of a task, capable of being completed by the strong is sure to be rendered futile, and therefore to make the person ludicrous.

Mandaḥ Kaviyaśaḥprārthī gamiṣyāmyupahāsyatām /
Prāṃśulabhye phale lobhādudbāhuriva vāmanaḥ / /

To me the employment of the term ' Classical ' seems a bit puzzling and the application of the designation 'Classical Sanskrit' given to this section appears inoperative from the point of view of the content presented in papers, usually alloted to this section, The term 'Classic', as the Encyclopaedia Britannica says, is derived from the Latin epithet Classicus, found in a passage of Anlus Gellius, where a Scriptor Classicus' is contrasted with a 'Scriptor Proletarious'. The metaphor is taken from the division of the Roman people into Classes by 'Servius Tullius, —those in the first class being called Classici, all the rest Classem and those in last Proletarii. The epithet 'Classic', is, accordingly, applied generally to an author of the first rank and more particularly to a Greek or Roman author of that character. Similarly 'the Classics' is a synonym for the choicest products of the literature of ancient Greece and Rome. The high esteem in which Greek and Latin were held at the revival of letters obtained for these authors the name of Classics; and when other first rate works are intended, some distinctive name is added, as the English, French or Spanish Classics.

All this shows that the term 'Classical' referred to the production of first rate, but the connotation of the term has in course of time expanded to a great extent, enabling it to comprehend all sorts of things,—the high and the low. Inspite of this glorious background of the word 'Classical', what does this word 'Classical' stand for today? A few quotations from expressions of our daily life will be sufficient to show the degeneration undergone by the excellent word 'Classical'. These expressions are: (i) Classical Language, (ii) Classical Literature, (iii) Classical Scholarship, (iv) Classical advocacy, (v) Classical joke (vi) Classical humour, (vii) Classical intrigue. It is for the members participating in the Classical Sanskrit Section to stop this degeneration in the meaning of the word 'Classical', whose use was once restricted to the high and the sublime. I respectfully suggest that one of the tasks of scholars presneting papers in this section should be to restore the word 'Classical' to its original grandeur and to place it once again on the pedestal from which it has toppled.

The employment of the term 'Classical' appears to be irregular from another point of view. Classical Poetry, as opposed to the Romantic one refers to that specimen of Poetic Art, in which spirit is subordinated to form and greater emphasis is laid on the art of ornamentation, that renders the poetic tissue splendidly beautiful. Romantic Poetry, on the other hand, respects the emotive content more than the lierary embellishments, and it prefers grandeur or picturesqueness or passion or irregular beauty to finish or proportion, as a result of which in Romantic Poetry the form is subordinated to the matter. This yard-stick of measuring Classical Poetry does not apply to the specimen of literaure coming under the head of Classical Sanskrit, since even in the Rigveda we come across such stanzas, where form is not completely subordinated to matter, represented by the feeling-element, which shines in its supernormal brilliance. In Vedic Poetry the art of ornamentation is not neglected altogether, and the Vedic seers shower profuse praise on the dexterous poet, well-acquainted with the art of selecting expressions, as also with that of weaving out images with the help of these chosen expressions and ideas. In the speech of such a poet, competent to select expressions in the manner barley is shifted through a winnowing machine, the Rigveda says, blessed glory is enshrined. Some of the hymns of the Rigveda bring into expression the eagerness of the literary artist to enquire into the nature of the expressions and to possess absolute command over pleasing words and charming contents. One seer, as a matter of fact, prays to Indra to provide him with bounteous gift of expression so that he can decorate his eulogies for the God, in the manner the carpenter ornaments the chariot. There is considerable element of classicism thus in Vedic poetry, as well, and consequently the division of the entire field of Srnskrit literature into two parts—the Vedic literature and the Classical literature seems to fall through. Entire Classical Sanskrit literature, in its turn, does not represent embellished poetry, in which form is subordinated to the spirit. Such great poets as Vālmīki and Kālidāsa always consider the emotive content as the chief guiding principle of their literary creation and never allow the opulence of imagery to surpass the strikingness of the feeling-element, which manifests itself in its undimmed splendour. In Vālmīki and Kālidāsa the ornamented images bear a close relation to the feeling-element : while the predominant emotion brings into being the wealth of imagery in the process of giving expression to its own self, the images reveal the emotive content step by step. Creations of Vālmīki, Kālidāsa and other literary stalwarts, therefore, are as much romantic as classsical, and their claim to be reckoned as romantic poetry, as opposed to the classical one is incapable of being brushed aside totally. It is for the members of the Classical Sanskrit Section to think over this aspect of the problem and to suggest a change in the nomenclature of this section, which comprehends an extensive field.

Since classical poetry refers to poetry of first order, it will not be out of place to focus the attention of the members to the characteristic features of the literary creation of high order. The literary creation of the best type is in a position to transplant the brilliant experience of the creative artist into the mind of the connoisseur. Its expressions and images, dictions and literary excellences all are tuned to the common purpose of transplantation of this unique experience, that is obtained by the reader along with other members of humanity at large. The different elements in this poetry, therefore, are perfectly homogeneous in character, and it is the homogeneous poetry alone, which is in a position to transfer the total experience of the artist. If the Art of Poetry is that art through which the human being withdraws himself from the work-a-day world only to enter more closely into communion with humanity, then it is the poetic image that is of paramount importance in this art. And this is so, because it extends a common meeting ground to the reader and his kindred spirits, enabling him an opportunity of having unique communion, not only with men and women, fauna and flora, but with river and forest, ocean and hill, sun-light and star-light as well. It is not without reason therefore that writers on Sanskrit Poetics describe liberation as one of the main ends of poetry, implying thereby that it lifts the individual above the basically utilitarian approach to things, conditioned by the necessities of practical living. A probe into the causal factor of this capacity inherent in the poetic image to arrange for splendid communion of the reader with his kindred spirits leads the inquisitive analyist to the same feeling-element,—the old general truth, to which all images in a document of literary art are oriented. As the image awakens the emotion lying latent in the mind of the reader, it becomes possible for him to catch the general truth and have the communal experience with his kindred spirits. A living image constructed through imaginative faculty of the real poet bears a close relation to the feeling: it is itself brought into being by the emotive content and reveals again the content step by step. Such an image pours forth the overflowing of feelings of the creative artist and the thoughts suggested float promiscuously in the stream. The broken image, on the other hand, conveys the thought, which though interesting and moving is not sufficient to stir up the soul by profoundity of feeling. A living image points out to the main melody of the poem and consequently is a feeling-vector: a broken image like a shattered mirror is a collection of incongruous and inconsistent thoughts, having no powerful chord of feeling to form them into a tuneful whole.

The tuneful image achieves major success in the hands of Kālidāsa, with the hallowed memory of whom this City of Ujjain is associated. And such images are exemplified by the paintings occurring in the Meghadūta and the Ṛtusaṁhāra. These focus the attention of the reader to the main melody and in this respect offer a sharp contrast to the broken images that distract the mind of the appreciative reader, not being tied to the main melody of the Poem. If the Metaphor is the highlight by which the artist reveals to the reader the pattern of his world, then the Metaphor employed by Kālidāsa in the painting of the vernal season is to be regarded as singularly successful, since it exhibits the artist's cherished world in which love reigns supreme and all-powerful. It is highly significant that the painting of the Spring opens with a Metaphor trying to establish identity between the vernal season and the fighting emperor, and after arresting the changes experienced by the animal and plant worlds on account of the advent of spring closes with a more effective Metaphor seeking to identify love itself with the victorious monarch. The warrior-spring approaches with young mango-blossoms for its sharp arrows and with the row of bees as its resplendent bow- string.

With its approach the empire of love is established on a firm footing. The beautiful mango-blossom serves as the pointed shaft of passion, the lovely Kimśuka as its bow,—the southern breeze as the rutty elephant and the lunar orb as its imperial canopy. The string of superimposition is not a nervous mannerism taken recourse to by the artist in order to impress the weak type of reader, who prefers shock-treatment to other modes of attainment of supermundane delight. On the other hand, this fictive identity is wilfully created in order to imprint on the mind of the reader the idea that it is in Spring that love attains perfection. And in the cherished world of Kālidāsa love actually reigns supreme. The poetical image,—

With sharp shaft in blossom of mango-tree,
And shining bow-string in row of humming bee :
In hearts of passionate pain to bring—
Yonder comes hither the warrior-spring.

* * * * *

Mango-blossom makes the pointed shaft,
And the bow is traced in Kiṁśuka-graft;
Row of bees maketh the gallant string,
As shining moon doth royal canopy bring.

And bards in Cuckoos please the mind :
(And bards in Cuckoos please the mind :)
May this bodyless love,—the winner bring,
Joy to the world along with bounteous spring !

* * * * *

Prafullacūtāṅkuratīkṣṇasāyako
Dvirephamālāvilasaddhanurguṇaḥ /
Manāṁsi bhettum surataprasaṅginām
Vasantayodhaḥ samupāgataḥ priye / /

* * * * *

Āmrī mañjulamañjarī varaśaraḥ satkiṃśukaṃ yaddhanuḥ
Jyā yasyālikulaṃ kalaṃkarahitaṃ chatraṃ sitāmśuḥ sitam /
Mattebho malayānilah parabhṛtā yadvandino lokajit
So'yaṃ vo vitarītarītu vitanurbhadraṃ vasantānvitaḥ / /

—thus finds access into the world, as envisaged by the creative artist and it is this capacity to reveal the pattern of reality that constitutes one of the salient traits of the living image.

I would humbly suggest to the members participating in this section to analyse the images of our ancient lierary stalwarts and to show why some of the images created by them constitute specimens of living image, shining in propriety, intensity, audacity and richness, as also why other images emanating from the pen of the same poets fail to reach the heignt of a sublime poetical painting. This process involves application of the principles of literary criticisim,—both Eastern and Western—to the paintings carved out by our great masters. And this process alone is in a position to establish the supremacy of our ancient stalwart in the ranks of the great poets of the world. Our Vālmīki and Kālidāsa,—Śūdraka and Bhāsa are not poets or dramatists of Indian lierature alone: they occupy distinctive positions in the whole arena of world literature. It is for this conference to present to the world the greatness of our ancient thinkers and creative artists. I hope learned participation of the members will help to illumine some of the dark corridors of our ancient history, so that our great literary creations can be seen and appreciated in their proper perspective. Some of our Universities and Research Institutes have already started work in this direction. My respectful thanks are due to these Universities and Institutes as also to individual scholars, who by their continuous and sustained efforts are trying to impress on the entire scholarly world the greatness of Sanskrit Literature and Criticism.

Once again I thank you all from the core of my heart.

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

DR. C. R. NAIK, AHMEDABAD

Brother Delegates and Friends,

It is my first duty to express my deep sense of gratitude to the Members of the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference for their magnanimity in considering me worthy of presiding over the deliberations of the ARABIC AND PERSIAN SECTION of the present Session which is being held in Ujjain, an ancient place echoing with many sacred memories.

In occupying this Chair which you have been so kind as to offer to me, I am aware that I have to measure up to the high precedents set up by its previous occupants, all of whom were celebrities in the field, learned men like Prof. Agha Pūr-i-Dāwūd who had been in Shantiniketan for some time (1933) at the request of Rabindra Ṇath Tagore, Prof. Moulawi Mahesh Prasadji of Banaras, a Brahmin 'pundit' who earned the epithet because of his scholarship in Persian and Arabic, Dr. M. Iqbal of Oriental College, Lahore, Dr. S. M. Ḥusain Nainar of the Post-grauate Department of Madras University, Madras, Dr. M, G. Zubaid Ahmad of the Department of Arabic and Persian of Allahabad University, Allahabad and others.

Conscious as I am of my inadequacy, I am accepting this as a duty, diffidently. However, I feel immensely happy in having this opportunity to address this august gathering of distinguished scholars.

I very much look forward to our all having a highly rewarding time. I need not mention that this would be impossible but for your hearty cooperation.

This historic city, where we have assembled from different parts of our country, has very well been remembered by Al-Bīrūnī in his very well-known work, *Kitābu'l-Hind*. He has narrated an event which I would like to quote, as it is befitting the occasion. He says, " In this city, there lived a man named Vyādī who was interested in alchemy. Having failed to achieve his object, he went to the bank of a river and in despair began to float one leaf after another of his pharmacopoeia on the waters. This was the book from which he used to draw prescriptions for his medicines. A harlot who happened to be sitting on the bank of the river at that time and whom Vyādi had not noticed, however, collected up those leaves. She approached Vyādī and told him not to give up his pursuit. She then gave to Vyādī an enormous sum of money, which she had in plenty, and asked him to spend it on his experiments. Vyādī then resumed his work."

According to Al-Bīrūnī, books of this kind are written in an enigmatic style. Vyādī had misunderstood the words in the prescription which meant oil and human blood. It was written 'raktāmala' and Vyādi had taken it to mean red myrobalanon. One day, he happened to knock his head against a peg projecting from the roof overhead. Blood began to flow from the scar. Some drops of it, mixed with oil, fell, into the cauldron. No sooner the concocting process was over, he and his wife were bodily lifted up and swept off into the air. There they kept floating in the free element. The well-known Vikramāditya, the then king of Ujjain, proceeded to the market-place to see them with his own eyes. Vyādī shouted down to the king to open his mouth so that he can catch his saliva. The king did not comply. The saliva fell down near the door and the threshold was filled with gold. Al-Bīrūnī, has stated, "People say that both man and wife are still alive".

Several times while we are engaged on some research-project, we also find ourselves in a state of despair similar to that of vyādi. At that time we should persevere and we will surely win as Vyādī did. So may I exort you all to keep moving in the work, and surely some unexpected help will be forthcoming as it did in the case of Vyādī. We shall all take with us a new sense of purpose on our several ways home from this place where once Vyādī lived.

Now I would like to devote my address to a survey of the high-lights in Arabic and Persian literatures and of the Indian contribution to the studies in the field.

The Arabic language may fairly be considered the head of the chief cognate languages of the Semitic family. Its grammar is philosophically digested and well-methodised.

The copiousness of its vocabulary is, perhaps, unrivalled amongst the languages of the world. It possesses multitudes of words to express one and the same thing. For example, it offers a choice of a thousand words for 'camel', about the same number for 'horse' and five hundred words each for 'sword' and 'tiger'. But stranger still, it possesses words expressive of the most minute differences of the shades of meaning, in many cases where such distinctions do not admit of being made except through a long periphrasis.

For instance, there are distinct words denoting a human being at various stages of his life. A male-child when in the womb is called جنين (janin); when he is born, he is called وليد (walid); when sucking, he is called رضيع (raḍi‘); when weaned, he is called فطيم (faṭīm): when he is able to walk, he is called دارج (dārij); when he is about five spans in length, he is called خماسی (khumāsī). Again when his first teeth are shed, he is called متّغور (maṭḥghūr); when he is above ten years, he is مترعرع (mutara‘ rí’) or ناشی (nāshī); and when he is approaching the age of puberty, he is مراهق (murāhiq) or يافع (yāfí‘). But during all these stages, he is called by the general denomination غلام (ghulām) or boy. Again when he is a perfectly developed young man, he is called فتى (fatā), and when he reaches the highest degree of blooming youth, he is called مجتمع (mujtami’); afterwards when his age is between 30 and 40 he is called شاب (shābb). Then from that age upto 60 he is كهل (kahl). Then he becomes شيخ (shạikh), and then كبير (kabír), and then هرم (harem), and finally خرف (kharef) which comes very near the famous description of old age given by Shakespeare in his ‘*As you like it*’ (II, vii):

> “ Second childishness and mere oblivion.
> Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything”.

Those who want to know such illustrations, which are numerous, would refer to the Fiqhu’l-Lughat (or the Philosophy of Lexican) by Ibn Fāris Abu’l-Ḥusain Aḥmadu’l-Qazwīnī (d. 1004), or the Fiqhu’l-Lughat, also known as Asrāru’l-‘Arabiyah (or the Secrets of the Arabic) by Ṭḥaālibī (d. 1038).

The technical terminology of some branches of science and of commerce is mainly drawn from Arabic in most of the well-known languages of Europe and Asia. Many of the analogies like الكيميا (alkīmiya), in English, ‘alchemy’; الكحل (alkuḥl), in English ‘alchohol’; الجبر (aljabr), in English ‘algebra’; قيراط (qīrāṭ), in English, ‘carat’; and صندل (ṣandal), in Engilsh ‘sandal’, may be proved to have originated in this way. This borrowing has been going on for centuries in the languages of the West, especially in the Spanish, which partly grew up under the shelter of the Arab rule in Spain and to a large extent in the Italian, French and other languages of the Mediterranean shores —perhaps even in the classical languages of Greece and Rome.

With regard to the Arabic tongue, Ibn-i-Manzūr has stated in the Introduction to his Lisān that God made it superior to all other languages and enhanced it further by revealing the Qur’ān through it, and by making it, the language of the people of the Paradise. He has also quoted in support of his statement the tradition of the Prophet that "They (i. e. people) love the Arabs for three reasons: I am an Arab, the Qur'ān is in Arabic and the language of the people of the Paradise is Arabic."

Although the present-day Arab world is beset with social upheaval and political disunity, the image of Classical Arabic continues to be venerated in all the Arab countries. According to Philip K. Hitti, no people in the world, perhaps, manifest such enthusiastic admiration for literary expression and are so moved by the word, spoken or written, as the Arabs. Hardly any language seems capable of excercising over the minds of its users such irresistible influence as Arabic. Modern audiences in Baghadad, Damascus and Cairo can be stirred to the highest pitch by the recital of poems, only vaguely comprehended, and by the delivery of the orations in the classical tongue, though the literary pieces themselves may be only partially understood. The reason is that Arabic in its words and images, has a musicality and power that exert a great influence upon the psychology of the Arabs. As such, the rhythm and the music thereof produce on them the effect of what is called the 'lawful magic' (As-Siḥru'l-Ḥalāl). It is on account of this reason that even where Arabic is not the mother-tongue of the Muslims, there will be found many who have the Qur'ān by heart.

The power of abstraction of the Arabic language made of it an ideal international vehicle of scientific thought; it was the language that had helped civilization to spread all over the Mediterranean world and that is the reason why the Iranian scholar Al-Bīrūnī belonging to Khwārazm (modern Khīva) preferred writing his books in Arabic rather than in Persian or in the dialect of his native place. He has stated while appreciating the rich capacity of Arabic, in the preface of '*aṣ-Ṣaidana*', his Book of Drugs that, "It is in the Arabic tongue that the sciences have been transmitted by means of translations coming from all parts of the world, and the beauty of that tongue has flown together with those sciences into our arteries and into our veins".

It is on account of this that even during the early Islamic period, stress was laid on rendering into Arabic, works on various topics from different languages like Greek, Latin, Persian, Sanskrit etc. If certain Greek and Latin works had not been translated into Arabic, some of them would have fallen into oblivion. For example, seven books on Galen's anatomy could be preserved for posterity in Arabic, which in their original Greek perished. It may be further added that the Arabs utilized the works not only of the ancient Greeks but also of Indians and Iranians.

Perhaps, Arabic was the first language of the world in which a systematic translation of sanskrit was undertaken, The Arab conquest of Sind in A. D. 712 was a passing show because it had no permanent political impact. However, its effects on Muslim culture, and even on the evolution of world-civilization, were profound and far-reaching. In the middle of the same century, the Abbasids (749–1258) rose to power. In A. D. 761, Baghdad was founded and then began an intellectual association between the two countries. The Abbasid Caliphs inspired by their Barmakī ministers, especially Yahyā bin Khālid Barmākī (d. 805), invited a group of Indian 'pundits' and 'vaidyas' (physicians) to Baghdad, where books on various branches of Indian culture began to be translated into Arabic. The names of these Indian scholars are so transformed into Arabic that it becomes extremely difficult, if not impossible, to trace the originals through the corrupted forms. One of them, referred to by Muḥammad bin Ishaque an-Nadīm (10th century) in his invaluable Kitābu't-Fihrist (Book of Index) is Ibn Dahan (Dhan), which name, says Sayyad Sulaimān Nadvī, may be a corruption of Dhanvantari (the name of the Hindu god of medicine). One physician Mankā (whose real Indian name as suggested by Sayyad Sulaimān Nadvl may, perhaps, be Manek) who was invited to Baghdad to treat Hāroona'r-Rashīd (786–809) for his ailment, and whose endeavours were crowned with success, was appointed in charge of the Daru't-Tarjumah (Translation Bureau) for rendering Sanskrit books into Arabic.

It was during this period that the Arabs first became acquainted with a scientific system of astronomy. They learned it from an astronomical work of Brahmagupta (born in A. D. 598), known as Siddhānta or Brahmasiddhānta. The Arabic translation of the work was known in the Arabicised form as Sind hind.

It is interesting to note here that the Arabs improved upon the knowledge so bequethed to them and in their own turn passed it on for the benefit of posterity. According to the famous Arabic scholar of Egypt, Jurji Zaidān (d. 1914), they not only adopted the 'cipher' from India, but also the numerals which later came to be termed 'Arabic Numerals' as they were introduced by the Arabs to the civilized world. In Arabic, they are still known as 'Ar-Ruqūmu'l⁰Hindiyah'. This system was explained in Arabic by the renowned scholar, Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārazmī (d. 850). This new method enabled the educated peoples to reckon in tens and hundreds and thus formed the vary basis of modern Arithmetic.

The 'Budāsaf wa Baluhar' is a highly ethical Indian work. Budā stands for Buddha and the full word "Budāsaf' in the opinion of Sayyad Sulaimān Nadvī means 'Bodhisatva' or a being who is in the process of obtaining, but has not yet obtained, Buddhahood or enlightenment. This work contains a very readable acconut of life and renunciation of Gautama Buddha. It was translated into Arabic, through which, having caught the fancy of the world, it was rendered into various other languages.

Various other works, e. g., on agriculture, music, Hindu theogony, palmistry, interpretation of dreams, physiognomy etc., were translated from Sanskrit into Arabic, particularly during the Caliphate of Haroona'r-Rashīd (786–809) and Al-Māmoon (809–813).

The foundation of Arabic literature was laid during the same period. The Arabs had their unique traditions relating to the Prophet, their religion and their poetry. The development of a large literature with numerous ramifications was chiefly the work of foreigners.

The bulk of the narrative literature, tales, legends, novels etc. went to the Arabs in translations from Iran. Among them was the book of fables of animals, viz. 'Kalileh Wa Dimneh', a work based on the Pancatantra which had been originally translated from Sanskrit (or Pali or Prakrit) into old Persian (Pahlawi) by order of Nawshirwān (531–579). It was subsequently translated into various languages and became the ancestor of a prolific progeny of interesting stories all over the world. The famous but anonymous Arabian Nights, which still enraptures young minds and transports them into the dreamland of romance, is not Arabian, as its name 'Alf Laylah, wa Laylah, signifies, but wholly Iranian in origin and based on the Pahlawi work 'Hazār Afsāneh' (Thousand Tales). However, in the Arabian Nights, there are several stories which are definitely of Indian origin, for instance, the adventures of Sindbād, first rendered into Persian and then into Arabic. All this was the fashion under the Abbasid Caliphs and is said to have attained the height of popularity during the rule of Al-Muqtadir (908–932). Besides, much favour was apparently bestowed upon didactic paraenetic compositions and likewise upon collections of moralistic apothegms. All this was tranlated from Persian or at least presented as translation. Much can be known in this connection from the book named '*Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature*' by Mr. G. K. Nariman.

Here we must mention the versatile scholar, Al-Birūnī's services to Arabic literature. He was the first of scientific Indologists and, as such, one of the greatest of all times. His knowledge of Sanskrit was so all-round that he was regarded as a 'sāgara' (an ocean of knowledge) by Indian 'pundits', something of a sorcerer who could cast a spell on any one by his attainments. He translated several Sanskrit works into Arabic: a book on the Sāṁkhya philosophy of the Hindus, a work by the Indian sage Patanjali, and the Laghujātakam of the Indian astronomer Varāha-mihira of the sixth century.

While attempting an estimate of the outstanding achievements of India's contribution to Arabic, I must clearly state that most of the authors who made any contribution to Arabic literature in India were Arabs and Iranians or persons of Arab and Iranian lineage. The contribution made by the Indians themselves is rather small. Generally speaking, the works produced in India are on religious subjects, sufism and grammar. They mostly comprise commentaries on the Qur'ān, Hadīṯẖ, Fiqh and grammar. However, I must lay special emphasis on the fact that Indian scholars began to write in Arabic at a time when even scholars outside India had concentrated all their energies on commentaries and glossaries on the works of eminent authers.

It is generally believed that Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Haqq of Delhi (d. 1588) was the first to introduce the science of 'tradition' into India and popularize it. It may be true of Delhi and Northern India but certainly not of the South, for in Gujarat long berore Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq commenced his work in Delhl, the pupils of great traditionalists like Shaikhu' l-Islam Zakariyyah, Sakhawi, and Ibn Hajjār (d. 1449) of Mecca and the scholars of Gujarat had made the science of 'tradition' popular.

There was the question whether the Qur'ān could be translated into any other language or not. Fortunately Muslim opinion in India asserted itself in favour of translation. The Persian translation of Shaikh Walīullāh (d. 1791) is generally supposed to be the earliest rendering of the Qur'ān in India, but the fact is that centuries before the distinguished theologian of Delhi flourished, Persian translations of the Qur'ān had been available in Gujarat. In the shrine of Shaikh Aḥmad Khattu (d. 1446) at Sarkhej, a village about five miles to the south-west of Ahmedabad is preserved a manuscript of the Qur'ān, which also includes Persian translation which is generally attributed to the Shaikh by local tradition.

The peculiar type of work done in India on the Qur'ān is not to be found probably in any other part of the Islamic world. It was done by Faiḍī (d. 1595), one of the nine gems of the court of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar (1556–1605), who wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān named Sawāti'ul'-Ilhām using for his purposes only fifteen out of the twenty-eight letters of the alphabet, those without nuqtas. In complete contrast to him, 'Abdu'l-Aḥad bin Imam 'Alī of Allahabad wrote a commentary on a part of the Qur'ān using only the remaining thirteen letters with nuqtas. It was published in 1889–90.

Numerous historical works have been written in Persian in India while history-books in Arabic are very few. Gujarat claims a big share of the historical works written in this language. The charming history named Zafaru'l-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa Ālih by Hājiu'd-Dabīr and two celebrated works of Muftī Qutbu'd-Dīn of Nahrawāla (modern Anhilwād Pātan) constitute a valuable contribution to historical literature.

Much work has been done in India and books on other various branches of learning like Hadīth (tradition), Fiqh (religious jurisprudence), Tasawwuf (sufism), scholastic theology, logic, ethics, philology, philosophy, literature etc., have been written. '*Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*' by Dr. Zubaid Aḥmad, may be profitably read in this connection.

Now, passing on to Persian, the Iranian languages, as you know, are amongst the most important groups in the Indo-European family and have a history extending back to the seventh century B. C.

Literary Persian (Fārsī), as its name implies, was originally the dialect of the province of Fārs, the persis of the Greeks. It can be historically divided into three main periods: (1) Old Persian, represented by the Achaemenid cuneiform inscriptions, some twenty seven of which were found mostly on mountain sides, the most famous being that of Bisotun. Dating from this period is the highly complex Avestan language of Zoroastrian holy books which is a sister—language of Sanskrit; (2) Middle Persian, represented chiefly by the Zoroastrian Pahlawi books, the Sasanid inscriptions and the Manichaen texts recently discovered in Central Asia. During the period of the Sasanids, the original Persian basis became combined with Parthian influences from the north and Soghdian elements from Central Asia. A script often used was Syriac and a new alphabet of fourteen letters was adopted from the Aramaic and became the Pahlawi script, which was the immediate predecessor of modern Persian; (3) Modern Persian by which is understood the literary language of the Islamic times. During the period of more than two centuries after the Arab invasion, the Arabs replaced the defective and intriguing Pahlawi alphabet by their own superior script and the Iranians, being alive to the advantage of adopting it, took to it with alacrity. In addition to that, they themselves contributed to the study of Arabic grammar and even composed poetry in that language.

It is noteworthy here that it was poetry that first began to be written in Iran. Arabic poetry had a deep influence upon it, in that the Iranian poets adopted many metres from the Arabic. With these new metres and vocabulary, it was able to develop a poetry of its own, which is one of the richest in the world.

The Iranians developed the use of the rhyming couplet with such skill that in the tenth and eleventh centuries it was the natural verse-form for some of the greatest works in the language, in particular, Firdawsi's *shāhnnāmeh* (the Book of kings). . The poet claimed to have revived the memories of ancient Iran through this national epic. In this connection, he himself has said :

بسی رنج بردم در این سال سی
عجم زنده کردم بدین پارسی
چون عیسیٰ من این مردگان را تمام
سراسر همه زنده کردم به نام

[During these thirty years (of composition), I took pains and I have revived Iran in this Persian.

Like Jesus Christ, I have brought to life the dead, all of them (by remembering them) by their names.]

This wonderful maṯẖnawī exerted a decisive influence on the development of Persian as a literary language. In the thirteenth century it served as the poetic form for the greatest Persian mystical poem, the maṯẖnawī of Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī which is known as :

مثنوی معنوی مولوی هست قرآن در زبان پهلوی

[The mystical maṯẖnawī of Moulawī (Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī), is the Qur'ān in the Pahlawī (Persian) language.]

The ghazal which may be equated with the sonnet was originally adopted from the Arabic. Prior to Shaikh Sa'di (d. 1291), no one expressed such noble sentiments and delicate emotions in this form in Iran as he did; and therefore, rightly he was the prophet of his time in ghazal-writing, as Hatifi (d. 1516 or 1519) 'has said :

در شعر سه تن پیمبرانند هر چند که لانبی بعدی
ابیات و قصیده و غزل را فردوسی و انوری و سعدی

[There are three prophets in poetry although (Prophet Muḥammad had said), ' There will not be any prophet after me'. Of the maṯẖnawī, qaṣīdeh and ghazal, they are (respectively) Firdawsī, Anwarī and Sa'dī]

The form of the ghazal was developed to perfection by the Persian poets, the great master among whom was Ḥāfiz in whose work the delicacy of Persian poets reached sublime heights.

Another form cultivated by the Iranians called the rubā'i (or quartrain) became famous in the outside world through the English translation of the rubā'is of 'Umar Khayyām (d. 1123–24), mathematician-philosopher and also sufi as the Iranians have regarded him. The collection of his rubāiyyāt was so beautifully (though somewhat inaccurately) rendered into English that it has become celebrated throughout the world and been translated into nearly all living languages.

In Persian, the qaṣīdeh borrowed from the Arabic poetry seems to fill up an unduly large place in the history of the Seljuq period. In it we detect nothing but the extravagant adulation of a wealthy patron. For example, Anwarī, the head of the group of the panegyrists of the period begins one of his qaṣīdehs with the following verse :

گر دل و دست بحر و کان باشد   دل و دست خدایگان باشد ه

[If heart and hand can rank as sea and mine, it is the heart and the hand (oh Sire) of thine.]

Although Iran has had many eminent court-poets and masters of epic and romance, it is essentially through the sufis that Persian poetry has gained its universal appeal. Sufi mysticism has been rightly regarded the supreme manifestation of the Iranian mind in the spiritual sphere. The glory of Iran lies in its literature, the noblest of its kind. The Iranians have always been an easy-going people, susceptible to love and beauty, and so their deep-seated spiritual yearning found expression in the erotic and bachhanalian imagery, as it did in sufistic poetry. Persian poetry has been saturated with this mystic spirit which culminated in the rapturous ghazals of Ḥāfiz. This convention of the sufi mystic fervour continued to inspire the Iranians to such an extent that the fashion became fairly universal, affecting the bulk of Persian poetry till it gradually began to decline from the sixteenth century.

No doubt, poetry has pride of place in the literature of Iran. It remained an immensely important vehicle of literary expression in Iran upto the nineteenth century when it came increasingly into contact with the modern and predominantly technological world. A poetry of stereotyped and dead conventions lacked the kind of diction and ideas and imageries required for a literature which is truly modern, and Persian poetry has apparently as yet been unable to adapt itself to new conditions.

Thus, Iran is a country of which the people are devoted lovers of song and poetry as if born under a rhyming planet. The fame of its culture spread all over the world like the perfume of its 'gul' and the music of its 'bulbul'. The carefree joviality of 'Umar Khayyām, the austere philosophy of Jalālu'd-

Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273), the mystical ecstasy of Khajeh Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1389–90), and the everyday wisdom of Shaikh 'Sā'dī' (d. 1291) still enliven the learned assemblies in many parts of the world.

Although not as well-known as poetry, Persian prose also has a long history. It developed somewhat later than poetry and came into its own from the eleventh century onward. Starting from this period, philosophical and scientific works gradually began to appear in Persian and the prose suitable to this domain of thought reached the peak of stylistic perfection in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Likewise, a series of works were published on ethics and admonitions to rulers, of which some of the most famous are the Siyāsat-nameh of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, the Seljuq minister (d. 1092), Akhlāq-i-Nāṣir of the celebrated mathematician and philosopher Naṣīru'd-Din Ṭūsī (d. 1274) and the best known of all, the Gulistān of Shaikh Sā'dī. A series of short didactic and devotional works of real literary merit have been left by the sufis. They include Munājāt of Shaikh 'Abdullāh Anṣārī (d. 1088), which is very widely read to this day and the Lama'āt (Effulgences) of Fakhru'd-Dīn ' Irāqī (d. 1289).

Another class of writing that contributed much to the development of prose is history, which came into its own after the Mongol invasion. Many important historical works like the Tārikh-i-Jahāngusha of 'Aṭā Malik Juwainī (d. 1279) and Jāmi'u't-Tawārikh (Çompendium of Histories) of Rashīdūd-Dīn Faḍlullāh (d. 1318) were compiled.

In addition, works of fiction principally in the form of didactie tales, often interspersed with verse quotations, have existed for centuries and form part of the glory of Persian literature.

From the early Qājār and pre-Constitutional Period, the modernizing influences began to manifest themselves in Persian life and letters. A new type of reading public demanded a new type of literature which contained, among other things, reflections of foreign cultures and scientific progress. Hence, we find the spread of news-papers and the beginning of extensive translations of foreign works. The intensity of modern literary output has remained sufficiently strong to justify calling these new developments a lierary renaissance.

With its continuous tradition extending over eleven centuries, Persian literature is one of the greatest literatures of the world. Its influence has been felt from the Great Wall of China to the Mediterranean Sea, and has even left its mark on some of the forms of mediaeval European literature.

Turning to the state of Persian language and literature in India, I am reminded of the words of the late Jawaharlal Nehru in his ' Discovery of

India'. He has stated, "Among all the nations and races who have come in contact with India, none of them has so everlasting an influence on our culture and civilization as that of the Iranians". But it is difficult to sort out the typically Indian and Iranian elements in those cultural patterns which result from a confluence of the two. The language of Avesta and that of the time of Achaemenian Kings is similar to Sanskrit to such an extent that orientalists of the old Iranian language find it necessary to know Sanskrit in order to understand the Avesta. And, so too, much light is thrown on Sanskrit philology by the study of the Avesta.

The spread of Islam synchronized with the building up of the vast Muslim Empire and Iran was among the first of the great nations to collapse. The Arabs became the masters of the country and heirs to her celebrated cultural heritage. The Iranians, now converted to Islam, continued to take interest in India.

A long list can be made of the Iranian Muslim travellers and geographers who wrote about India, its people. their religion and customs, their character and culture. Amongst them were Sulaiman of Sīrāf, Buzurg bin Shahriyār, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Al Mas'ūdī, Abū Ishāque Ibrahīm Istakhrī and others. They were Iranian Muslims who usually spoke in Arabic, the medium employed by the intelligentsia of the times. It is very surprising to find, however, that these writers have been labelled lock, stock and barrel even in the most reliable works as Arabs, despite their Iranian nationality.

Now taking up the resumé of Persian literature, we find that Persian remained the court–language and the literary vehicle of the Indian sub-continent throughout almost the whole period of the Muslim rule. When the Ghaznawids established themselves in India in the eleventh century. Lahore became an important centre politically as well as socially, equal to Ghazna itself and there was a free and profuse intercourse between the different parts of Iran, Afghanistān, Khurāsān and the Punjāb. Scholars migrated to the conquered territory, settled down there temporarily or permanently and laid the first foundations of the Indo-Iranian culture.

With the establishment of the Sultanate in Delhi, the second phase of literary and scholastic work in Persian began in India. In this context, it is noteworthy here that India became the refuge for the intellectuals of Iran during the periods of stress and storm at home throughout history.

The third phase of Persian literature in India was ushered in with the accession of Zahīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur (1526–1530) who was himself a great literary genius and was an early representative of the culture and refinement, taste and art of Iran. This marked the beginning of a true Iranian renaissance in India. His son, Humāyūn, was accomplished in traditional sciences. Akbar the Great, himself, though illiterate, loved and prized the society of gens de lettres, appreciated their learned discussions. enjoyed their controversies, understood the niceties and excellence of their compositions and himself took an active part in their discussions.

The tradition continued with Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān during whose reign poetry, philosophy and architecture found their best manifestation. In connection with the patronage of these emperors, the high compliment paid by Pandit Jagannath to Shāh Jahān is memorable. Jagannath called him "Delhishwaro vā Jagadīshwaro vā" (the lord of Delhi or the Lord of the world can fulfil my wishes).

After the time of Shāh Jahān, the conditions began gradually to decline. In extending patronage to learning and to the arts, the nobility at court as also the rulers of various native states like Gujarat, Bengal, Kashmir and those of the Deccan and others followed the example set by the Sultāns of Delhi and by the Mughal Emperors. They treated, in an equally generous manner, literate emigrants who sung praises of their benefactors in their beautiful poems which resounded in Iran.

To resume the thread of narration, we find that after the successors of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna shifted their capital from Ghazna to Lahore, Abu'l-Faraj Rūnī (d. 1099), Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān (d. 1121) and the well-known Sanā'i of Ghazna, (d. 1130) the last being the first of the distinguished trio of mystic poets of Iran [the other two being 'Aṭṭār (d, 1230) and Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273)] set the stage for the development and enrichment of Persian literature in India. During the Slave and Khaljī dynasties, the writings of Amīr Khusraw (d. 1325) strengthened its roots still more. On account of his sweetness of expression, he was known as Ṭuṭī-i-Hind (the Parrot of India). His genius as a Persian poet was freely acknowledged in Iran also. He was held as the Sā'dī of India. He introduced the romantic maṯhnawī into India and the tragic romance of his Dawal-rānī wa Khiḍr-khān blazed a new trail. His disciple, Shaikh Najmu'd-Dīn Hasan Dehlawī (d. 1237) won the title, in later years, of the Indian Ḥāfiẓ. Compared to the brilliant Mughal period, the pre-Mughal period may appear rather unfertile; yet, the reign of Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī was an oasis in the desert. His court was graced by a group of distinguished men of letters, who, in the words of Diau'd-Dīn Baranī, the wellknown historian of the age (d. 1356) made Delhi the envy of Baghdād, the rival of Cairo and the equal of Constantinople.

The patronage of the Mughals attracted more and more Persian poets and writers to India. Akbar's court was literally flooded with Iranian poets, philosophers and writers so much so that the country of Iran. became as if depleted. One poet has described the condition as under :

از بس سخن‌سرای که ز ایران به هند رفت
دهلی و آگره گشت ری و اصفهان هند

[On account of an enormous number of men of letters who went from Iran to India, Delhi and Agra became Rai and Isfahān of Hind,]

In the opinion of Prof. Muḥammad 'Abdu'l-Ghani, Faiḍi (d. 1595) who was also a profound scholar of Arabic and Sanskrit was the greatest poet in Indo-Iranian literature after Amir Khusraw. He was the second to be honoured in Akbar's court with the title of Maleku'sh-Shu'arā (poet-laureate). Claud Field relates that Faiḍī assuming a Brahmin's disguise, studied Sanskrit from a 'pundit' who was so completely deceived as to bestow his daughter's hand in marriage to his pupil. On knowing the truth, the 'pundit' was about to commit suicide but was won over by Faiḍi.

I would like to quote here the following beautiful couplet of Faiḍi in praise of the 'satī', which has come to us down the corridors of time :

مثل هندو زن کسی در عاشقی مردانه نیست
سوختن بر شمع مرده کار هر پروانه نیست

[None is so bold in devotion to her love as the Hindu woman ; it is not every moth that will immolate itself on the burning fire.]

In India, the exclusive domination of the sufistic ideas of Persian poetry was over by now; however, Mīrza Bedil (d. 1721) attempted to revive the trasition of sufism which Indian poetry had since long alienated. The Persian scholars of Iran are ever willing, even to this day, to know more and more about Sarmad Kashānī (d. 1659) who can be called the Indian 'Umar Khayyām (d. 1123-24) as far as the writings of rubā'is are concerned. So even under the changed circumstances, the Muse of Poesy retained her allurement for poets, Muslims and non-Muslims. The best Hindu poet of the period was Bigham Bairagi who was a native of Himachal Pradesh. He lived the life of a mystic and a free-lance, Asadullāh Khān Ghālib (d. 1879) shifted the poetic centre from the emotions to the intellect. His superior personality transferred to the new generation the image of a great age which was passing away with him. Modern India and Pākistān can boast of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbāl (d. 1938) as a pre-eminent Persian poet and a powerful exponent of Muslim thought in verse.

If certain critics find the quality of Persian poetry written by Indian poets to be inferior, the possibility cannot be ruled out that a certain prejudice has entered their judgement. Happily the data–on which a real assessment can be made-survive to this day, and the integrity of the Persian idiom and its loftiness which received such immense applause in contemporary Iran is also manifested in their works. It is also noteworthy here that a few new metres derived from ‘pingal’ (rhyme metres of Hindi) were introduced into the Persian poetry by the poets of India. Similarly in the poetic symbols, metaphors and such other details of expression, we find an active influence of Indian environments, which lends to their poetry a special attraction and interest for Indian readers,

May I add here that among those who had mastered Persian in India were not only Muslims but also Hindus. The first among them to study Persian in Kashmir were the Sapru ‘pundits’. There was a Kashmiri Brahmin named Bodī Bhaṭṭa who, according to the historian Muḥammad Qāssim Firishteh knew the Shāhnāmeh of Firdawsī by heart and translated all its 60,000 couplets in Hindi verse. The Kāyasthas from all over India, and at a later stage emulating their example the Nāgars of Gujarat joined the Muslims in the appreciation of Persian lore and the promotion of Persian literature. They tried their hands at every branch of it. They composed poetry and wrote numerous books of history, correspondence, mathematics, lexicography memoirs, bayāḍ (diary), music, ethics, administrative manuals etc. Chandrabhān Brahmin who composed poetry under the pen-name of Barahman in the court of Shāh Jahān and Ishwardas Nāgar who compiled his Futūḥāt-i-‘Ālamgīrī, a historical survey of Aurangzeb's reign upto his 34th regnal year, are two of the names out of the many you must be conversant with.

The art of writing history, which Persian learning brought in its trail, proved fruitful in setting a good example which, from the Sultanate period onward, produced historical records in different parts and provinces. But the bad taste of the Tartar and Turkish rulers and patrons in Iran had an adverse influence on the writing of history in India. Two of the Iranian examples of this type are Juwainī's Tārikh-i-Jahāngushā (1260) and its continuation, the Tārīkh-i-Waṣṣāf (1311).

Before the Mughl rule in India, the histories of the reigns of most of the rulers were written during their own time. Some of the writers were the masters of the art of pure and elegant style. But most of them merely flattered their patrons and veiled their vices and defects. Even the well-known Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī of Ḍiāu'd-Dīn Baranī (d. 1356) is not free from this blemish.

During the Mughal period, not only the emperors but their nobles also were fond of engaging historians at their court and encouraging scholars who compiled history to perpetuate their memory.

As a result of such policy, the period is rich in the production of histories which are of two types, official histories and non-official histories.

Though the period of Aurangzeb is not very rich in respect of historical literature, there were four Hindu historians who can be very well remembered for their valuable contribution. The foremost of them was Sajān Rai Bhandārī, the author of Khulāṣatu't-Tawārīkh (1695).

The Muslim rulers in India began to take a gradual but steady interest in Sanskrit and Hindi and under their patronage, some important works were translated from Sanskrit into Persian. For example, Zainu'l-'Ābidīn Shāh of Kashmir (1420–1470) got the Mahābhārata, Kathāsaritsāgara and the Rāja-Taranginī of Pundit Kalhan translated into Persian through his translation bureau and at the instance of Sultan Fīrūzshāh Tughluq (1351–1388), a work on philosophy, divinity and omens was translated into Persian under the name of Dalāil-i-Fīrūzshāhi (Arguments of Fīrūzshah). Among the books translated into Persian from Sanskrit in the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodī (1489–1517), the most noteworthy was a group of medical treatises collectively published under the name of Ṭibb-i-Sikandarī (Medical Science of Sikandar),

With the accession of Akbar the Great to the throne, official patronage was extended to this activity to an uprecedented degree. The names of the works are too well-known to be mentioned here. It was in A. D. 1775 that a copy of the Persian translation of the Upanishads by Dārā Shukoh (d. 1659) reached France for the first time, which was responsible for carrying knowledge of Indian philosophy to the West.

Here it is worthy of note that at present there are more than twenty five Rāmāyaṇas in Indo-Persian literature of which some versions were translated from the original Sanskrit while others were based on the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsidas in the Avadhi.

Works chosen by the translators were those on religion, music, medicine. astronomy, astrology, mythological stories, heroic legends and such other subjects. The question whether they were led by a genuine academical interest or by an ulterior political motive lies outside our field.

It may not be out of place here to refer to a peculiar aspect of India's debt to Iran. In a number of instances we find that the Iranian and the West-Asian mind was first attracted to Sanskrit literature through translations of these works into Persian. Thus the literature, sciences and philosophies of the Hindus were made available to the Iranians. This is not all. Curiously enough, the Latin versions of the Persian translations of Sanskrit originals served to popularize Hindu culture in Europe. In the eighteenth century, European thinkers like Herder could establish their ideologies of world-literature and world-culture on the strength of such Persian translations of Sanskrit texts. The romantic movement in European literature, philosophy and fine arts was thus, to a certain extent, a gift of the Persian rendering of Hindu thought. It was again from the same source that schopenhaur during the eighteenth century derived his inspiration from the Upanishads.

The Persian in which these works were translated was coloured by the Indian cultural environment. So with the passage of time, it continued absorbing the local cultural influences and ultimately its nature and style became characteristically different from the Iranian Persian and in our times it came to be known as Sabki-Hindi (Indian style).

Indian scholarship has made a remarkable contribution to Persian laxico graphy. For help in the work of translating Indian books into Persian, a number of dictionaries were compiled. It is interesting to find that after Asadi's Farhang, the earliest Persian dictionary named Farhang-nama-i-Qawwas was compiled in India during the reign of Sultan ʻAlāu'd-Dīn Khaljī (1296–1316). Needless to say that Iran has hardly produced lexicographers of the stature of Jamālu'd-Dīn Ḥusainī Inju (d. circa 1621), the author of Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī (1608–9), ʻAbdu 'r-Rashīd bin ʻAbdu'l-Ghafūr Husaini, the author of Farhang-i-Rashīdī (1654), Muḥammad Ḥusain Burhān bin Khalaf at-Tabrīzī, the author of Burhān-i.Qāṭi, (1652), Muḥammad Badshah, the Mir Munshi of Maharaja Ānandarāj of Viziānagaram, the author of Farhang-i-Ānandarāj and such others.

I would like to add here that it redounds to the credit of Gujarat that one of its sons Faḍlu'-Dīn Muḥammad bin Qiwām compiled Bahru'l-Faḍail as early as A. D. 1433–34.

The activity of journalism in Iran during the second half of the nineteenth century provoked a suitable response in India, and as a result some Persian newspapers were published in Calcutta, the best being the Ḥablu'l-Matīn (Firm Cord) edited by Sayyad Jalalu'd-Dīn of Kāshān. There was also a weekly Persian news-paper, Mufarrihu'l-Qulūb (Exhilaration of Hearts) edited by Mīrzā Muḥammad Jaʻfar published from Karāchī.

The downfall of the Mughal Empire, the emergence of Urdu and the displacement of Persian by English as an official language have all contributed to the decline of Persion literature in India for the past hundred years or more.

However, as a result of the dominance of Persian language and literature for about the last six centuries, there is a remarkably large percentage of

Persian words in several provincial languages of India like Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tāmil, Telugu, Punjābī etc. In the opinion of Dr. S. K. Chatterji the Bengali language of the eighteenth century was highly Persianized. So was the case with Gujarati where the influence continues today. The impact on Gujarātī and Marāṭhī is found even in suffixes and prefixes. Also there is a distinct influence of Persian language and literature on Hindi. On Tamil and Telugu, the impact is found only in regard to vocabularies. Traces of religious beliefs and customs of the Iranian Muslims are to be found in almost all these languages. There is a significant Influence of Persian on the themes, motifs, structure and style of the various forms of Punjābī language and literature.

In spite of this evidence of the importance of Persian studies, it is generally felt by the scholars and workers in our field that in the present political and cultural set-up of our country, there is no place for Arabic and Persian and their utility has vanished. And that is the reason why they are facing gradual displacement from the high academic status which they have occupied for centuries in our land along with other sister oriental languages. This is a much regrettable state of affairs. But, in my opinion, it is this tragic feeling that has been responsible for a sudden and steep fall in the number of students studying these languages at our universities.

The purpose of such conferences as the present one is to provide us with the impetus to contribute our mite to the scholarship in the field. My predecessors have discussed many aspects of this field of studies, of learning and research. However, now I deem it fit to take this opportunity to do some loud thinking about some of the important points which are at present uppermost in my mind. I firmly believe that the pessimistic feeling about our subjects is baseless. The duty devolves upon such learned scholars who are actually working in the field to devise ways and means to tap new ideas for widening the scope of the studies of Arabic and Persian, which has been narrowed through the passage of time.

A good deal of work is to be done. The need of a more careful planning of the classical studies of Arabic and Persian cannot be over-emphasized. There are numerous works-historical, literary, poetic, lexicographical, translations etc., which have not been edited and published so far, while those that have been published require authoritative editions.

Further, no period of Indian history is so eventful and so baffling as the Muslim period. The fact was that patronage encouraged the authors during that period to compile works which when submitted would evince praise and applause of the master and such works would be duly rewarded.

But they did not generally express either independent judgement or different outlook. So the compilers were inclined to flatter their patrons in their works and tried to veil vices and defects of the latter or they twisted the matter in such a way that even the base metal would appeal as genuine as gold. So the later historians have to sift facts from fictions. It is, therefore, necessary that histories of the Muslim period must be written very carefully after fully corroborating the narrative of the events with materials of other kinds.

That is the reason why the late Dr. G. S. Sardesai, a very wellknown historian, in his presidential address at the Fourteenth Session of Indian History Congress held at Jaipur in December 1951 said, "I have ever regretted my ignorance of Persian, which I could not make up in later life. English, Sanskrit and Persian are altogether essential as a necessary equipment for those who have to handle the subject of Indian history.

The sources are not restricted to avowedly historical material only, but there are also over and above it, inshās (letter-books), biographies, bayāḍ (diaries), administrative manuals, coins, inscriptions, seals and other relics of the past. They would throw light on the political history and on many other aspects of social and cultural activities as well. For instance, there exists in India abundant Muslim architecture which, in its design, is a mixture of the Syrian, Byzantine, Egyptian and Iranian styles, though in its details it is Hindu, Jain or Buddhist. Among those who showed special interest in building them, were emperors of Delhi and others were Sultans and Amirs of Bengal, Gujarat, Malwa and the Deccan. These rulers were of Turkish, Afghan or Iranian origin. The engineers employed were chiefly Iranians, Turks and Indians. Masons and 'mistries' were almost all Indians, though artists and calligraphists were Iranians, Afghans, Indian Muslims and Hindus. Among the classes of buildings constructed were palaces, forts, mosques, mausoleums sarais, bridges and shelters for the poor etc. They had their own features. They are the relics of the ancient sense of beauty. It can only be through the knowledge of Arabic and Persian that historical research can be furthered.

There are still untapped Muslim chronicles, the royal farmāns, the ruqa'āt and the akhbārāt lying on the obscure shelves of old families (which once enjoyed high office or royal patronage but are now sunk into insignificance), in mosques and shrines, in cities and towns of the past Muslim states like Bengal, Gujarat, Hyderabad and some of Rajasthan. Efforts must be made to bring them to light for the people of new generation. This is a virgin field waiting for the research-worker,

Apart from original compilations, we have, as was mentioned earlier, a number of traslations into Persian from Sanskrit. It is high time that their texts be edited and published and made available to Iranians, so that they would become informed about the enormous treasure of culture we have inherited.

All this and much more we may be able to do, if once we can shake off our present mood of complacency and despondency, and thus we can over come by our joint efforts the many difficulties besetting our path and keep alight the torch of Arabic and Persian studies in India :

مشکلی نیست که آسان نه شود
مرد باید که هراسان نه شود

[There is no difficulty which may not be overcome; (but) a person should never give way to despair.]

So we must do all we can, to make Arabic and Persian studies as popular as possible and to provide adequate facilities for research-work. These ends can be achieved by a thorough overhauling of our present courses-of study.

One cannot deny that with the adoption of Hindi as the national language of our country, an increasingly greater attention will be paid to the study of its source and fountain-head, Sanskrit and its feeders like Arabic and Persian.

We are happy that the modern Indian languages are now taking strides towards their proper development and that they are being helped in this liberally by the Government. The foremost fifteen of them have been given recognition by the Government. Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian are intimately related to many of them both from the linguistic and cultural points of view. And so they must be wellstudied.

India as a free country, now occupies an important position in the concourse of great nations. She has her legitimate aspirations for the leading place among these nations. As such, the Indians cannot afford, on the one hand to aspire to cultivate closer relations with the Arabic and Persian speaking peoples, and on the other to allow these languages to dwindle and die a natural death in India. It would be through these languages alone that we can understand their economic structure, build up trade-relations, undertake cultural and sociological studies and appreciate their political aspirations, to the fullest extent.

In this connection, it should be clearly understood that our study should not only be confined to the classical Arabic and Persian as is generally done in Indian universities, but a thorough study of the modern Arabic and Persian, by at least a limited number among us, has become indispensable, It is gratifying to note that the University Grants Commission having realized the importance of this matter, set up a committee to go into the whole problem of Arabic and Persian studies in India. It is hoped that the recommendations of this committee will be fully implemented as early as possible.

The Indo-Iran Society, New Delhi, established in 1963 has been doing considerable work. Under its auspices, a seminar of Persian teachers and scholars was held two years before, at which very important decisions were taken. Among these, one was to prepare a model course and also graded Persian textbooks for Indian schools, colleges, universities and other intitutions to suit the re-oriented syllabii. This is the urgent need of the day because we have to trim our courses to the available materials.

On October 4th, 5th and 6th of 1971 on the occasion of the 2500th anniversary of the Monarchy of Iran, this Society managed to hold the Congress of the Iranologists and Indologists with a view to discuss the fruitful relations between Iran and India during the twenty-five centuries of the past history. Such activities will go a long way in encouraging scholars to do more and more work.

The same Society has also instituted three gold medals—one each in the Universities of Bombay, Kashmir and Calcutta. They have been named Birouni, Ghanī Kashmīrī and Ṣā'ib respectively. No doubt, this will help in encouraging the study of Persian in those Universities, but what about the remaining centres ?

Such organizations play a very important role in developing the studies of the subject. But the activities should not be restricted to only a particular centre : they must be extended to even far-off states.

I am afraid, I have gone too far afield. For that I crave your indulgence.

Before I close I would like to say a word or two about original works in Persian and Arabic and also other literature on the subject published since the last Session of the Conference held in Calcutta. Several scholars working in the universities or independently have made their contribution to research. The Dāiratu'l-Ma‘ārif, Hyderabad, which has already published more than one hundred seventy-five classical works has letely published the Tarikh-i-Baihaqi of Abu'l-Ḥasan ‘Alī Bayhaqī (d. A. H. 565) edited by Dr. Qārī Kalīmullāh Ḥusainī. It is a history of the district of Baihaq in Khurāsān covering a period of four centuries till A. H. 563. A rare valuable Persian manuscript entitled Muḍhakkiru'l-Aḥbāb of Niṣār-i-Bukhārī has been edited and published by Prof. S. M. Faḍlullāh of Madras. In is an anthology of

275 Persian poets. The Asiatic Society of Bengal is soon bringing out the English translation of the Tarikh-i-Bangāla-i-Mahābatjangī by ' Abdu'l-Subhan and the Fifth Iqlīm of Haft Iqlīm edited by Dr. S. M. Samadi. Iran Society has published two very important works, one is ' Iran Society Silver Jubilee Souvenir ' containing articles on topics connected with Persian language and literature and with the literary, political and cultural conditions both in India and Iran at different periods. The other work is the ' Chancellery and Persian Epistolography under the Mughals' : Bābur to Shāh Jahan' by Dr. Momin Mohiu'd-Dīn. It is based on original Persian documents. Indian Institute of Languages in Jaipur has published the Gulistān-i-Sā'dī rendered into dual language system by Acharya Dharmendra Nath. The original text page has two columns, one for the Persian character and the other for its Hindi translation. The opposite page has also two columns one for the Hindi translation and the other for the Sanskrit translation. The Hindi version is an all-prose rendering and Sanskrit translation is prose to prose and verse rendering. It is a praiseworthy attempt for the propagation of Persian studies. The same Institute is bringing out ' Hindi-Persian and Persian-Hindi Dictionary' which is in the press and also another work on Shāhnāma-i-Firdawsī' is likely to be completed within a short time. The Persian maṭhnawī named ' Sūz-o-Gudāz' composed by Nau'ī Khabūshānī (d. 1610) that has been edited by Dr. S. A. H. Abidi of the University of Delhi has been published by the Bunyad-i-Farhang-i-Iran. It is a satīnāmeh and other satīnāmehs have been dealt with by the editor in his Introduction. Another work edited by the same professor in collaboration with Dr. S. M. Reḍa Jalālī Naini is Muntakhabu'l-Latāif. It is a biographical work containing the biographies of persian poets as well as those of some Urdu poets. It has been published from Iran.

I would like to add for your information that the Maṭl'u'l-Anwār of Amīr Khusraw has been prepared for publication byṬahir Megerramov, staff-member of the Āzerbaijān Institute of the Peoples of Middle East, on the basis of eight manuscripts of this poem found in the Soviet Union.

Such wealth of important published work augurs well for the future development of Arabic and Persian studies in India.

In the end, I must express my indebtedness to those learned authors whose works I have consulted and referred to, in preparing this my address. Friends, I am grateful to you for the patient hearing you have given to me.

May the Almighty grant us strength and zest to continue the great tradition of learning and research in Arabic and Persian studies which is handed down to us and so to meet the expectations of all those who come to us in quest of knowledge and enlightenment !

PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

Sri. Prabhas Chandra Majumdar, Calcutta.

Distinguished Fellow Delegates,

At the very outset, I beg to offer my sincere thanks and express my genuine gratitude to the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference for having called me to preside over the PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION of the Twenty-sixth Session of the Conference at the most celebrated place of Ujjain. It is indeed a pleasant though an onerous duty which has been entrusted to me who am fully aware of my own shortcomings and limitations.

I am sure this honour has been given not to myself individually, but rather as a token of good-will and love to my Alma Mater, the University of Calcutta, where Pali and Buddhistic Studies have been occupying a rightful place uninterruptedly for more than half a century. I convey to you all the best wishes and the heart-felt greetings of the people of the University of Calcutta towards the success of your deliberations.

May I refer here to the history of introduction of Pali and Buddhistic Studies in Indian Universities in modern times? It had been the University of Calcutta which had first introduced the Degree of Master of Arts in Pali in 1900 and Pandit Satishchandra Vidyabhuṣan, the distinguished author of the History of the Indian Logic, was the first scholar to be admitted to that Degree in Pali. He was followed by the distinguished linguist Sri. Harinath De. The department of Pali was placed on a firm footing in the University of Calcutta in the year 1917 when Mahamahopadhyaya Satish Ch. Vidyabhuṣan was appointed the first Professor of this department. The importance of the comprehensive study of the great civilisation and culture as represented by Buddhism was greatly realised by the then Vice-chancellor, Asutosh Mookerji, one of the greatest Seers and Educationists of the modern age. In his memorable Convocation Address delivered on the 18th March, 1922, that great Vice-chancellor had made the following remark in regard to Pali and Buddhistic Studies in the University of Calcutta: " Criticism, however, has been directed against departments where the students are necessarily limited in number, and it has been urged almost in a spirit of complaint that it is colossal folly to provide for instruction in the subjects of this character. Let me illustrate the point by reference to the branches of learning, which, I doubt not, will enlist the sympathetic support of every Indian; I mean the subjects of Sanskrit and Pali studies. Surely you must be proud of the splendid attempt which is being made in the University of Calcutta to render to Indian civilisation and culture the homage which is its due. Teaching of the highest order along with Research work by Indian scholars of repute is being carried on in a number of branches of higher Sanskrit and Pali Studies which in themselves cover a wide field of Ancient Indian Learning. This appreciation presents a strange contrast to the remarkable ignorance of the importance as also the extent and variety of Sanskrit and Pali-prakrit learning which pervades the minds of certain section of Indians who, blinded by the dazzling glamour of the West, have forgotten the values of the noble traditions of the East ! " On the same occasion, Asutosh had referred to the arrangement made by the University of Calcutta for the encouragement of Sino-Tibetan studies as well.

Friends, I refer to Asutosh, because it was he who had touched the University of Calcutta with his magic wand of creative genius to transform it into a living embodiment of culture and learning. His University had been the first in the academic sphere in India to recognise the supreme values of oriental learning by the establishment of the department of Pali and Buddhistic Studies for advanced course of instruction and research in this fascinating domain of culture and civilisation. A band of scholars like Dr. Benimadhab Barua, who was the first Indian to obtain the D. Lit. degree of the University of London under the guidance of Prof. Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, the celebrated student of Prof. Louis de La Valle Poussin, Sri Sailendranath Mitra, and others formed a school by themselves in the University of Calcutta, while in Poona under the able guidance of Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi, grew up another school of eminent scholars in Pali and Buddhistic Studies and through its help Pali language and literature made a significant position in the curriculum of studies in the Colleges of the Deccan and Western India. Prof. N. K. Bhagwat of St. Xaviers College, Bombay, Prof. C. V. Rajvade, Prof. P. V. Bapat and others as successors to Prof. D. Kosambi formed the Bombay-Poona school of pali and Buddhistic Studies which greatly furthered the cause of the Buddhistic Studies in our country, long before we had achieved Independence. In the post-Independence period, with the celebration of 2500 years of Buddhism, there has been a new awakening for Buddhistic Studies and special academic departments have been established for Pali and Buddhism in quick succession: in the Central Universities like Viswabharati, Delhi and Banaras and in the Nalanda

Institute of Pali studies, Banaras Sanskrit University, Kasi Vidyapith University, University of Magadha, University of Nagpur, the University of Kurukshetra and recently in the Punjabi University. Buddhism in its manifold aspects has been introduced as the subject of study and research and excellent works are being carried on by scholars in these Universities in the field of Pali and Buddhism. This Oriental Conference, I cannot pass over to mention here, has also been rendering significant service and performing splendid work, since its inception in 1919 in the historic city of Poona, towards the advancement of Pali and Buddhistic Studies and investigation into varied aspects of Buddhism and its culture. The primary object of our conference and the immediate tasks of those who take part in the deliberations of such conferences are to make known and assess the extent of the progress which has been made year to year in the domain of the study of Buddhist culture and civilisation. They have been laying before us the results of their experience and research in order to increase our stock of knowledge.

It is indeed gratifying for us that we have assembled here today in this historic city of Ujjain which had been the seat of culture and learning from the very early times. Ujjain (Pali Ujjeni. Ujeni of the Inscriptional Prakrits and Ozene of the classical writers like Ptolemy and others,) played an important role in the political and religious history of our country. During the Buddha's time, Ujjain was one of the most important stopping places on the Dakshiṇāpatha connected by a trade-route from Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha. Ujjain was considered as the queen of the prosperous cities, since it used to occupy the central pivotal position as the junction of several commercial routes of ancient India. It was the capital city of the Pajjotas (Skt. Pradyotas) and king Caṇḍa Pajjota, one of the contemporaries of the Buddha, was the ruler of the kingdom of Avanti with Ujjeni as the seat of his government. (Later on Ujjayinī became the Viceregal headquarters of the Mauryan province of Avanti.) The Pali Chronicles include Avanti and Ujjayini within the Mauryan empire, and Aśoka was appointed by his father to govern Avanti as Prince Priyadarśana. Aśoka remained as Viceroy of Avanti for eleven years with his head-quarters at Ujjayinī and during his stay there he was said to have married Devi, daughter of a very rich banker named Deva. At Ujjayinī, Mahinda and two years later, the daughter Sanghamittā were born to Aśoka. The Dakshiṇagiri Vihāra, according to the Chronicles, was situated at Ujjayinī and Mahinda lived here for sometime to receive missionary training before his journey to the Island of Lanka. Under the Imperial Guptas also, Ujjayinī became the viceregal seat and Chandragupta II had his proud capital at Ujjayinī. The celebrated king Vikramāditya having his famous capital at Ujjayinī, established his supremacy over the greater part of India and his Imperial Court at Ujjayinī was adorned with Nine Famous

Personages (Navaratna). Under the liberal patronage of the Gupta kings, Ujjayini's fame increased far and wide as a great centre of learning and culture. The Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang, who visited the city of Ujjayini in the seventh century A. D., described it as a populous city having a circuit of about 6,000 li. He found several monasteries of which many were in ruins and he also noticed a Stūpa supposed to have been built by Aśoka.

Ujjayinī was a great centre of Buddhist learning and culture, since several celebrated Buddhist Theras and Theris like Abhayakumāra, Isidasi, Isidatta, Dhammapāla, Sonakutikanna and others were intimately associated with this place. Mahākaccāyana, one of the most distinguished apostles of Buddhism, was born at Ujjayini in the family of the royal priest of the Pajjotas. It was through his zeal and efforts that the royal house of the Pajjotas of Ujjayini was established in the faith of the Buddha. The Theragāthā relates a vivid account of the missionary activities of this great Thera Mahākaccāyana. Thus the doctrines of Peace, Love and Liberations, as preached by Buddhism, had become deep-rooted in the hearts of the people of Ujjayinī.

Ujjayini, according to some scholars, had been the home of Pali language which the Theravādins had adopted as their literary medium. They consider Pali as the dialect of Ujjayini, because Pali stands nearer to the Girnar dialect of Asokan Inscriptions and more so as the dialect of Ujjayini was said to have been the mother tongue of Mahinda who was responsible for the propagation of Buddhism in Ceylon. Hence, for this reason, the students of Buddhism consider Ujjayini as being one of the most sacred and auspicious places in our country and it is in the fitness of things, we meet at this holy spot of Ujjayini, which embraces in itself the great heritage and culture of our land.

Notwithstanding the great diversity of opinion as to the correct interpretation of the term *"Pali"*, it had been applied to the Canon of the Theravāda Buddhists and thereafter Pali came to be used for the language of that corpus of the canon which are being preserved by the Buddhist Sanghas of Ceylon, Burma and Siam. And the study of Pali language now forms a separate academic discipline because of its inherent worth and of historical and linguistic importance of early Buddhist literature. As the literary medium of the Theravāda school, Pali includes in itself the nearest form of the complete Buddhavacana, although all Buddhavacanas may not be Pali. The *Sakāya nirutti*, as entertained by Buddhaghosa, denotes māgadhi. But we know that Pali is basically allied to the Girnar version of Asokan dialect. Whatever might be the fact, it is evident that Pali, as it stands now, bears a different literary strata in its composition, varying from period to period during its evolution, till it lost its homogeneity. What was then the earliest phase of Buddhist canonical literature? Was it in Pali or something different from it? It is however evident from the Bhābru Edict of Asoka, which distinctly presupposes the traditional corpus of Buddhavacana that the pre-Asokan Buddhist literature was not in Pali but in Māgadhi. According to the Tibetan tradition, however, the Sthaviravādins had their literature in Paisaci and the Mahāsanghikas had their literature in Prakrit and the Mahāsamitiyas in Apabhraṁśa, while the Mūla-sarvāstivādins had their literature written in Sanskrit. From the Vinaya texts discovered at Gilgit as well as from the fragments of the Buddhist texts discovered in Central Asia and Afganistan (Bamiyan) comprising portions of the three Piṭakas, it is evident that the Mūla-sarvāstivādins and the Sarvāstivādins had adopted Sanskrit as their literary medium and this indeed supports the Tibetan tradition. Now regarding the Sthaviravāda of the Tibetan tradition, using Paiśāci as its literary medium, it is not clear and certain as to whether it was identical with the Theravada school which adopled Pāli as its literary medium. The Mahāsaṅghikas adopted Prakritic language mixed up with Sanskrit as can be seen in the Mahāvastu, a Vinaya text of the Lokuttaravādins of the Mahāsaṅghika school. We do not know clearly as to what language was used by the Sammitiyas or Mahāsammitiyas, although the Tibetan tradition mentions them as using Apabhramśa. It may however, be conjectured that the eastern section of the Buddhist Sangha known as the Pacinakas and represented by the Mahāsaṅghikas, used Māgadhi, while the western section known as the Patheyyakas adhered to the orthodox tradition and adopted the western dialect such as Paiśāci, and in the region of Ujjayinī another variety of western dialect gave rise to Pali. As a result of such tendencies, we find Pali drawing materials from the eastern dialect of Māgadhi as well as from the western dialect of Paiśāci for its development. The Buddhist canon, however, was found existing simultaneously in Sanskrit also, as adopted by the Sarvāstivādins and the Mūla-sarvāstivādins. This may be, I think, the relative position of Pali in relation to the origin of Buddhist literature.

Friends, it has been customary for the Presidents of the respective sections of the Oriental Conference to say something about the Research works done and the publications issued during the course of years, since its last session in 1969. This task has been made easier for me by the last President, Prof. B, N. Banerji, who gave an exhaustive survey of Pali and Buddhistic research works done recently in different parts of the world including our country. During the last two years there has been a few more new additions in the field of publication on Buddhistic subjects. (To mention a few of these: A. K. Warder has dealt with various aspects of Buddhism in India in his Indian Buddhism, Dr. N. Dutt has presented a lucid discussion on different schools of Buddhism in Ancient India in his Buddhist Sects in India. Dr. Dipak Barua has given a good survey of ancient Buddhist monasteries on regional basis and made a study of the four Nikāyas, in his *Vihāras In Ancient India* and *The Analytical Study of the Four Nikāyas* respectively. Buddhist dialectics, philosophy and the nature of the Buddhist Art from the Marxist point of view have been discussed in Buddhism: The Marxist Approach, by Rahula Sankrityayana and others. Dr. Kshanika Saha has dealt with origin and development of Buddhism in Central Asia. K. W. Doffins has published *the Stūpa and the Vihāra of Kaniṣka I.* An interst-ing monograph on Buddhist Mythology has been brought out by J. R. Haldar. And Dr. K. N. Upadhyaya has made a Comparative study of Early Buddhism and the Bhagavadgītā. The Venerable Nyanaponika Mahathera has edited *Pathways of the Buddhist Thought*: Essays from the Wheel. Besides these, Reprints of a few valuable out of print books on Buddhistic studies have also come out.

Friends, we live in an age of spiritual confusion and our feelings are distracted. A Buddha or a Bodhisattva would certainly have felt himself out-of-place in this present world of many distractions. The world is undoubtedly making unprecedented strides towards material and scientific progress and we are out to remake the world. But the problem of Man yet remains unsolved. On the other hand, it has grown to be more acute and more complex than as before. Have the modern men been able, at all, to sustain the traditional values of human life not to speak of creating new values as a matter of fact? Have we been at all able to solve the human problems in the gainful manner? Although there may exist some sophisticated outwardly feeling of accord among fellow beings, our socio-political experience and surroundings tend to generate doubt and hatred towards each other. We find in our fellowmen an enemy and accuse them for all our so called personal difficulties. With technical progress and the increase of national wealth, man is losing the spiritual integrity and is harbouring bad doubts about his fellow brothers. He fails to see in his fellowman a friend, a brother and a near relation. This human problem of ours can verily be studied by Buddhism in a systematic manner, to provide a solution of it once for all. Buddhism had endeavoured to establish human relations by exposing to the humanity the great values of human life. Buddhism has discovered for us the characteristic nature of our world as being transient (anicca), devoid of abiding individuality (anatta) and sorrowful (dukkha), and unless Man thoroughly realises these characteristics of the world, he will crave for permanence in one form or other, which, by nature of things, cannot be achieved; hence he will have to suffer and make others suffer as well. Wherein could lie the invisible source that generates human suffering? How could human suffering be ameliorated ? How could permanent peace and happiness be brought to this world ? All these are the eternal quests of Buddhism. Buddhism has found an answer to these problems in its doctrine of the Noble Truths (ariya-saccāni) : that Dukkha (suffering) inevitably exists in all lives ; that this Dukkha (suffering) has its origination (samudaya) as well as cessation (nirodha) and that there lies the Course (paṭipadā) leading to the ultimate extinction (nirodha) of Dukkha (suffering). What could have been the connotation of the doctrine of Dukkha (suffering) in Buddhism ? Dukkha of Buddhism certainly signifies the day to day problems of human life : the problems of an individual, the problems of each and every family, the problems of each and every community, the problems of each and every nation or country, which are nothing but conglomeration of Dukkha (suffering) for each of them. Association with uncongenial and undesired objects or state of things is Dukkha (suffering), separation from the desired objects or state of things is Dukkha (suffering), disappointment in obtaining the so-called desired objects is Dukkha. Thus at every step of human life, which is full of problems, Dukkha (suffering) exists in the form of disharmony or insufficiency. Problems of food and clothing, problems of shelter, problems of family life and problems of our social life and surroundings are confronting us continuously, and at every moment many new problems are cropping up before us in some form or other as we see for ourselves. Again, discontent and dissatisfaction of human mind (Tanhā or Craving) make these problems all the more acute, complex and longstanding. This discontent further brings forth in its trail all friction and distrust not only among the individuals, but also among the communities and nations. There is thus constant struggle amongst the different nations of the world. Enmeshed in problems and ridden with ever-increasing lust for power, people have grown pessimistic ; the world of split personalities and sad doubts have grown around. Constant arms race has been going on among the vying nations of the world. This distrust, this misgiving, this hatred and malice in the mind of the people are the resultant of Tanhā or the sense of frustration of human mind. And this Buddhism has pointed out as Dukkha. Buddhism has searched into the source and origin of Dukkha and has come to discover the selfish desire or craving as happening to be the basis af all our problems, both individual and collective, which make our living all the more complex and make us power-loving and absolutely indifferent to the needs and claims of others. Disappointment, delusion and sufferings in various ways and forms entail those who bear greed and hatred in them. Buddhism also discovered the cure of this human malady, since the sufferings are absolutely man-made and the problems are created by man and man alone, in its eightfold means. Eternal solution of the human problems has been sought into its Dukkha-nirodhagāmini-paṭipadā. This Paṭipadā or the noble course, progressively and steadily awakens the human mind to the highest. Tolerance becomes wide, compassion becomes deep and serenity becomes the unfailing companion which neither the passions nor the problems of the human life can disturb, distract and diminish. This, I think, has been the genuinely philosophical and scientific trend of thought evolved by the great Truth-finder Gautama, the Buddha, in finding out the solution of the problems confronting us and in heightening the values of human life. The philosophy of Buddhism projects to mankind a realistic view of life and of things. And the fundamental aspect of the Buddhist philosophy, therefore, has been defined as the prototype of the doctrine, well expounded, producing the desired result here and now, in this very life, beyond the limitations of time, inviting every man and woman to come to see for himself or herself the demonstrable truth in the doctrine having the impelling force to lead to free and sublime state of humanity and civilisation, and the essential nature of which can only be discernable by the wise each in himself (Svākkhāto Bhagavato dhammo, sandiṭṭhiko, akāliko, ehipassiko, opanayiko, paccattam veditabbo viññuhi). In expert and lucid manner of demonstrations of scientific experiments, Buddhism has given unto us a sound ethical code, a methodical system of analytical philosophy, having profound bearing upon human conduct, consisting of thought, speech and action of our day to day life. The greatness of the contribution of Buddhism to mankind lies in its concept of humanity and equality, universal love and compassion, peace and goodwill, tolerance and justice and the mental attitude of non-harming and non-violence towards all people on earth.

Friends, since I am subject to limits of space and time, I cannot present before you comprehensively what I intend to do. Before I close down, I may express myself that the present world is passing through crisis, our heritage is being severely jolted up to its foundation, we are grasping for new ideas and new ways of life, we are aspiring for unfamiliar habitation. So every rightful and reasonable man or woman of our land should now resolve with all seriousness, as to what type of habitat should be selected for himself or herself, whether the one built upon the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations' Organisation or the one built on the accumulated wisdom of our own culture and heritage, that will be safe and sound for us all.

Friends, I thank you all heartily indeed for the courtesy and cordiality you have accorded to me. I wish you :

Saddhiṃ hontu sukhī, sabbe parivārehi attano,
Anīghā sumanā hontu, saha sabbehi ñātibhi.
Siddhirastu Subhamastu.

PRAKRIT AND JAINISM SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

DR. NEMI CHANDRA SHASTRI, Arrah,

उपस्थिताः विपश्चितो गुरुजनाश्च !

सर्वप्रथममहं भवतां समेषां विदुषामाभारस्वीकरणं स्वकर्त्तव्यं मन्ये। यतो भवद्भिरहं पदेऽस्मिन्नासीनः कृतः। प्रसङ्गेऽस्मिन् यदाह स्वीयां योग्यतां विचारयामि तदैतत्प्रतीयते यद्भवद्भिर्महिशाय जनाय प्रदत्तेऽस्मिन्नवसरे नात्र मम वैदुष्यं कारणं प्रत्युत जैनशास्त्रस्य प्राकृतभाषायाश्च क्षेत्रेऽध्येतॄणामभाव एवास्ति। येऽस्मिन् क्षेत्रेऽधिकारिणो विद्वांसो विद्यन्ते, तैः पुनः पुनरेतत्पदोपलब्धौ नौचित्यं ज्ञातमिति संभावयामि। वस्तुतोऽस्मिन् पदे भवन्नियोजितेन मया साफल्यं लभ्यते चेत्तत्र भवतामेव संभावनागुण इति निश्चितम् :—

सिद्ध्यन्ति कर्मसु महत्स्वपि यन्नियोज्याः
संभावनागुणमवेहि तमीश्वराणाम्।
किं वाऽभविष्यदरुणस्तमसां विभेत्ता,
तं चेत् सहस्रकिरणो धुरि नाऽकरिष्यत्।

अस्त्वहमीदानीं विषयारम्भात् पूर्वमेतद्विषयस्य विदुषोः— पूज्यस्वर्गीयमुनिपुण्यविजयमहाराजाचार्य जुगलकिशोरमुख्तारमहोदययोः पुण्यस्मरणं करोमि तथा ताभ्यां श्रद्धां भक्तिञ्च समर्पयामि। दिवंगतयोरेतयोः रिक्तस्थानपूर्त्तिर्न कदापि संभवा विद्यते। मुनिपुण्यविजयमहोदयः प्राकृतभाषासाहित्येतिहासयोरद्वितीयो विद्वानासीत्। तेन विदुषाऽगमसाहित्य 'वसुदेवहिण्डी' सदृशानेकमहत्त्वपूर्णग्रन्थाः सम्पादिताः प्रकाशिताश्च। आचार्य-जुगलकिशोरमुख्तारमहोदयेन च योगसारतत्त्वानुशासनाप्तमीमांसा–बृहत्स्वयंभूस्तोत्रसदृशानेकग्रन्थानां सम्पादनेन सह पुरातनजैनवाक्यसूचीसदृशविविधकृतीनां प्रणयनमकारि। एतयोः विदुषोः पुण्यस्मरणानन्तरमहं जैनाध्ययनस्य प्रगतिदिशिभवतां ध्यानावर्जनं चिकीर्षामि।

विश्वविद्यालयीयस्तरे प्राकृताध्ययनम्

प्रायोऽद्य भारतीयेषु समस्तविश्वविद्यालयेषु जैनवाङ्मयस्य जैनदर्शनस्य च लघीयसा रूपेणाध्ययनं जायमानं वर्त्तते, परं प्राकृतभाषायाः जैनशास्त्रस्य च स्नातकोत्तरकक्षासु यादृशमध्ययनमपेक्ष्यते तादृशस्य व्यवस्था नाद्यावधिर्जाता। गुजरातविश्वविद्यालयेऽहमदाबादनगरे प्राकृतभाषायाः अध्ययनाऽध्यापने प्रारब्धे स्तः। मैसूर–विश्वविद्यालये साहू शान्तिप्रसादजैनस्य पञ्चलक्षात्मकमुद्राणां दानेन प्राकृतस्य जैनशास्त्रस्य च विभागस्थापना स्वतन्त्ररूपेण कृता विद्यते। एतद्विभागीया आचार्या अध्यक्षाः प्राकृतजैनशास्त्रयोर्मूर्धन्यविद्वांसो डॉ. ए. एन्. उपाध्ये–महोदयाः सन्ति। वयं विश्वस्ताः स्मो यत्तेषामध्यक्षतायामेष विभाग उत्तरोत्तरं विकसितो भविष्यति।

बम्बई-विश्वविद्यालये कोल्हापुरीय – शिवाजीविश्वविद्यालये चार्द्धमागधीविभागो विगतवर्षेभ्यश्चलन्नायाति । तत्र च स्नातकोत्तरकक्षाणामध्यापनं शोधकार्यञ्च भवतः।

नवीनेषु स्थापितेषु विश्वविद्यालयेषु प्राकृताध्ययनदृष्ट्या जबलपुर–विश्वविद्यालयस्य स्थानं प्रथममस्ति। प्राकृत–जैनसाहित्ययोर्वरिष्ठविदुषो डॉ. हीरालालजैनस्य प्रयत्नेन जबलपुर–विश्वविद्यालये स्नातकोत्तरकक्षासु प्राकृताध्ययनस्य प्रारम्भोऽजनि। तत्रानेकशोधार्थिनः प्राकृतसाहित्यस्य विविधाङ्गेषु शोधकार्यं कुर्वन्तः सन्ति ।

मगधविश्वविद्यालये स्नातककक्षापर्यन्ताध्ययनं विगतानेकवर्षेभ्यश्चलदस्ति । किन्त्वस्माद्वर्षात् प्राकृते स्नातकोत्तरकक्षा अपि प्रारब्धाः । एतत्कृते सम्पूर्णश्रेयोभाजो मगधविश्वविद्यालयस्याधिकारिणः सन्ति, यैः मगधसंस्कृतेः प्राणभूतप्राकृतवाङ्मयस्याध्ययनदिशि प्रयासो विहितः ।

वर्षेऽस्मिन्नेव आरानगरस्थिताय श्रीदेवकुमारजैन–प्राच्यशोधसंस्थानायापि विश्वविद्यालयेन मान्यता प्रदत्ता । तथेदानीं तत्राष्टौ शोधार्थिनः शोधसंस्थानेऽस्मिन् जैनविद्यासम्बद्धेषु विषयेषु शोधकाय कुर्वाणाः विद्यन्ते। शोधसंस्थानमिदं विश्वविद्यालयेन सह संबद्धुं वर्षेभ्यः प्रयासं कुर्वदासीत् परं सम्प्रति परमोदारेण कुलपतिमहोदयेनास्मै विधिवत् सम्बद्धता प्रदत्ता ।

अन्यशोधसंस्थानेषु श्रीदलपतिभाई–लालभाई –भारतीय–संस्कृति – शोधमन्दिरमहमदाबादीयम्, श्रीपार्श्वनाथविद्याश्रमो वाराणसेयस्तथा वैशालीशोधसंस्थानं प्रमुखाणि सन्ति । एषु त्रिषु शोधसंस्थानेषु शोधकार्येण स्नातकोत्तराध्ययनेन च सह ग्रन्थप्रकाशनमपि जायते। अस्मिन्नेव १९७१ तमे खीस्ताब्दे वाराणस्यां वर्णिशोधसंस्थानस्य शिलान्यासो जैननिकेतनेऽभवत् । एतस्य भवनञ्च पूर्णं जातम् । वर्णिग्रन्थागारस्यापि स्थापना जाता । एवं प्रकारेण वाराणस्यां पार्श्वनाथशोधसंस्थानेन सह श्रीगणेशप्रसादवर्णि–शोधसंस्थानमपि जैनशास्त्रविषयके शोधकार्ये ग्रन्थप्रकाशनादिकार्ये च प्रवृत्तं भविष्यति ।

दिल्लीनगरे मुनिश्रीसुशीलकुमारस्य प्रयत्नेनाहितभवने प्राच्यपद्धत्याधारे प्राकृतवाङ्मयस्य जैनवाङ्मयस्य चाध्ययनाध्यापने प्रारब्धे जाते। तत्रत्ये वीरसेवामन्दिरमहिंसामन्दिरञ्चापि प्रकाशनक्षेत्रे गतिशीले स्तः । अहिंसामन्दिरात् समयसारस्याध्यात्मख्यातिटीकायाः मातृभाषानुवादः कतिपयपौराणिकरचनाश्च प्रकाशिताः सन्ति । महावीरशोधसंस्थानात् जयपुरनगरस्थादपि ग्रन्थसूचीप्रकाशनं जातम्; येनानेकाप्रकाशितग्रन्थानां परिज्ञानं जायते । लाडनू नगरे, राजस्थाने, जैनविश्वभारत्याः स्थापनाऽचिरादेव जातास्ति, यया संस्थया शोधरतच्छात्रेभ्यश्चतुर्भ्यः प्रतिवर्षं चतस्रश्छात्रवृत्तयो दास्यन्ते । एका शोधपत्रिकापि प्राकृतापभ्रंशभाषासाहित्यालोचिकाऽस्याः संस्थायाः प्रकाशिता भविष्यति ।

प्रकाशनप्रतिष्ठानानि

प्राकृतजैनशास्त्रस्य जैन-दर्शन-विषयकग्रन्थानाञ्च प्रकाशनस्याधुनिकपद्धत्या सम्पादनं याकोबी–सदृशविद्वद्भिर्विहितम्। सम्प्रति भारतीयज्ञानपीठस्य तत्त्वावधाने मूर्तिदेवी...जैनग्रन्थमाला, माणिकचन्द्रदिगम्बरजैनग्रन्थमाला, सिंधी जैनग्रन्थमाला, जैनसाहित्योद्धारकनिधि–जैनग्रन्थमाला, आत्मानन्द–जैनग्रन्थमाला, जीवराजजैनग्रन्थमाला, वर्णिग्रन्थमाला, दिगम्बरजैनसंघ :–वीरसेवामन्दिर-ट्रस्टः, प्राकृतग्रन्थसमितिः, लालभाई-दलपतभाई–ग्रन्थमाला, पार्श्वनाथविद्याश्रमः, अखिलभारतीयश्वेताम्बर जैनकान्फ्रेन्सः, वीरसेवामन्दिरम्, महावीरभवनम्, प्रभृत्यनेकप्रकाशनसंस्थानानि प्राकृतवाङ्मयस्य

जैनसाहित्यस्य च प्रकाशने तत्पराणि सन्ति । एतेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः संस्थानेभ्यः कतिपयशतकपर्यन्तग्रन्थेषु प्रकाश्यमानेष्वपि साम्प्रतमप्रकाशितसाहित्यमपि विपुलं स्थास्यति । अतो योजनाबद्धरूपेण यावद् ग्रन्थानां प्रकाशनं न संपत्स्यते, तावत्तदप्रकाशितग्रन्थानां प्रकाशनं न शक्यं विद्यते । संस्कृत-प्राकृतापभ्रंश-प्रभृति-भारतीयभाषास्वप्रकाशितग्रन्थानां कतिपयशतकानि सन्ति । एतेषां ग्रन्थानां प्रकाशनेन संस्कृति-साहित्ययोरनेकसमस्यानां समाधानं सुतरां सम्पत्स्यते ।

१९७०–७२ शून्यर्षिनवैक-द्विमुनिनवैकख्रिस्ताब्दयोः प्रगतिः

शून्यर्षिनवैक-द्विमुनिनवैक (१९७०–७२) ख्रिस्ताब्दयोः प्राकृतजैनविषयेषु कतिपये शोधप्रबन्धाः विश्वविद्यालयेषु 'पी. एच., डी.'—उपाधिकृते प्रस्तुताः । शोधार्थिभिरुपाधयो लब्धाश्च। पार्श्वनाथविद्याश्रमस्य तत्त्वावधाने कतिपयैः शोधार्थिभिरुत्तराध्ययनाचाराङ्गादिग्रन्थेषु शोधकार्याणि विहितानि । तत एव च 'उत्तराध्ययनसूत्र-परिशीलनम्' तथा 'जैनफिलासफी' – नामकग्रन्थयोः प्रकाशनमभूत् । वैशालीशोधसंस्थाने कर्पूरमञ्जर्यां समाहिते प्रेम-सौन्दर्य-तत्त्वे तथा जैनसम्बद्धविषयेषु पुराणाचारदर्शनग्रन्थेषु शोधकार्याणि सम्पन्नानि । जबलपुर–विश्वविद्यालये जैनसृष्टिविद्यायामेको महत्त्वपूर्णशोधप्रबन्धः प्रस्तुतो विद्यते । मगधविश्वविद्यालये संस्कृतनाटकेषु जैननाटककाराणां योगदानम्, महाकविहस्तिमल्लः, रविषेणकृतसंस्कृतपद्मचरितस्य काव्यदर्शनभावना च, प्राकृताभिलेखानां वैज्ञानिकपद्धत्याध्ययनम्, प्रभृतयः शोधप्रबन्धाः प्रस्तुताः जाताः । एतेषु शोधप्रबन्धेषु च शोधार्थिभिः पी. एच. डी. उपाधयोऽधिगताः । वाराणसेयहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालये जैनतर्कशास्त्रेऽनुमानविचारविषयोपरि महत्त्वपूर्णशोधप्रबन्धः प्रस्तुतो विद्यते । शोधप्रबन्धायऽस्मा अपि पी. एच. डी. उपाधिरधिगतः । एवं प्रकारेण जैनविषयेषु प्राकृतविषयेषु च विभिन्नविश्वविद्यालयेषु शोधकार्याणि सम्पन्नानि ।

सम्पादन-प्रकाशने

१९६९ ग्रहशास्त्ररसैकख्रिस्ताब्दात् पश्चात् प्राकृतजैनशास्त्रयोः मूर्धन्यविदुषा डॉ. ए. एन. उपाध्ये-महोदयेन कुवलयमालायाः प्रस्तावना (Introduction) टिप्पणीसहिता प्रकाशिता । ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् महत्त्वपूर्णे डॉ. ए. एन. उपाध्येमहोदयेन कुवलयमालायाः समालोचनात्मकमध्ययनं समुपस्थापितम् । प्रारम्भे कुवलयमालायाः हस्तलिखितपाण्डुलिपीनां विशेषतासु च विचारो विहितः। तदनन्तरं कुवलयमालायाः वर्ण्यविषयस्य सविस्तारः परिचयो दत्तो विद्यते । यावन्त्याख्यानानि घटनाश्च कुवलयमालायामङ्किताः सन्ति तेषां तासाञ्च तत्र विश्लेषणं कृतमस्ति । अनन्तरं कुवलयमालायां निहितानां जैनसिद्धान्तानां परिचयः प्रस्तुतोऽस्ति । एतद्ग्रन्थस्य सर्वाधिकं महत्त्वपूर्णं प्रकरणं तत्कालीनसमाजसंस्कृत्योरध्ययनं वर्त्तते । प्रकरणेऽस्मिन्नष्टम-नवमशतकयोः सामाजिक–सांस्कृतिक–मूल्यानां विद्वत्तापूर्वकं तुलनात्मकमध्ययनमस्ति । रचयितुरुद्योतनसूरेः तथा रत्नप्रभस्य संस्कृतकुवलयमालायाश्च परिचयाः प्रदत्ताः सन्ति । डॉ. उपाध्येमहोदयोऽनेकनवीनतथ्यानां प्रथमवारमुद्घाटनं कृतवान् । ग्रन्थान्ते डॉ. वासुदेवशरण–अग्रवालमहोदयेन विहितं कुवलयमालायाः सांस्कृतिममध्ययनमपि संलग्नं विद्यते। अध्ययनेऽस्मिन् डॉ. अग्रवालोऽपि विविधमौलिकविषयेषु चिन्तनं कृतवान् । टिप्पणीषु ग्रन्थस्य रहस्योद्घाटनेन सह प्राकृतसम्बन्धिनीषु विशेषतासु प्रकाशो दत्तो विद्यते । कुवलयमालाया अध्ययनमिदं शोधार्थिभ्यो मार्गदर्शकमस्ति ।

डॉ. उपाध्येमहोदयः 'सप्तशतीसार' नामक – प्राकृतग्रन्थस्य वेमभूपालकृतभावदीपिकया संस्कृतटीकया सहितस्य सम्पादनं कृतवान् । ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् महाकवि–हालस्य गाथासप्तशत्याः सारः

शतगाथासु निवद्धो वर्त्तते । एतस्याः महत्त्वपूर्णायामाङ्गलप्रस्तावनायां मुक्तककाव्यस्य स्वरूप विकासः तत्र च गाथासप्तशत्याः स्थानानि निर्धारितानि । एषा बहुमूल्यरचना कोल्हापुरीय-शिवाजी-विश्वविद्यालयस्य संस्कृतग्रन्थमालायां प्रकाशिता विद्यते ।

डॉ. उपाध्येमहोदयस्यैकापरो तृतीया कृतिः सिद्धसेनदिवाकरग्रन्थसमुच्चयोऽस्ति (The work of Siddhasen Diwakar) अस्मिन् सिद्धर्षिकृतायाः संस्कृतटीकाया आधारे न्यायावतारस्य पाठशोधनं कृतमस्ति । विद्याभूषणस्याङ्गलानुवादोऽपि सहानेन संकलितो विद्यते । परिशिष्टे न्यायकरण्डिकाङ्गलानुवादसहितापि दत्तास्ति । एतस्य ग्रन्थस्य महत्त्वपूर्णोंऽशो विद्यते सिद्धसेनसम्बन्धे लिखितसाहित्यस्य सर्वेक्षणम् । ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रस्तावनायां डॉ. उपाध्येमहोदयेन सिद्धसेनदिवाकरो यापनीयसंघस्याचार्यः प्रमाणीकृतस्तथा स हि दक्षिणनिवासी च कथितः । अतएव सिद्धसेनसम्बन्धिसाहित्याध्ययनायैतस्य महत्त्वं स्पष्टमस्ति । एतत्प्रकाशनं जैनसाहित्यमंडल–बंबई–द्वारा जातम् ।

प्राकृतसाहित्यस्य श्रीवृद्ध्यै वैशाली-शोधसंस्थानस्य योगदानम्

प्राकृतवाङ्मयशोधकार्यातिरिक्तमेतस्य शोधसंस्थानस्यैकं महत्त्वपूर्णं कार्यमस्ति डॉ. हीरालाल जैन–महोदयेन सम्पादितस्य 'सुदंसणचरिउ' ग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशनम् । संस्थानादस्मादन्यान्यपि बहुमूल्यानि कृतित्वानि प्रकाशमायातानि, येषु डॉ. राजारामजैन–लिखितंरइधूसाहित्यस्य समीक्षात्मक मध्ययनम् डॉ. आर. के. चन्द्र–लिखितं पउमचर्य्यस्य समीक्षात्मकमध्ययनञ्च प्राधान्यमावहतः । डॉ. हीरालालजैनोऽपभ्रंशसाहित्यस्य विलक्षणां प्रतिमालङ्करोति । एष महाशय आलोचनाक्षेत्रे सम्पादनविधौ च परमं यशोऽर्जितवानिति नैतत्तिरोहितं विदुषाम् । निश्चयतः प्राकृतजैनाध्ययनक्षेत्रे डॉ. हीरालालजैनस्तथा डॉ. ए. एन. उपाध्ये, द्वावपि विपश्चितावपूर्वविभूती स्तः । एतयोर्लेखनी यस्यां दिशि क्षेत्रे वा यस्मिन् गतिशीला भवति सैव दिक् तत्क्षेत्रं च तन्महनीयतां भजेते । जर्मनविदुषा जैजोफ् डेलू महोदयेन सम्पादितस्य भूमिकासहितस्य "वियाह पण्णति" ग्रन्थस्य ब्रजवेल्ज़े द्वारा प्रकाशनमभूत् । पृष्ठसंख्यास्य ३५८ वर्त्तते । आलोचनात्मकटिप्पण्योऽस्य महत्त्वपूर्णाः सन्ति।

प्राकृतजैनसाहित्यस्याध्ययनक्षेत्रे भारतीयज्ञानपीठस्य कर्तृत्वम्

१९४४ ख्रिस्ताब्दादद्यावधि संस्थेयं प्राकृतसाहित्यस्य महनीयग्रन्थान् प्रकाशयन्त्यायाति । १९६८–७२ वर्षेष्वनेकग्रन्थानां संशोधनं सम्पादनञ्च विधायानयासंस्थया प्रकाशनं विहितम् । अस्यास्तत्त्वावधाने शाकटायनव्याकरणस्य प्रथमवारमालोचनात्मकं संस्करणं प्रस्तुतमस्ति । अस्य ग्रन्थस्यापि सम्पादनं पण्डितश्रीशम्भुनाथ-त्रिपाठिना व्याकरणाचार्येण सप्ततीर्थेन च कृतम् । अस्य महत्त्वपूर्णाङ्गलप्रस्तावना शतपृष्ठात्मिका प्रो. डॉ. आर. विश्वे जर्मनेन लिखिता । प्रस्तावनायामस्यां पारिभाषिकशब्दावल्या, पारिभाषिकसूत्राणाञ्च विवेचनेन सह पाणिनि–कात्यायन-पतञ्जलीनां त्रयाणामाचार्याणामालोके शाकटायनव्याकरणस्य मूल्यनिर्धारणं कृतमस्ति । ग्रन्थपरिशिष्टे । स्त्रीमुक्तिप्रकरणमपि प्रदत्तमस्ति । शाकटायनव्याकरणस्य सूत्रैः सहामोघवृत्तिरपि निबद्धा विद्यते । अस्य ग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशनं भारतीयज्ञानपीठान्तर्गतमूर्तिदेवीग्रन्थमालातत्त्वावधाने जातमस्ति । व्याकरणशास्त्रदृष्ट्या त्वेतस्य ग्रन्थस्य महत्त्वमस्त्येव परं शोधार्थिभ्य एतस्य प्रस्तावनादर्शभूतास्ति । भारतीयज्ञानपीठस्यैकमपरं महत्त्वपूर्णं प्रकाशनं जैनेन्द्रसिद्धान्तकोशोऽस्ति । क्षुल्लकजिनेन्द्रवर्णी अध्ययनशीलश्चिन्तनशीलश्च मनीषी वर्तते । तेनास्मिन् कोषे शब्दानां सङ्कलनमकरादिक्रमेण कुर्वता मूलशब्दानां प्रसङ्गे तत्सम्बद्धविभिन्नविषयाणां विवेचनं कृतम् । ऐतिहासिकक्रमेण मूलग्रंथानां सन्दर्भसंकेतं प्रदाय

विषयाः एवंरूपेण प्रस्तुताः सन्ति, यत् विभिन्नग्रन्थेपूपलब्धा तद्विषयस्य सम्पूर्णा सामग्री एकत्रोपलब्धा भवेत् । कोषस्यास्येदानीमेकमेव खण्डं प्रकाशितं विद्यते, यस्मिन्नादेरारभ्यौकारपर्यन्तं जैनशब्दानां विवेचनात्मकं संकलनमस्ति । शोधार्थिभिः सह स्वाध्यायप्रणयिभ्यः एष ग्रंथः परमोपयोगी वर्तते । श्रूयते–द्वितीयखण्डमप्यस्य प्रकाशमुपगतम् ।

द्विसन्धानमहाकाव्यं प्रथमवारं हिन्द्यनुवादसहितं प्रस्तुतमस्ति । अस्य सम्पादनानुवादौ प्रो. खुशालचन्द्रगोरावाला एम. ए. साहित्याचार्येण कृतौ । अस्य सम्पादकीयलेखः डॉ. श्री. हीरालालजैन-महोदयेन डॉ. श्री. ए. एन्. उपाध्ये–महोदयेन च लिखितः। सम्पादकीये वृत्ते ग्रन्थकारधनञ्जयस्य ग्रन्थस्य च सम्बन्धे विस्तारपूर्वकः प्रकाशो दत्तो विद्यते । धनञ्जयस्य समयनिर्धारणे डॉ. के. बी. पाठक–मैक्समूलर–आर. जी. भण्डारकर—राघवाचारियर–बैंकटसुब्बैयामहोदयानां मतानां समीक्षा विहिता विद्यते । एष ग्रन्थोऽपि भारतीयज्ञानपीठात् प्रकाशितो विद्यते ।

धर्मशर्माभ्युदयनामकमहाकाव्यस्य सम्पादनानुवादौ पण्डितपन्नालालजैन–साहित्याचार्यः कृतवान् । एष महाशयोऽस्य संस्कृत-मातृभाषयोरुभयोरपि टीके लिखितवान् अनयोः टीकयोः ग्रन्थभावः पूर्वरूपेण स्पष्टीकृतो विद्यते । महाकाव्यस्यैतत्संस्करणं नवपाण्डुलिपीराधृत्य कृतं विद्यते । प्रारम्भे महत्त्वपूर्णा, नातिसंक्षिप्ता प्रस्तावनापि वर्तते, यस्यां धर्मशर्माभ्युदयस्य प्रमुखविशेषताभिः सह ग्रंथकर्त्तुः सम्बन्धे पर्याप्ता विचारणा विहिता विद्यते। एतस्यापि ग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशकं भारतीयज्ञान-पीठमेवास्ति ।

" भविसयत्त–कहा तथा अपभ्रंशकथाकाव्य "—शीर्षकशोधप्रबन्धस्य प्रकाशनं ज्ञानपीठस्य लोकोदयग्रन्थमालया कृतम् । एतस्य शोधप्रबन्धस्य लेखकः परिश्रमी तथाध्ययनशीलो युवकोऽस्ति डॉ. देवेन्द्रकुमार–शास्त्री । डॉ. देवेन्द्रकुमारशास्त्रिण एष शोधप्रबन्धः सप्ताध्यायेषु विभक्तो विद्यते। प्रथमाध्यायेऽपभ्रंशभाषापरम्परायाः तद्युगस्य च विवेचनमस्ति । द्वितीयाध्यायेऽपभ्रंशसाहित्यस्य संक्षिप्तं विवेचनं विद्यते, साहित्यिकप्रवृत्तीनाञ्च परिचयो दत्तोऽस्ति। तृतीयाध्याये ' भविसयत्त-कहा ' काव्यस्य विषयवस्तुनो विश्लेषणात्मकः परिचयो दत्तोऽस्ति चतुर्थाध्याये—" विलासवैकहा, जिणयत्तकहा, जिनदत्तचौपाई, सीरिपाल कहा, सिद्धचक्ककहा, सत्तविसणकहा, सुदंसणचरिउ, पउमसीरिचरिउ " प्रभृतीनां परिचयाः प्रस्तुताः सन्ति । पञ्चमाध्यायेऽपभ्रंशकथाकाव्यस्य सामान्यप्रवृत्तीनां, षष्ठे लोकतत्त्वस्य, सप्तमे परम्परायाः प्रभावस्य च विवेचनानि सन्ति । अतोऽतिरिक्तकथानकरूढयोऽपि विवेचिताः विद्यन्ते ।

स्वयम्भूकृतस्य ' पउमचरिउ ' ग्रन्थस्य चतुर्थपञ्चमखण्डयोः मातृभाषानुवादोऽपि डॉ. देवेन्द्र-कुमार जैन, एम. ए पीएच. डी. महोदयेन कृतोऽस्ति । एतत्प्रकाशनमपि ज्ञानपीठेनैव विहितम् ।

वाराणसेयस्य भारतीयज्ञानपीठस्यैकमपरं महत्त्वपूर्णं प्रकाशनं हरिभद्रसूरिकृतः षड्दर्शन-समुच्चयो विद्यते । ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् मूलेन सह गुणरत्नसूरिकृता तर्क–रहस्यदीपिका, सोमतिलकसूरिकृता लघुवृत्तिस्तथाऽज्ञातकर्त्तकावचूर्णिरपि निबद्धाः सन्ति । एतस्य सम्पादनं स्वर्गीयेण डॉ पण्डित-महेन्द्रकुमार जैनेन न्यायाचार्येण कृतम् । प्रस्तावनास्य जैनदर्शनस्य मर्मज्ञविदुषा पं. दलसुखमाल-वणिया–महोदयेन अहमदाबादीयेन लिखिता । ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् बौद्ध–नैयायिक–सांख्य–जैन–वैशेषिक-जैमीनीनां षड्दर्शनानां संकलनमस्ति । इमानि दर्शनानि वैदिकावैदिकयोः द्वयोः वर्गयोः विभक्तानि सन्ति । न्यायाचार्येण पण्डितमहेन्द्रकुमारजी–महोदयेन मातृभाषानुवादेन विवेचनेन च सह

सहस्राधिकग्रन्थानां तुलनात्मिकाः ठिप्पणयोऽपि प्रदत्ताः । प्रस्तावनायां मालवणियामहोदयेन ग्रंथ–ग्रंथकार–टीकाकारसम्बन्धे पूर्णः प्रकाशो दत्तः । एतन्महत्त्वपूर्णग्रन्थप्रकाशनाय भारतीयज्ञानपीठं धन्यवादार्हमस्ति ।

भारतीयज्ञानपीठस्य कन्नडशाखया देवप्पाकवेः ‘ रामविजय ’ नामककाव्यस्य प्रकाशनं कृतम् । ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् रामकथायाः महनीयशैल्यां काव्यात्मकं प्रणयनमभूत् । कविदेवप्पा स्वाभाविकः कविरस्ति । तथा तेन पम्परन्नयोरनुकरणे काव्यमेतत् प्रणीतम् । एतस्य सम्पादकः टी. केशवभट्टः बंगलोरनिवासी वर्त्तते। । तेनाधुनिककन्नडेऽस्य काव्यस्यानुवादोऽपि विहितः। दक्षिणीयभाषाणां काव्यानां प्रकाशनस्यैष प्रयासो ज्ञानपीठस्य परमश्लाघनीयोऽस्ति ।

माणिकचन्द्रदिगम्बरजैनग्रन्थमालायाः तत्त्वावधाने वाराणसेयभारतीयज्ञानपीठेन जैनशिलालेखस्य पञ्चमभागस्य शृंगारार्णवचन्द्रिकायाश्च प्रकाशनं कृतम् । जैनशिलालेखस्य पञ्चमभागस्य सम्पादकः डॉ. विद्याधर–जोहरापुरकरोस्ति । डॉ. जोहरापुरकरोऽस्य ग्रन्थस्य प्रस्तावनायामभिलेखानां महत्त्वेन सह द्राविडसंघ–यापनीयसंघ–वाग्भटसंघ–माथुरसंघ–काष्ठासंघ–मूलसंघानां परिचयान्ते सूरस्थगण–सेनगण–देशिगण–काणूरगण–बलात्कारगणादीनामपि परिचयं दत्तवान् । यैः राजवंशैः जैनधर्म–जैनसाहित्ययो समृद्धौ योगदानं कृतं तेषामपि यथास्थानं निर्देशः कृतो विद्यते । एवं प्रकारेणास्याभिलेखसंग्रहस्य प्रस्तावनायामनेकमहत्त्वपूर्णविषयाणां परिज्ञानं भवति । संग्रहेऽस्मिन् पञ्चसप्तत्युत्तरत्रिशतसंख्याका अभिलेखाः सन्ति ।

श्रृङ्गारार्णवचन्द्रिकायाः सम्पादकः डॉ. वामन महादेव कुलकर्णी वर्तते । प्रारम्भे पञ्चषष्टिसंख्यात्मिकायामाङ्गलभूमिकायां ग्रन्थ–ग्रंथकारविजयवर्णिसम्बन्धेविस्तृतः प्रकाशो दत्तोऽस्ति । ग्रन्थो दशाध्यायेषु विभक्तो विद्यते । वर्णगणफलनिर्णयकाव्यगतशब्दार्थनिश्चय–वृत्तिनिश्चय–शैयापाकनिश्चय–अलङ्कारनिर्णय–दोषगुणनिर्णयाः विभागाः सन्ति । परिशिष्टेऽकारादिपद्यक्रमसूच्यनन्तरं तुलनात्मिकाः ग्रन्थ–टिप्पणयः सन्ति । यासु भामह–वाग्भट्टामृतानन्दयोग्यादिभिः सह तुलना कृता विद्यते । एष लघुकायग्रन्थोऽलङ्कार-शास्त्रविकासक्रमावगत्यै परमोपयोगी वर्तते ।

भारतीयज्ञानपीठेन “ संस्कृतकाव्य के विकासमें जैनकवियोंका योगदान ” — शीर्षकः शोधप्रबन्धः प्रकाशितः । प्राचीनभारतीयवाङ्मयस्यानुसन्धानदिशि एष एको मौलिकप्रयत्नोस्ति । ग्रंथः सप्ताध्यायेषु विभक्तो विद्यते । प्रथमाध्याये संस्कृतकाव्यानां विकासः, जैनकाव्यानां तेषु स्थानम्, संस्कृतश्रेण्यकाव्यापेक्षया जैनकाव्यानां भिन्नताः तथा मौलिकतास्तथाविधाक्रमेण संस्कृत–जैनकाव्यानां विकासस्येतिवृत्तानि निबद्धानि । द्वितीयाध्याये दशमशतकपर्यन्तं चरितनामान्तमहाकाव्यानां विश्लेषणं विवेचितं विद्यते । तृतीयाध्याये एकादशशतकादारभ्य चतुर्दशशतकपर्यन्तं चरितनामान्तमहाकाव्यानां कथावस्तूनि, कथास्रोतांसि, रसयोजना, प्रकृतिचित्रणम्, तथान्यसंस्कृतकवीनां काव्यैः सह तुलनात्मकविवेचनानि प्रस्तुतानि सन्ति । चतुर्थाध्याये धर्मशर्माभ्युदय–नेमिनिर्वाण जयन्तविजय–नरनारायणानन्द–पद्मानन्द–महाकाव्यानां तुलनात्मकविवेचनं कृतमस्ति । पञ्चमाध्याये सप्तसन्धान–हम्मीरमहाकाव्यानां तथा महत्त्वपूर्णाभिलेखानां काव्यात्मकमैतिहासिकञ्च मूल्यं निर्धारितमस्ति । षष्ठाध्याये क्षत्रचूडामणि–शत्रुञ्जयमहाकाव्य–सुदर्शनचरित–यशोधरचरित–जैनकुमारसम्भव–महीपालचरित– पार्श्वाभ्युदय – जैनमेघदूत–नेमिदूत–शीलदूत–पवनदूत–स्तोत्रकाव्यानाञ्चानुशीलनं विद्यते । सप्तमाध्याये संस्कृत–जैनकाव्यानामान्तरिकानुशीलनेन सह प्रेमतत्त्व–सौन्दर्यतत्त्व–कामतत्त्व–राजनीतितत्त्व–धर्मदर्शनतत्त्व–शिक्षा–संस्कृतितत्त्वानाञ्च विश्लेषणं वर्त्तते ।

भारतीयज्ञानपीठात् द्विसप्तनवैकेऽब्दे "अपभ्रंशभाषा-साहित्यकी शोधप्रवृत्तियाँ" शीर्षकग्रन्थः प्रकाशितो विद्यते। ग्रन्थोऽयं डॉ. देवेन्द्रकुमारशास्त्रिणा व्यलेखि। ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् लेखकेनापभ्रंश-प्राकृतयोः सम्बन्धं संस्थाप्य तदनन्तरं प्रकाशितापभ्रंशविषयकशोधनिबन्धप्रबन्धग्रन्थानां सूचनाऽङ्किताऽस्ते।

वर्णिग्रन्थमालायाः प्रकाशितसंस्कृत-प्राकृतग्रंथानां विवरणम्

प्रायेण विगतपञ्चदशवर्षावधौ वर्णिग्रन्थमालया पञ्चाध्यायी तत्त्वार्थसूत्रविवेचना-समयसार-आदिपुराण में प्रतिपादित भारत'–सदृशमहत्त्वपूर्णग्रन्थानां संशोधन–सम्पादन–प्रकाशनानि विहितानि। प्राकृतजैनसाहित्यदृष्ट्या ग्रन्थमालाया अस्या महत्त्वमनुपेक्षणीयं वर्तते। डॉ. दरबारीलाल-कोठियामहोदयस्य प्रयासेनेयं संस्था प्रकाशनकार्ये विशेषरूपेण तत्परा दिनानुदिनं श्वयन्त्यस्ति।

श्रीअमृतचन्द्रसूरिकृत "तत्त्वार्थसारः" वाराणसेयश्रीगणेशप्रसादवर्णिग्रंथमालायाः प्रकाशनमस्ति। ग्रंथस्यास्य सम्पादको बहुश्रुतो विद्वान् पण्डितश्रीः पन्नालाल–साहित्याचार्योऽस्ति। अस्य सम्पादनेन सह मातृभाषानुवादोऽपि विहितोऽस्ति। प्रारम्भे अष्टत्रिंशत्पृष्ठात्मिका महत्त्वपूर्णा प्रस्तावना विद्यते, यस्यां ग्रन्थस्य ग्रन्थकारस्य चाध्यायनं वर्तते। ग्रन्थोऽष्टाधिकारेषु विभक्तोऽस्ति। प्रथमाधिकारे सम्यग्दर्शनादीनां स्वरूपेण सह तद्विषयभूतजीवादिसप्ततत्त्वानां विशदं वर्णनं वर्त्तते। द्वितीयाधिकारे जीवस्यौपशमिक-क्षायोपशमिकौदयिकपारिणामिकपञ्चभावानां तृतीयेऽजीवतत्त्वस्य चतुर्थे आस्रवतत्त्वस्य पञ्चमे बन्धतत्त्वस्य षष्ठे संवरतत्त्वस्य सप्तमे निर्जरस्तत्त्वस्याष्टमे च मोक्षतत्त्वस्य वर्णनानि सन्ति।

कुन्दकुन्दाचार्यस्य समयसारोपरि आध्यात्मिकसन्तश्रीगणेशप्रसादवर्णिलिखितप्रवचनभाष्यस्य प्रकाशनमपि वर्णिग्रंथमालया कृतमस्ति। यद्यपि समयसारोपरि सम्प्रत्यनेकभाष्यटीकाः प्रकाशिताः सन्ति, परं निश्चयनय-व्यवहारनययोः समन्वयकारणात् ग्रंथस्यास्य विशेषमूल्यमस्ति। सत्प्ररूपणा-सूत्रस्य मातृभाषानुवादः शंकासमाधानञ्च सिद्धान्ताचार्येण पण्डितकैलाशचन्द्रशास्त्रिणा, प्रधानाचार्येण, वाराणसेय-स्याद्वादमहाविद्यालयस्य, विहिते स्तः। एषोऽनुवादः शङ्कासमाधानञ्च वीरसेनाचार्यस्य धवलाटीकामाधृत्य कृते विद्येते। वाराणसेयवर्णिग्रन्थमालया एतद्ग्रंथं प्रकाश्याप्राप्यधवला-प्रथमपुस्तकस्यांशिकी पूर्त्तिर्विहिता। पण्डितकैलाशशास्त्री सिद्धान्तविषयस्य विशेषज्ञतामर्हति। अतो ग्रन्थस्सर्वदृष्ट्योपयोगी वर्तते।

प्राकृतजैनाध्यनदिशि वीरसेवामन्दिरट्रस्टस्य साहित्य-प्रणयनम्

विगतद्वित्रिवर्षेभ्यः वीरसेवामन्दिरट्रस्टोऽपि ग्रन्थप्रकाशनकार्यं कुर्वन्नस्ति। अनया संस्थया सर्वप्रथमं न्यायाचार्यस्य डॉ. दरबारीलालकोठियामहोदयस्य—"जैन तर्कशास्त्र में अनुमान विचार" शीर्षकशोध–प्रबन्धस्य प्रकाशनमकारि। डॉ. कोठिया-महोदयो जैनशास्त्रस्य प्रतिभासम्पन्नो मनीषी विद्वानस्ति। एषा रचना पञ्चाध्यायेषु द्वादशपरिच्छेदेषु च विभक्ता विद्यते। लेखकेन सहानुभूतिपूर्वकं वात्स्यायनोद्योतकर-धर्मकीर्ति-धर्मोत्तरार्चटादितार्किकानां मान्यतायाः समीक्षां कुर्वता जैन-न्यायस्य प्रतिपादनं कृतम्। एतस्याः संस्थायाः द्वितीयग्रन्थः लोकविजययन्त्रनामकः प्रकाशितो विद्यते। एष प्राकृतभाषायां लिखितोऽस्ति। अयं ग्रंथः ज्यौतिषविषयको विद्यते। व्यक्त्यपेक्षयास्मिन् राष्ट्र–देश–नगर–ग्रामाणां फलादेशः निष्कासितोऽस्ति। विषयदृष्ट्या ग्रंथोऽपूर्वो विद्यते। भारतीयज्यौतिषे एतत्समकक्षाऽन्या रचना नास्ति। ग्रन्थे त्रिंशद्गाथाः सन्ति। भाषादृष्ट्या ग्रन्थः परमः प्राचीनोऽस्ति।

'वीरसेवामन्दिर-ट्रस्टतः' पण्डित-कैलाशचन्द्रसिद्धान्ताचार्यस्य प्रमाणनयनिक्षेपनामको ग्रन्थः प्रकाशितो विद्यते। ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् जैनसिद्धान्तस्य महत्त्वपूर्णविषयस्य प्रमाणनयनिक्षेपस्य च विशदं विवेचनं विहितमस्ति। अध्ययनेनास्य ग्रन्थस्य जैनसिद्धान्तस्योक्तानां त्रयाणामपि महत्त्वपूर्णविषयाणां ज्ञानं जायते।

अस्या एव संस्थायाः समन्तभद्रविरचितस्य रत्नकरण्डश्रावकाचारस्योपरि प्रभाचन्द्रविहीतायाः संस्कृतटीकायाः पन्नालाल-साहित्याचार्य-सम्पादितं समूलहिन्दीरूपान्तरं प्रकाशितं वर्तते। प्रभाचन्द्रस्य संस्कृतटीकायाः आचार्यश्री जुगलकिशोर-मुख्तारसम्पादितं प्रकाशनं सुरुचिपूर्णं माणिकचन्द्रग्रन्थमालातोऽभवत्। टीकेयमद्यावध्यनुपलब्धासीत्। इदानीमेतस्याः प्रकाशनेन हिन्दीरूपान्तरेण च शोधार्थिनां शोधकार्येषु सौकर्यमायास्यति। आचार्यप्रभाचन्द्रेण टीकायामस्यां यासां कथानां समावेशो विहितः, तासां कथानां सांस्कृतिकतत्त्वदृष्ट्या विशेषमहत्त्वमस्ति। कथाः पौराणिक्यः सत्त्योऽपि दशमैकादशशत्योः भारतीयसंस्कृतेः पूर्णतयाऽभिव्यञ्जिकाः सन्ति। एवं रीत्या वीरसेवामन्दिरट्रस्टेन प्राकृतजैनदर्शनसम्बन्धिसाहित्यस्य प्रकाशनं विधाय जैनाध्ययनाय गतिशीलता प्रदत्ता।

श्रीलालभाई-दलपतभाई भारतीयसंस्कृतिविद्यामन्दिरस्यावदानम्

विगतकतिपयवर्षेभ्य एतत्संस्थया जैनसाहित्यस्यानेकमहत्त्वपूर्णग्रन्थाः प्रकाशिताः। एतस्य निदेशकस्य पं. दलसुखमालवणियामहोदयस्य तत्त्वावधानेऽद्ययावत् पञ्चत्रिंशत् ग्रन्थाः प्रकाशिताः। इमे सर्वे ग्रन्थाः शोधार्थिभ्यो महत्त्वपूर्णा उपयोगिनश्च सन्ति। एतया संस्थया जैनागमेषु टीकाग्रन्थोपरि च विशेषरूपेण शोधकार्याणि सम्पद्यन्ते। अनेकप्राचीनग्रन्थानामालोचनात्मकसंस्करणानि प्रस्तुतानि विद्यन्ते।

शून्यर्षिनवैके तथैकर्षिरसैके ख्रिस्ताब्दे श्रीलालभाईदलपतभाईभारतीयसंस्कृतिविद्यामन्दिरतः श्री. एम्. सी. मोदी तथा डॉ. एच् सी. भयाणी महोदयौ स्वसम्पादकत्वे हरिभद्रस्य 'नेमिनाहचरिउ' ग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशनं कृतवन्तौ। एवमेव डॉ. श्रीमत्याः रत्नाश्रेयान्-महोदयायाः शोधप्रबन्ध :– "ए क्रिटिकल् स्टडी ऑफ् महापुराण ऑफ् पुष्पदन्त" शीर्षकस्तत एव प्रकाशितो विद्यते। अस्मिन् प्रबन्धे पुष्पदन्तस्य देश्यानान्तथान्यापूर्वशब्दानां व्युत्पत्तिमूलकमध्ययनं प्रस्तुतमस्ति। देशिशब्दानां परिज्ञानदृष्ट्या एष शोधप्रबन्धो विशेषोपयोगी वर्तते। डॉ. के. के. दीक्षितलिखिताङ्ग्लानुवादसहितस्य हरिभद्रस्य योगदृष्टिसमुच्चयस्य प्रकाशिकापि संस्थैषा वर्तते। डॉ. मोहनलालमेहता डॉ. के. आर. चन्द्रासम्पादितः प्राकृत-व्यक्तिवाचकसंज्ञाकोषः (Dictionary of Prakrit Proper Names) प्रथमभागात्मकः तथा जैनकथासाहित्यनामको ग्रंथः डॉ. जगदीशचन्द्रजैनलिखितो विद्यते। डॉ. के. के. दीक्षितेन जैनतत्त्वमीमांसायाः रचना विहिता। एतेषां महत्त्वपूर्णग्रंथानां प्रकाशनमपि तत एव जातमस्ति।

प्राकृतग्रन्थपरिषदः प्रकाशनम्

प्राकृतग्रन्थपरिषदः षोडशमहत्त्वपूर्णग्रन्थाः प्रकाशिताः। शून्यसप्तनवैकख्रिस्ताब्दात् द्विसप्तनवैकख्रिस्ताब्दं यावत् प्रकाशितग्रन्थेषु डॉ. हीरालालजैनमहोदयानां सम्पादकत्वे "श्रीचन्द्रस्यापभ्रंशकथाकोसु" ग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशनं महत्त्वमावहति। डॉ. महोदयैः महत्त्वपूर्णप्रस्तावनया सहालोचनात्मकपाठाः स्वविस्तृतटिप्पणयश्चाङ्किताः। ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रकाशनेन भारतीयाख्यानसाहित्यस्य महत्त्वं लक्ष्यते। अन्यग्रन्थः 'वज्जालग्गं' नामकः प्रकाशितो विद्यते। एतस्य सम्पादनं डॉ. पट्टवर्द्धनेनाकारि। डॉ.

पट्टवर्द्धनः स्वविस्तृताङ्गलप्रस्तावनायां मुक्तककाव्यपरम्परामुद्‌घाटितवान् । 'वज्जालग्ग'स्य विभिन्नशब्दानां व्युत्पत्तिस्तदर्थाश्चोट्टङ्किताः । समस्तग्रन्थानामाङ्गलानुवादोऽपि विहितः । अनयैव संस्थयाचार्यप्रद्युम्नसूरेः 'मूलशुद्धिप्रकरण' ग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशनं देवचन्द्रकृतटीकासहितं विहितम् । सम्पादनकार्यं पण्डितामृतलालभोजकेन व्यधायि ।

दिल्ली-वीरसेवामन्दिरस्य प्रकाशनम्

अस्याः संस्थाया अद्य यावत् कतिपयग्रन्थानां प्रकाशनमभूत् । द्विसप्तनवैके खिस्ताब्दे 'जैनलक्षणावली' नामकस्य जैनपारिभाषिकशब्दस्य प्रकाशनं जातमस्ति । अयं ग्रन्थः पण्डितबालचन्द्रेण सिद्धान्तशास्त्रिणा सम्पादितो वर्तते । जैनलक्षणावल्याः कार्यं द्वित्रिनवैके खिस्ताब्दे आचार्यश्रीजुगलकिशोर-मुख्तारस्य तत्त्वावधाने प्रारब्धमासीत् । आंशिकपूर्तिर्यस्य श्रीबालचन्द्रसिद्धान्तशास्त्रिणा कृता । एतल्लक्षणावल्याः प्रथमखण्डमस्ति ! अस्मिन्नोकारपर्यन्तपारिभाषिकशब्दानां भावार्थपूर्वकलक्षणानि चतुश्शतदिगम्बरश्वेताम्बर-सम्प्रदायीयग्रन्थानां प्रमाणैः सहितानि समुपस्थापितानि । ग्रन्थ एषोऽनुसन्धानकृते तु उपयोगी वर्तत एव, तत्त्वजिज्ञासुभ्योऽपि नास्योपयोगिताऽल्पा विद्यते । प्रस्तावनायां ग्रन्थपरिचयः परिशिष्टे च ग्रन्थकाराणामनुक्रमणिका च अंकिते स्तः । यतो ग्रन्थस्यास्योपयोगिताऽधिका वृद्धिमती लक्ष्यते ।

सोलापुरीयजीवराजग्रन्थमालायाः प्रकाशितसाहित्यम्

सोलापुरीया श्री. जीवराजग्रन्थमाला तिसृणामपि-हिन्दी-मराठी-कन्नड-भाषाणामार्षग्रन्थान् प्रकाशयन्ती विद्यते । ग्रन्थमालाया अस्या अद्ययावत् प्रायो द्वाविंशतिहिन्दीग्रन्थानां, त्रयाणां कन्नडग्रन्थानां तथैकत्रिंशत्मराठीभाषाग्रन्थानां च प्रकाशनमभवत् । रामाब्धिरसैके खिस्ताब्दे, मुनिचन्द्रविरचित 'विद्वन्मनोवल्लभाख्या'-ख्यानेन गुणनन्दिकृतपंजिकया, हिन्दीरूपान्तरेण च सहितस्य 'चन्द्रप्रभचरितस्य' प्रकाशनं पण्डितअमृतलालशास्त्रिजैनदर्शनसाहित्याचार्यस्य सम्पादकत्वेऽजनि । ग्रन्थस्यास्योभेऽपि संस्कृतटीकेऽद्ययावदप्रकाशिते एवास्ताम् । अनेनालोचनात्मकप्रकाशनेन काव्यशास्त्राध्येतृभिः महत्त्वपूर्णग्रन्थ उपलब्धः । श्रीअमृतलालजी-महोदयेन मूलानुसारमनूद्य ग्रन्थ एषः सरलः सरसश्च व्यधायि । प्रस्तावनायां रचयितुः रचनायाश्च परिचयस्तु दत्त एव, काव्यात्मकविशेषता अपि प्रतिपादिताः सन्ति ।

द्विसप्तनवैके खिस्ताब्देऽस्या एव ग्रन्थमालायाः डॉ. श्री. राजारामजैनसम्पादितायाः रइधग्रन्थावल्याः प्रकाशनं जातमस्ति । अस्यां महाकवेः रइधोः 'पासणाहचरिउ'–'सुकोसलचरिउ'-ग्रन्थयोः संग्रहो विद्यते । डॉ. श्री. राजारामजैनेन कतिपयपाण्डुलिपीराधृत्य तत्कृत्योः संशोधनसम्पादने तु कृत एव, परं हिन्द्यनुवादं विधाय तदध्ययनीयताऽपादिता । ग्रन्थमालेयं समस्तरइधुसाहित्यस्य कतिपयभागेषु प्रकाशनं विधास्यति ।

कतिपयान्यसंस्थानां प्राकृताध्ययनदिशि प्रकाशनकार्याणि

बह्व्य एतादृश्योऽपि प्रकाशनसंस्थाः सन्ति, यासां प्राकृताध्ययनदिशि विकीर्णप्रकाशनान्यपि समधिकमूल्यमावहन्ति । एतेषु प्रकाशनेषु सर्वप्रथमं पार्श्वनाथ-विद्याश्रमः वाराणसेयः, दिगम्बरजैनसंघः मथुरास्थश्च विशेषमहत्त्वपूर्णौ गण्येते ।

पार्श्वनाथविद्याश्रमतः जैनसाहित्यस्य बृहदितिहासस्य पञ्चमखण्डं लाक्षणिकसाहित्यं प्रकाशितमस्ति । खण्डेऽस्मिन् व्याकरणकोशालङ्कारच्छन्दोनाट्यसंगीतकलागणित-ज्यौतिषशकुननिमित्त-

स्वप्नसामुद्रिकरमललक्षणायार्धकोष्ठकायुर्वेदनीतिशास्त्र-शिल्पशास्त्र–रत्नशास्त्र–मुद्राशास्त्र–धातुविज्ञान-प्राणिविज्ञानादिविषयकग्रन्थानां संक्षिप्तपरिचयः प्रस्तुतो विद्यते। शोध–प्रबन्धानां प्रकाशनमपि संस्थाया अस्या जातमस्ति। इमे सर्वे ग्रन्थाः प्राकृतजैन–विषयकसाहित्यस्य ज्ञानदृष्ट्या महत्त्वपूर्णाः सन्ति। दिगम्बरजैनसंघात् मथुरास्थितात् कसायपाहुडस्य द्वादशभागः प्रकाशितोऽस्ति। एतस्य सम्पादनं पण्डितफूलचन्द्रसिद्धान्तशास्त्रिणा पण्डितकैलाशचन्द्रजी–शास्त्रिणा च कृतम्। इमौ द्वावपि विद्वांसौ कर्मप्राभृतशास्त्रस्य विशेषज्ञौ स्तः। ग्रन्थारम्भे त्रिचत्वारिंशत्पृष्ठानां प्रस्तावनास्ति, यस्यां ग्रन्थस्य विषयस्य पूर्णतया स्पष्टीकरणमस्ति। अन्यरचनासु 'भरत और भारत' नामकग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशनं बडौत–दिगम्बर-कॉलेजतो जातमस्ति। अस्य लघुकायग्रन्थस्य लेखकः डॉ. प्रेमसागरजैनोऽस्ति तथास्मिन् ब्रह्माण्डपुराणाग्निपुराणमार्कण्डेयपुराणनारदपुराण–श्रीमद्भागवतपुराणादिषु प्रतिपादित-भरतविषयकोद्धरणानां संकलनं कृत्वा भरतस्य व्यक्तित्वस्य स्वरूपाङ्कनं कृतमस्ति। एतस्मिन् कथित-मस्ति यदेतस्य 'भारतनाम' भरतचक्रवर्त्तिनो नामोपरि जातम्। शोधप्रबन्धेषु दलसुखमालवणिया-महोदयस्य प्रज्ञापना तथा षटखण्डागमशीर्षकशोधप्रबन्धः 'जरनल ऑफ दी महाराजा सयाजीराव युनिवार्सिटी ऑफ बड़ौदा', भाग १९ संख्या १०२ मध्ये प्रकाशितौ स्तः। निबन्धेऽस्मिम् चिन्त-को मनीषी पण्डितमालवणियामहोदयः प्रज्ञापनायाः षट्खण्डागमस्य च कतिपयकथनेषु समानतां तथा प्रज्ञापनां तृतीयशतकात् चतुर्थशतकाच्च पूर्ववर्तिनीं कथयन् षटखण्डागमं तद्दणिनं स्वीकृतवान्। एतस्योत्तरं श्रीकैलाशचन्द्रशास्त्रिमहोदयः सत्प्ररूपणासूत्रस्य भूमिकायां लिखितवान्। गोहाटी विश्वविद्यालयस्य पत्रे डॉ. श्रीनथमलजी–टाटियामहोदयस्य 'दार्शनिकविचारों का वाहन' शीर्षकः प्राकृतनिबन्धः प्रकाशितो वर्तते। निबन्धो महत्त्वपूर्णोऽस्ति तथानेकनवीनसूचनाभिर्युक्तो विद्यते।

प्राकृतसंगोष्ठ्यः

विगतद्वयोः वर्षयोः प्राकृतविषयस्य गम्भीराध्ययनस्य प्रोत्साहनकृत एकस्या सगोष्ठ्याः आयोजनं विश्वविद्यालयानुदानायोगस्य सहयोगेन बोधगयामगधविश्वविद्यालयस्य परिवारे द्वाविंशत्तम-मार्चादारभ्य पञ्चविंशत्तममार्चपर्यन्तम्, एकर्षिरसैकखिस्ताब्दे तथान्यस्या आयोजनञ्च बंबईविश्व-विद्यालयस्य तत्त्वावधाने विश्वविद्यालयस्यानुदानस्य सहयोगेनैवाक्टूबर सन् १९७१ वर्षे जाते। अनयोरुभयोरपि संगोष्ठ्योः प्राकृतसाहितस्य मूर्धन्यविद्वद्भिः सम्मिलितैः स्वशोधपूर्णनिबन्धानां पाठोऽकारि। मगधविश्वविद्यालये समायोजितायाः अस्याः गोष्ठ्याः कार्यविवरणं मुद्रितमस्ति। अस्याः गोष्ठ्याः सञ्चालने दर्शनविभागाध्यक्षस्य डॉ. या. मसीह महोदयस्य तथा हिन्दीविभागाध्य-क्षस्य डॉ. कुँवरचन्द्रप्रकाशसिंह–महोदयस्य महत्त्वपूर्णं योगदानमस्ति। तत्कालीनोपकुलपतिमान्यवर-श्रीगोपालप्रसादमहोदयस्य च तद्गोष्ठ्याः प्रवर्तने श्लाघनीया भूमिकापि नोपेक्षणीया।

नवानां पत्राणां प्रकाशनम्

अतीतवर्षेषु प्रकाशितपत्रपत्रिकाभिः सह द्वयोः नवीनपत्रयोः प्रकाशनं प्रारब्धमस्ति। इमे द्वेऽपि पत्रे इन्दौरतः प्रकाशिते वर्तेते। अनयोरेकं 'तीर्थंकर' नामकं पत्रमस्ति। यज्जैनविषयान् सार्वजनीनरूपेण प्राञ्जलपरिमार्जितशैल्यां प्रस्तौति। अस्य सम्पादकः डॉ. नेमिचन्द्रजैनोऽस्ति। पत्रमुपयोगि सदपि स्वोद्देश्यात्किञ्चिद्दूरे स्थितमस्ति। तीर्थंकरवाण्याः येन रूपेण यादृशं प्रस्तुती-करणमपेक्ष्यते, तादृशं न जायते। अस्मादेव नगरात् प्रकाश्यमानं द्वितीयं पत्रं 'सम्मति–वाणी' अस्ति। एतस्य पत्रस्यावलोकनेनैवमवगम्यते यत् तीर्थंकरस्यानुकरणोपरि अनेनापि स्वकायापरि-वर्तनमकारि। नामानुसारमेतत् 'सन्मति–वाणी'—पत्रमपि स्वरूपस्य यथार्थप्रकाशनेऽसमर्थं

प्रतीयते । अस्य पत्रस्य प्रधानसम्पादकः पण्डितनाथूलालजीशास्त्रिमहोदयोऽस्ति । इमे द्वेऽपि पत्रे मामाशान्वितं कुरुतः ।

जैनसाहित्यस्य प्रचारकं मुनिद्वयम् :

एवं तु प्राकृतजैनवाङ्मयस्याध्ययने सर्वे त्यागिनः मुनयः स्वसहयोगं प्रददति । परमाचार्य-तुलसीगणिस्तथाध्यात्मसन्तः कांञी स्वामी स्वदृष्ट्यागमसाहित्यस्य प्रकाशने प्रगतिशीलौ स्तः । परमुपाध्यायमुनि–श्रीअमरचन्द्रः आगरास्थस्तथा विद्यानन्दमहाराजः प्राकृतजैनसाहित्यं सार्वजनिक-रूपेण प्रस्तुतं कुरुतः । मुनिश्रीअमरचन्द्रजी उपाध्यायः सार्वजनिकप्रवचनैः सह ग्रन्थान् रचितवान्। विद्यानन्दजी–महाराजस्य “ विश्वधर्म के दस लक्षण ” तथा “ विश्वधर्म के मंगल पाठ ” और “ पिच्छी कमण्डलु ” रचनाः सार्वजनिक-दृष्ट्या उपयोगिन्यः सन्ति ।

नवसम्भावनाः

प्राकृत-जैनशास्त्रयोरध्ययनदिश्यनेकसम्भावनाः सन्ति । इदानीं यावत् साहित्यं प्रकाशमागत-मस्ति ततस्सहस्रगुणितं ग्रन्थभाण्डारेऽप्रकाशितं विद्यते । जैनशास्त्राणां मुख्याधारस्सप्तभङ्गीपद्धति-रस्ति या विभिन्नदृष्टिकोणैः सत्यमुपस्थापयति विचारवैविध्यमेकधरातले समुपस्थाप्य समन्वयात्मकजीवनविश्लेषणमेवास्याः पद्धत्याः विशेषता वर्तते । साहित्यकाराणामुदारविचाराः अनेकान्तसिद्धान्तालोके एव विकसिताः सन्ति । प्रारम्भादेव जैनवाङ्मये जनक्रान्ति-र्लक्ष्यते तथापि श्रेण्यप्रवृत्तयः पूर्णरूपेण वर्त्तमानाः सन्ति । सत्यपि दर्शनविशेषे जैनदर्शनं साम्प्रदायिकं न भवितुं शक्नोति । यतस्साहित्येऽनिवार्यतः कस्या अपि दृष्टेः दर्शनस्याथवा प्रतिफलं तिष्ठति । यदि दर्शनविशेषकारणात् जैनवाङ्मयं साम्प्रदायिकं मन्येत, तदा वर्तमानसमाजवादि-साहित्यमथवा कस्मिन्नप्यन्यस्मिन् कालखण्डे निर्मितसाहित्यमपि साम्प्रदायिकं स्यात् । संस्कृते लिखिता दर्शन–न्यायशास्त्रविषयकाः जैनग्रन्थाः भारतीयचिन्तनस्याध्ययनकृते तथैवोपयोगिनोऽसम्प्र-दायिकाश्च सन्ति, यथा न्यायसांख्यवैशेपिकयोगमीमांसावेदान्तादिदर्शनैः सम्बद्धाः ग्रन्थाः सन्ति अथवा भारतीयदर्शनाधृताः लिखिताः आधुनिकग्रन्थाः सन्ति। एतदतिरिक्ताः मन्त्र–तन्त्र–पूजा–पाठ–प्रतिष्ठा–व्रतानुष्ठान–मुनिचर्या–गृहस्थचर्या –लोकालोकवर्णन–काव्य–व्याकरण–नाटकालङ्कार–ज्यौतिषा-दिविषयैः सम्बद्धाः अनेके ग्रन्थाः प्राप्ताः सन्ति । एतेषां ग्रन्थानां संशोधनं प्रकाशनञ्च शीघ्रमपेक्ष्यते । यतः भारतीयसंस्कृतेः वास्तिविकं ज्ञानं जैनवाङ्मयस्याध्ययनं विनाऽपूर्णमस्ति ।

जैनवाङ्मयं विश्वशान्तेस्तथा विश्वमैत्र्याः आधारभूतसिद्धान्तानां प्रतिनिधित्वं करोति । भ्रष्टाचारनैतिकतयोरवरोधाय साहित्येऽस्मिन् व्यक्तविचाराः कर्त्तव्यानि च नितान्तमुपयोगीनि सन्ति। भूतदया–गुणवाद–प्रेम शान्ति–समत्व–प्रचारेण देशे नैतिकतायाः प्रतिष्ठा भवितुं शक्नोति । अतएव शोधग्रंथैस्सह सार्वजनिकोपयोगिग्रन्थानां निर्माणमप्यावश्यकमस्ति ।

प्राकृतिकभाषा–वाङ्मयस्य मूलभाषा विद्यते । एतस्याः भाषायाः उत्तरकालीनं विकसितरूपम-पभ्रंशोऽस्ति । जैनाचार्यैरनयोः द्वयोः भाषयोः विपुलसाहित्यं प्रणीतम् । सम्प्रति प्राकृतापभ्रंशाध्ययने ध्यानं नाधीयते । भाषादृष्ट्या प्राकृतापभ्रंशयोरध्ययनाभावे संस्कृताध्ययनमप्यपूर्णमस्ति । अतएव भारतीयविश्वविद्यालयेषु संस्कृतपाल्यध्ययनसदृशं प्राकृताध्ययनमप्यावश्यकं विद्यते । मान्यसदस्यै-रस्यां दिशि विशेषप्रयत्नशीलैर्भाव्यम्, यतः प्रत्येकविश्वविद्यालये प्राकृतभाषायाः अध्ययनाध्या-पनयोः व्यवस्था भवेत् ।

अस्माकं सविधौ प्राचीन-प्राकृत-जैन-शास्त्रविषयकरचनानां सम्पादनानुवाद-प्रकाशनानि जायमानानि सन्ति। परं नवसाहित्य-निर्माणदिशि विदुषां ध्यानं न विद्यते। अत एव काव्य-नाटकोपन्यास-कथा-काव्यादीनां प्राकृत-संस्कृत-हिन्दी-मराठी-गुजराती-तमिल-कन्नडादि-भाषासु निर्माणं परमावश्यकमस्ति। शोधकार्य-सदृशमेव नववाङ्मयरचनासु विदुषां ध्यानाकर्षणं परमावश्यकं वर्तते।

जैनदर्शनालोके चार्वाकदर्शनस्य मूलसिद्धान्तानां संकलनं कर्तुं शक्यते। अतएव प्राचीनदर्शनानां मूलसन्दर्भाणां संकलनमपेक्षितमस्ति, प्राकृतजैनवाङ्मये शोधार्थं महत्यः सम्भावनाः सन्ति।

अहमन्ते भवतां सर्वेषामाभारं स्वीकरोमि, यैरेषोऽवसरः प्रदत्तः। मया भवतां समक्षं प्राकृत-जैनवाङ्मयाध्ययनप्रगत्याः संक्षिप्तमितिवृत्तं समुपस्थापितम्। त्रुटीनां संभावनास्ति, तदर्थं पुनः पुनः क्षमा प्रार्थ्यते।

HISTORY SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

PROF. K. D. BAJPAI, SAGAR.

Friends and Co-workers,

It is a great honour to be called upon to preside over the History Section of the 26th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. I feel sincerely grateful to the organisers of the Conference for this distinction conferred on me. It is my privilege to welcome you, my fellow historians at Ujjayini, one of the most celebrated cultural centres of India. It is in the fitness of things that the Vikram University has invited us to meet at this seat of learning to exchange our ideas for the common purpose of reconstruction of the history of our great land.

The All-India Oriental Conference and the Indian History Congress have largely contributed to the various branches of Indological researches. The historical studies have no doubt received the lion's share. The Proceedings of the sessions of these two bodies, so far published, indicate that the entire field of Indian history, in its widest sense, has been dealt with by distinguished scholars in their Presidential addresses and papers.

I do not want to tax your patience by giving detailed accounts of historical researches conducted in various parts of the country and outside during the previous years. I would like to confine myself to the outstanding work done in some branches during the recent past and to point out some of the fields which require more scientific work to cope with the advancement of our historical knowledge.

I begin with the Pre- and Proto-historical studies. The three broad divisions of India's past into Pre-history, Proto-history and History are well recognised now. Our Universities have adopted this division for convenience of teaching and research. Recent excavations and explorations conducted in India and Pakistan have clearly indicated that before the time of the Buddha, which marks the beginning of the so-called 'sober' history, cultural development had taken place in various parts of Indian sub-continent. The intermediary period between the end of the primitive Stone-Age and circa 600

B.C. in India has rightly been designated as Proto-historical. The beginning of Indian proto-history, as known from the Carbon-14 dating, may conveniently be put in the middle of the fourth millennium B. C.

Thanks to the field-work done by the Archaeological Survey of India, the State Governments and Universities, welcome-light has been thrown on Indian pre- and proto-history. Interesting new evidence has been obtained as a result of excavations and explorations conducted in different parts of the country. A good number of excavation reports are now available. The recent Seminars organised at Poona, Patna, Nagpur and Bombay to discuss various problems related to Indian pre- and proto-history and their published proceedings have been exteremely useful. Scholars like H. D. Sankalia, Allchins, V. N. Misra, Radhakanta Verma, D. P. Agrawala and S. R. Das have utilized the new material in their recent publications.

Indian proto-historical studies are fortunately receiving more attention now. P. L. Bhargava's work *India in the Vedic Age* has recently been supplemented by *The Birth of Indian Civilization* (Allchins), *Studies in the Proto-history of India* (D. P. Misra), *Ṛgveda and the Indus Civilization* (Buddha Prakash) and *Bhārata War and Purāṇic Genealogies* (ed. D. C. Sircar). It has been a fashion with the archaeologists to ignore, rather scornfully, the Vedic and Purāṇic sources. Likewise, our traditionist Sanskrit scholars have faild to pay due regard to the significance of archaeological evidence. As rightly emphasised by D. P. Misra, for the study of Indian proto-history " a more integrated approach to all the available resources is imperative ". The archaeological material available to us now is quite rich. For an adequate appraisal of the socio-religious development during the third and second millennia B. C., it is necessary that the archaeological material is studied side by side with the Vedic, Purāṇic and the Avestan literature. This is bound to help the solution of some knotty problems, such as the Aryan advent and their migrations, the Indus Valley inscriptions, the relations between the Suras and Asuras, etc. It is very probable that such an integrated study may ultimately prove that the Harappan culture represented a composite culture of the Aryans and non-Aryans, who had eventually settled peacefully first in the Indus valley and later on migrated to other parts of the country.

By now quite a good number of Neolithic-Chalcolithic sites have been excavated. Besides the Indus valley town-sites, mention may be made of Kalibangan, Maheshwar, Kayatha, Nagda, Eran, Lothal, Rangpur, Prakash, Jorwe, Nevasa, Diamabad, Brahmagiri, Chirand and Pandu-Rajar-Dhibi. These and other sites have yielded ample material, which has thrown fresh light on the post-Harappan cultures developed in different parts of the country during the period between C. 2,000 B.C. and 600 B.C. The excavations at Kalibangan have brought to light Pre-Harappan deposits of great significance.

A scientific study of the rock-paintings and of the shelters inhabited by early Cave-men in India has long been a *desideratum*. During the past few years Dr. Jagdish Gupta of the Allahabad University and Sri V. S. Vakankar of the Vikram University, Ujjain have surveyed and studied a large number of rock-paintings. Recently a detailed study, including that of the material-culture of the Cave-men and of the chronological sequence, has been completed under my supervision in the form of a Ph. D. dessertation by Dr. S. K. Pandey. More studies of a similar nature are in progress at the University of Sagar. The University Department of Archaeology, under my direction, has undertaken field-work at Barkherā and Kharwai, two important forest-sites in the Raisen district of Madhya Pradesh. The aim of the study was to discover, classify and interpret the rock-paintings *vis-a-vis*, the stone-implements and other relics obtained in the shelters. One trench each at Barkherā and Kharwai was taken up to determine the cultural sequence. The sequence at Barkherā has indeed been revealing. The earliest stratum yielded palaeolithic tools made out of quartz stones with *clactonian* technique. The people of this first culture were followed by those using comparatively smaller stone-tools. The third stage was represented by the Late Stone-Age people, who used microliths of chalcedony and quartz. The number of these tools was quite large. The last cultural stage indicated the use of pottery. The pot-sherds discovered in the trench are black-and-red ware and the black-on-red ware. A human burial with a complete female skeleton was also unearthed in the trench. As many as 152 painted rock-shelters at Barkherā and 55 at Kharwai have been discovered by the University of Sagar.

The Vikram University, Ujjain, has also conducted field-work in the Barkherā area with similar significant results.

The largest number of painted rock-shelters has been discovered in Madhya Pradesh, indicating that the 'primitive' people used to live in the hillocks of this region on the river-banks. The moderate climate and resources for livelihood, abundantly found in this area, provided necessary facilities to the inhabitants. In Madhya Pradesh rock-paintings and engravings have been discovered in the districts of Mandsaur, Narsinghagarh, Bhopal, Raisen, Hoshangabad, Sagar, Panna, Rewa, Ambikapur and Raigarh. Stone–implements, bones and pot-sherds have been obtained in several of the rock-shelters. These relics, alongwith the paintings, have been found useful for the study of the material culture of the people inhabiting the rock-shelters. In so far as the time-factor is concerned, on the basis of the cultural sequence a date somewhere about 6,000 B. C. may be ascribed to the earliest painters. The lower limit of the paintings comes to the 8th–9th centuries A. D. These paintings indeed furnish an interesting source-material, on which little critical work has so far been done.

For the historical period of Indian history, beginning from c. 600 B. C., ample and varied source-material is available in the form of literature, inscriptions, coins and foreign accounts. A large number of ancient town-sites have been excavated, yielding much useful archaeological material. In the North, important historical towns, e. g. Takṣaśilā, Hastināpur, Mathurā, Ahicchattrā, Kauśāmbī, Ayodhyā, Śrāvasti, Pāṭaliputra, Vaiśāli, Antichak, Nagari, Ujjain, Vidiśā, Tumain, Tripuri, Dwārkā, Śiśupālagarh and Rājbādidāngā have been excavated. In the South excavations have been conducted at Amaravati, Dharanilot, Nāgārjunīkoṇḍā, Arikamedu, Uraiyur, Kāverīpaṭṭaṇam and other sites.

All this source-material has been of considerable importance for the reconsrtuction of ancient Indian history. It has enabled us to solve a number of problems pertaining to the period between 600 B. C. and 13th c. A. D. The term 'Dark Ages', so commonly used for some periods of ancient Indian history, has almost disappeared now. Several books on the political and cultural history of the period have recently appeared. Mention may here be made of a few recent publications :—*Some problems of Kushāṇa and Rajput History* (D. C. Sircar), *An Agrippan Source-A study in Indo-Parthian History* and *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan* (both by B. N. Mukherjee), *Harsha and his Times* (B. N. Sharma), *Harsha* (Devahuti), *Khajurahokī Hindu Deva Pratimāyen* (Rāmāshraya Awasthi), *The Yādavas and Their Times* (O. P. Verma), *History of the Paramāras* (Pratipal Bhatia), *Rājput Rajavaiṁśa* (A. B. L. Awasthi) and *Malwa Through Ages* (K. C. Jain). On the Gupta history, the works of B. S. Upadhyaya, R. S. Goyal, P. L. Gupta and U. N. Roy deserve mention.

True it is that the new source-material has very much helped the scholars working on ancient Indian history; at the same time it has created certain new problems. The new material has to be interpreted objectively and in relation to similar evidence already known. It is risky to hazard conclusions on the chance discovery of an inscription, coin, sculpture or monument. The newly discovered objects are to be studied properly in the context of already known evidence or accepted theory or theories.

The work on dynastic histories engaged the attention of our historians for quite a long time. It is now the turn of regional histories, including the cultural centres. Useful monographs have recently been published on various sites and geographical regions. These are in the form of excavation &

exploration reports and brochures on centres like Bharhut, Tripuri, Bagh and Padmāvatī. The Archaeological Survey of India and the State Departments have been continuing the publication of useful guide-books and memoirs on important historical sites.

It is a happy augury that, with the advancement of knowledge, the problems pertaining to ancient Indian history seem to be on a decrease now. Fresh light has been thrown on the post-Mauryan history with the help of new inscriptions and coins. It is now known that after the disintegration of the Maurya empire, not only the north-western India but also Kathiawar, Gujarat Western Malwa, Telangana and Orissa had declared their independence and had started their own coinage. The recent discovery of the coins of Scytho-Parthian rulers (Hamugama, Valāka, Haumaśa, etc.) from Ujjain and the region around is indicative of the fact that these foreigners had occupied the Avanti region about the beginning of the second century B. C. I have also shown, on the numismatic evidence, that indigenous rulers such as Savitri, Pramuda, Raṭhi Madana, etc. ruled over Ujjain and issued their coins soon after the early Śaka rulers referred to above. Sufficient digging of the ancient mounds in and around Ujjain is likely to reveal its importance during the early historical period and may bring out clear evidence to prove that Ujjayini was an important Chalcolithic centre also.

The recent researches in Madhya Pradesh have thrown ample fresh light on the history of Vidiśā, Tumain (ancient Tumbavana), Eran (ancient Airikina), Tripurī, Sirpur (ancient Śrīpura) and other ancient towns. It is now known that the region of Madhya pradesh truely played an important role as a link between the North and South in the diffusion of a common culture. Particularly the Vindhya and Malwa regions of Madhya Pradesh are full of archaeological sites and relics. It is necessary to make a thorough exploration in these areas and excavate important sites in order to unravel the mysterious cultural wealth that lies hidden in the forest areas of this region. With the recent eradication of the dacoit-menace from this area, it is possible now to pay more attention to the archaeological field-work in the region.

After the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana rule, it was during the Gupta period that Madhya Pradesh emerged into lime light. Samudragupta uprooted several ruling dynasties of the North, including the Nāga rulers of Vidiśā, Padmāvatī and Kāntipurī (all in Madhya Pradesh). After his conquest of eastern Malwa, Samudragupta most probably appointed his son Rāmagupta to look after the newly conquered territory. The Śakas of western India had submitted to the suzerainty of Samudragupta, but soon after his death, they raised their head and over-powered Rāmagupta. The latter submitted to a humiliating treaty dictated by the victorious Śaka chief, who desired the hand of Dhruvadevī, the queen of Rāmagupta. However, the timely intervention of Candragupta, the younger brother of Rāmagupta, saved the situation. The Śaka chief was killed and Rāmagupta was also later on done away with. Candragupta succeeded to the throne of his father Samudragupta. The large number of coins of Rāmagupta from Eran and Vidiśā and the coin-moulds of the western Kṣatrapas discovered in the Eran excavations conducted by me have brought sufficient evidence to prove the reliability of the above-mentioned episode. The inscriptions on recently discovered three Jaina images from Vidiśā referring to *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta have confirmed the evidence previously furnished by literature and coins.

The recent excavations at Tumain in the Guna district of Madhya Pradesh have brought to light important fresh material of the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods.

The achievements of Candragupa Vikramāditya in the field of art and literature were equally great. He contributed to the development of temple architecture and sculpture. I have elsewhere shown that the classical Gupta art at least in Central India owes its origin to Candragupta II. The numerous monuments and relics of his period preserved at Vidiśā, Udaigiri, Sanchi and Eran eloquently prove the statement.

The problems, such as origin of the Vikrama era, the Śuṅga-Mitra problem, the chronology of the Indo-Greeks, the extent of the Kushāṇa empire in India, and several others pertaining to the early historical period and the Rajput history still exist. It is hoped that gradually, with the availability of more reliable evidence, these problems will be satisfactorily solved.

The visual arts constitute an important source-material for Indian history. We are grateful to art-historians and critics like Fergusson, Havell, Percy Brown, Coomaraswamy, Foucher, Vogel, Gopinath Rao, Stella Kramrisch, J. N. Benerjea, N. K. Bhattasali, Moti Chandra, V. S. Agrawala, Sivaramamurti, S. K. Saraswati and others for their valuable work on ancient Indian visual arts. Much has been written on the iconographical details of art. It is now time that we should pay more attention to the development of technique and the aesthetic side of art. Art-history should be taught in our Universities with a view to acquaint our students with the comparative and analytical background of art. The symbology in Indian art has not so far been adequately dealt with. It is hoped that it will now receive attention of competent scholars.

Stress is rightly being laid now on the economic background of history. So far as ancient Indian history is concerned, much remains to be done in this regard. It would prove rewarding if a study on tribal migrations on this score is attempted right from the proto-historic period. It is also necessary to complete an economic history of ancient India in two or three volumes, highlighting the importance of centres like Lothal, Paṭṭal, Broach, Ujjain, Sopara, Ter, Champa, Tamluk, Kāverīpaṭṭaṁ, Śrīkākulaṁ etc. Our contacts with the western world and with the countries of South-East Asia had an economic back-ground *par excellence*.

The Late Medieval period of our history (13th to 18th century) has suffered from an excess of compartmental treatment at the hands of even some eminent historians. The contemporary Indian literature, the documents of Muslim writers, inscriptions, coins and monuments of the period, when dispassionately studied, would tend to show that they represent, to a considerable extent, the traditions of the assimilative main stream of Indian life and thought. This fact should not be lost sight of while studying the vast material related to that period. It is gratifying to note that the objective approach on broad synthetic lines is discernible in several recent studies on the Late Medieval period.

The Modern period of Indian history is marked by an abundance of source-material. A quarter of a century has passed since we gained our Independence. It is up to the Indian scholars now to take a stock of the entire material available in several languages in this country and abroad, and to assess the nature and extent of the impact of the west on Indian political and cultural life. At the same time, the influence of Indian religion, philosophy and literature on the outside world during the last two hundred years requires a fresh appraisal.

The large number of records in various archives in the country and outside can help in finding out the growth of Indian historiography in the Medieval and Modern times.

The bilographical aids available to researchers in Indian history cannot be said to be adequate. The Archaeological Survey of India brings out, although not regularly, its two very useful publications of this nature, viz. *Ancient India* and *Indian Archaeology–A Review*. It is depressing to note that the Survey has not revived the publication of its annual reports of different circles. The archaeological departments and Museums of various States, the historical societies and Universities have done useful bibliographical work in the fields of history and archaeology.

The Historical Records Commission has, in a way, been supplementing the work of Archaeological Survey of India. It has done commendable work in the fields of Medieval and Modern history. Its Journal *Indian Archives* and other publications, although not regular, have furnished useful material to students of Indian history. The work of Regional Survey Records in some States of the country also deserves appreciation. This work requires to be done in a more systematic manner.

The recently formed Indian Archaeological Society, the Numismatic Society of India, the Indian Museums Associations and the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla cannot be forgottoen here. These and several other learned bodies are publishing their Journals, memoirs and other useful literature on historical studies.

The Kurukshetra University has recently resumed the publication of its extremely useful digest of Indological Studies called *Prāchī Jyoti*'.

The Jainological Research Society has taken up, in right earnest, a programme of research in Jain Studies, including the Jain sources of Indian history. The Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha is engaged in compiling two important projets: (i) Preparation of a sumptuous volume on Jain art and architecture, (ii) Building up of a photographic collection of Jain archaeology.

Study of history and the allied oriental subjects deserves proper attention in our Schools and Colleges. In his Presidential Address of the fourteenth Session of this Conference, Prof. R. C. Majumdar pleaded for a higher place to oriental subjects in our system of education. It is now high time that the Central and State governments should do the needful. Now that an esteemed historian, Prof. Narul Hasan, holds the Central portfolio of Education, I would earnestly appeal to him to take cognizance of this demand for the development of historical studies, right from the School to the University level. He deserves our congratulations for recently setting up of a Central Board of Historical Research. The University Grants Commission has also earned our appreciation for encouraging research work in history and archaeology.

The Archaeological Survey of India, the State Archaeological Departments, the National Book Trust and the Hindi Grantha Academies in the States have recently done very useful work in popularising the study of history by bringing out useful literature in English, Hindi and the regional languages. In consonance with the demands of the time, we require texts and reference-books in Hindi and the regional languages. It is necessary that a project for publishing *in Hindi* the entire history of India in *ten* volumes, on the lines of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhawan, Bombay, is formulated and completed within a reasonable period of time. This can be followed by other regional languages also.

It is a matter of gratification that there is no lack of young talent amongst us now. Given proper facilities and guidance, our young historians can do a lot in their respective fields. There is still a vast scope for work on various branches of Indian history and it is now up to our talented young scholars that they should come forward with a greater vigour to complete the work that lies ahead.

In the present circumstances, India has advanced to occupy a significant position in so far as the historical studies are concerned. The scholarly world looks towards India with great expectations. Our cultural heritage once attracted the western scholars, who devoted themselves to the study of our ancient lore. During the last two hundred years or so the western scholars held the field of Indian historical studies. It is now up to us to reconstruct the correct picture of our past, and present it to the world. But while doing so, we must remember the words of Kalhaṇa, who, in a way, gives a correct directive to the historian :

" श्लाघ्यः स एव गुणवान् रागद्वेपवहिष्कृता ।
भूतार्थकथने यस्य स्थेयस्येव सरस्वती ॥ "

" That talented person alone deserves praise whose language in narrating the past events is free from predilection and prejudice ".

ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Prof. S. B. Deo, Nagpur.

Distinguished Delegates and Friends,

I am beholden to the organizers of this Conference for inviting me to preside over the Archaeology Section of which you are the distinguished delegates. You might be aware that the late Prof. Buddha Prakash was to have presided, but his untimely demise has robbed the world of scholars in Archaeology and Indology of a distinguished scholar. I am sure you will join me in offering a homage to the memory of Prof. Buddha Prakash who would have certainly enlightened us much more than what I could possibly do today.

I have accepted this invitation in all humility, for I see before me a distinguished gathering of scholars who have contributed much to archaeological research in recent years. I take my selection as the President as a token of appreciation of the work I happened to carry out in the field of archaeology, and for this I am grateful to you all.

I feel it redundant to take a survey of the work done in the field of archaeology in recent years. I am sure you are all aware of the results of the excavations of different sites in India. As such, I would draw your attention to only the most important facts that have emerged in recent archaeological research.

You are aware that, in the field of Prehistory, most of the regions in India, except pockets like Kerala and the Gangetic basin, have given large amount of Early Stone Age tools. The old theories pertaining to the distribution of hand-axes and the chopping tools are no longer valid in totality and a proper assessment of the provenance of tool-types has to be undertaken more on the basis of technology rather than typology. The observations pertaining to environment have also to be reassessed. In this connection mention may be made of the recent work of the joint expedition of the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, and the Prehistory Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, in Kashmir, this season.

The expedition has been able to collect a number of Early Stone-Age-tools besides the Chopper-Chopping tools and has collected data *in situ*, which might urge a reconsideration of the validity of the observations of De Terra and Peterson in respect of the Glaciations.

Similarly, you are aware of the fact that the Middle Stone-Age-tools have a very wide provenance in India, so much so that it may not be wrong to hold that they were generally co-extensive with the Early Stone-Age-tools. However, inspite of abundant evidence, the environment, the flora and the fauna associated with these need further to be worked out in different regions so as to bring out a coherent picture of the times of the Middle Stone-Age.

The Late Stone Age tools were a desideratum all these years. Their horizon, data and the terminology, so far as India is concerned, was doubtful and hazy. However, the recent work in the Belan Valley of Uttar Pradesh and in the Kurnool region of Andhra Pradesh has proved the existence of an unambiguous Late Stone Age in India. With more work, it may be possible to locate the Late Stone-Age data over a wider region and on a firmer footing.

Coming to the Neolithic in India it is obvious that in spite of the Neolithic evidence being available in the North, South and the East, the data still appear incoherent and isolated. The patteren of the Neolithic as available in the Kashmir region and that available in Andhra-Karnatak with the intervening wide regional gap, seems to stand culturally apart, though not much apart in terms of the period assigned to it on the basis of Carbon-14 dates. The eastern Neolithic which seems to have a different origin behind it and, for which, not much other data except the tools have so far been available, seems to stand apart from both the southern and the northern Neolithic.

Similarly, the Neolithic-Chalcolithic overlap, at least in the Deccan, though presenting an interesting feature, requires intensive study both in terms of time and space. This overlap need not necessarily be stressed only in terms of the occurrence of the polished stone-tools but also in terms of other categories of material equipment backed by a series of Carbon-14 dates.

Significant advance has been made in respect of our knowledge of the genesis, the growth and the destruction of the Indus Valley civilization. It is claimed that the Indus Valley ceramic traits and the script appear in some form or the other in the regions of the Tapi Valley. On the other hand, in Cutch, most rewarding archaeological excavation has been carried out at the site of Surkotada, just near the Indo-Pakistan border. With a series of Indus Valley sites plotted in the Cutch region, it appears more possible that at least a considerable section of Indus people migrated from their homelands by the land route. A series of Carbon–14 dates from Surkotada seem to suggest that these migrations started immediately after the heyday of the cultural climax in the Sind-Punjab region.

A number of excavations in different parts of Saurashtra, Rajasthan, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra have brought to light a series of post-Harappan regional Chalcolithic cultures. Even though more and more horizontal excavations as at Kaytha, Somnath and Inamgaon have been undertaken with a view to know the pattern of economy, technology, settlement and environment, a lot of more work needs to be done. Whereas the excavations at Somnath have thrown a welcome light on the pattern of settlement of the Lustrous Red Ware people, the diggings at Inamgaon in Maharashtra, have brought out remarkable data pertaining to the settlement-pattern of the Jorwe Culture. Attempts have to be made of similar extensive excavations in the Gangetic Valley, Bihar, Bengal and the Karnatak region in the south. It is unfortunate that promising sites are brought into limelight and soon after, entirely forgotten. The case in instance is Pandu–Rajar-Dhibi about which nothing is heard now. The interrelation of the regional Chalcolithic cultures will be clear only when extensive excavations are undertaken at key–sites of different regional cultures like Inamgaon, Rangpur, Ahar, etc., backed by a series of Carbon–14 dates. Needless to say, excavations have to be followed by a quick publication of reports. Publication is a must both for the Universities and the Archaeological Survey.

The introduction of iron both in the north as well as in the south has not remained now a problem which cannot be solved. It is futile to mention the older views, for it is now generally agreed that iron makes its appearance both in the north and the south in the later half of the first millennium B. C. Though it is advocated by some scholars that iron might have been introduced by the Painted Gray Ware people in the north, the position in the south generally appears to go well with the megalithic people,–whoever they were, who used iron on a very large scale and whose antiquity on the basis of Carbon–14 showing undoubtedly goes back to the later half of the first millennium B. C.

Allied to the problem of iron is the enigma of the megaliths. Inspite of several sites having been tapped, the mystery of the megaliths as yet eludes solution. Inspite of a varied constructional pattern, some common traits are found invariably associated with the megaliths, as for instance, the abundance of iron, utilitarian and other kit, as also the association of the Black-and-Red pottery, the ethnic traits of the builders have not been unanimously agreed upon. Whether they were Dravidians or otherwise, whether the megalithic folk came from outside India or otherwise, it appears certain that they contributed abundantly to the spread and homogeneity of iron-technology. This is apparent from the nearly unanimous typology of the iron kit met with at widely separated sites like Adichanallur in the south and Nagpur in the north. To understand fully the urges behind the megalithic material culture, it is essential to undertake a comparative study of ceramic traditions and typology of the Late Neolithic, Chalcolithic and the Megalithic. Since it is rather difficult to have carbonized matter for Carbon—14 dating, it is essential that dating by thermoluminiscence has to be resorted to.

It is indeed unfortunate that Historic archaeology has been relegated to the background, of late, in archaeological research in India. This is possibly because of the unjustified feeling that most of the historical period is well documented and well known. A closer look would bring out the falsity of this presumption. It will then be agreed that besides Art, Architectural, Numismatic and Epigraphical data, not much is known of contemporary material culture. There is a need to check the data in literature. It will be agreed that very few Gupta and subsequent hisoric sites have been excavated so far. This is true equally of the north and the south. We hardly know anything of the life of the masses as evidenced by Archaeological data recovered from Pallava, Gupta, Chālukya or Rāshṭrakuṭa periods of Indian history.

The most noteworthy examples of the historic sites yielding invaluable data are the excavations at Sonkh, near Mathurā, in Uttar Pradesh and Pauni in district Bhandara of Maharashtra. Whereas the former excavated by the Germans has thrown a flood of light on the life of the Kushana period and the beginnings of temple-architecture, those at Pauni have brought out a Hinayana Buddhist Centre, so far unknown and having some of the largest Stūpas in contemporary India, built in novel architectural techniques, and patronised by people from all walks of life as the inscriptions attest. These two examples will, I hope, suffice to bring home to all of us the necessity of undertaking the excavations of historic sites.

This is equally true of medieval archaeology. This, if I may say so, is a more or less completely neglected field, though this is bound to yield very rewarding results. Possibly the only exception is that of Champaner in Gujarat. Here the excavations are slowly unfolding the layout of a wonderful late mediaeval habitation with massive fortification. Similar results are bound to come up at sites like Golkonda and Raigad, respectively in Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, if large scale excavations are undertaken.

From the foregoing brisk survey it will be apparent that archaeological investigation covers a vast period of the development of material culture of humanity which requires understanding and interpretation in relation to environment, technology and chronology. Thus from Prehistory to medieval archaeology the span requires to be studied by a number of scholars having expertise in different sciences and humanities. Once this is accepted and this has to be-,all artificial polemics regarding the so-called conflict between humanities and sciences will erode away. Of late, some scholars are trying to equate archaeological invstigation with prehistory, whereas some others are wondering how art-history can form part and parcel of archeological studies. On the other hand, there is a lurking fear in the mind of the field-archaeologist that archaeology will restrict itself within the four walls of a laboratory. This is all unjustified. If archaeology means the study of every thing that is created and utilised by man, then prehistoric stone-tools are as important as medieval monuments. Therefore a stage has come when scholars working in the field of Humanities and Sciences have to join hands in order to bring out a fuller picture of human progress in the past.

With a view, therefore, to achieve wider results with the help of a broad-based team, a beginning has to be made at the university level so that, over the years, a cadre of young archaeologists, at least conscious of the aims, the scope and the potentialities of archaeological research, is available. Therefore, a time has come when suitable changes in the syllabi of cultural and archaeological studies have got to be introduced. In doing this, the special features of India have got to be taken note of. We have in India immense literary data and an immaculate array of varied monuments. All these were the creation of a very dominant and semi-fossilised social structure and religious beliefs. The understanding of protohistoric and historic art and the monuments has got to be done keeping in view the factors referred to above.

With such an understanding and such a team-work, a fruitful planning of archaeological research is utterly essential. Unless the Archaeological Survey of India, The State Departments, the Universities and the Research Institutes come together, such a planning cannot be conceived of and implemented. It is unpleasant and futile to accuse one another. If publication of reports is delayed, the Survey as well as some of the universities stand accused. So forgetting this, what is needed is the combined efforts of all to sort out the major regional problems in Indian archaeology and assign these for solution, over a period of five years, to the universities, the Survey or the Research Institutes which are interested in and capable of such investigations. To cite a few of such problems, one would refer to the Pre-Harappan and the Harappan in the Saurashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Punjab area; the Painted Gray Ware problem of the Gangetic basin; the megalithic problem of South

India, etc. The Universities, the research institutes and the Survey could join hands and undertake extensive explorations and excavations which are bound to help in clearing the problems. This could as well be done in respect of historic and medieval sites so that the beginning and the development of these can be clearly visualised.

Just as there is need for co-operation in respect of solution to major regional problems of India, a deeper consciousness and understanding of culture-dynamics in the countries adjacent to India is also essential. It is a well known fact of Indian history and culture that quite a variety of cultural elements and urges have penetrated India from the adjacent countries and vice versa. Thought-provoking discoveries have been made recently in South Russia, Central Asia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and South-East Asia. These have a bearing on Indian archaeology. It is, therefore, essential that our archaeologists and studenls take note of these. It is also essential that a mutul exchange of notes, frequent seminars and a more brisk exchange of publications along with museum studies are undertaken so that the background of culture-contacts in the ancient past is clearer than what it is now. The case in instance is the discoveries of Russian archaeologists in the Ferghana Valley, the protohistoric pottery of which, according to them, bears affinities with some of the protohistoric Indian pottery. Similarly a lot of data pertaining to the Kushanas and a later phase of Buddhism has come to light in South Russia. In Siam, on the other hand, interesting data pertaining to the Neolithic and the cultivation of rice has come to light. In Baluchistan and North-West-Frontier region of Pakistan, the Pakistani archaeologists have brought to light important data which might provide clues to the peasant communities in pre-Indus times. Therefore, there is a need for internal and international co-operation. However, there is a greater need for internal co-operation, team-work and planning so that we have a clearer picture at home which can then be interpreted in a wider framework.

Just as there is need for the experts and the scientists to come together, there is a still greater need to educate the masses in respect of archaeological investigations. In a vast country like India, participation of the people is essential not only in archaeological investigation but also in the work of conservation. Both these aspects are equally important. Only when the people are explained about their cultural legacies visible in archaeological remains and monuments, they will take interest in archaeology. And when they are well-informed, they will help the archaeologists in not only preserving the archaeological relics and monuments but also will provide the archaeologists new data to which the official of the survey or university scholar may not have access.

To educate the people and the student alike, it is essential that reports, pamphlets and brochures and handouts of exhibition are published along with English, in Hindi and regional languages as well. Exhibitions at the excavation site and a quick publication, with illustrations, of the summary of excavations in the local language have evoked a remarkably liberal response at our excavations. And this has always led to getting new information about ancient sites and relics. It is a remarkable feature of late that the people at large are taking positive interest in archaeological discoveries. It is the duty of the archaeologists to respond in such a way as to keep this interest active.

Along with popular publications, I would appeal to the experts gathered here to undertake specialized publications like the 'History of Indian Technology' or the 'History of Indian Material Culture'. We have had so far a number of sporadic excavations and the published data itself–the unpublished data and definitely much more,–justifies a proper rationalization and concordance. More and more environmental archaeologists, palaeobotanists. palaeozoologists and other scientists are giving a helping hand to the archaeologists. I have no doubt that it will be possible to pool our capacities together and undertake such a project. I am sure we have the will and the capacity to do this.

Thank you!

DRAVIDIC STUDIES SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

A. CHANDRASEKHAR, DELHI

It is customary on an occasion like the present one, where scholars representing both the literary and the linguistic aspects of the study and teaching of the Dravidian languages are gathered together, to give a critical survey of the field of Dravidian Studies as it has developed since this Conference met last time. I propose to follow this convention as the major interest in my address although I would like to add a few historical perspectives at a few points.

At the outset, let us give a few moments to a consideration of the terms *Dravidian* and *Dravidic*. We are not naturally interested in the racial connotations of the terms, if ever they were used to denote a race and its culture. We may only note in passing that the term *pañcadrâviḍa*, which was used in Sanskrit literature to refer collectively to several linguistic groups including the Maharashtrians and the Gujaratis, introduced a lot of confusion into an already confused picture which emerges when we examine the Vedic and Purāṇic literatures. What I would specially like to call your attention to here is a more specific and well-attested linguistic use of the term *Drāviḍa*.

Līlātilakam, the fourteenth century Malayalam grammar, provides evidence that the South Indian languages were known as *Drāviḍa bhāṣās* and that scholars knew that they were genetically different from Sanskrit. The work also refers to a difference of opinion among scholars about the status of Telugu and Kannada, and holds the view that the Karṇāṭakas and the Āndhras are not Dravidians because their languages do not conform to what has been called the *draviḍasaṅghātapāṭha*. The term *draviḍasaṇghāta* is then explained as consisting of the Sanskrit sounds minus the *vargamadhyatraya* (i. e., the *atikharamṛdughoṣas* or aspirated, voiced and voiced aspirated sounds), the *ūṣmās* (i. e., *s, ṣ, s* and *h*), *ṛ, ḷ* plus short *e* and *o* as well as *ṟ, ḻ, ṇ*. (*dramiḍasaṁghāta mātṛkā-vargamadhyatrayoṣmabhiḥ, ṛ, ḷ varṇa-visarjanīyaiśca rahitā dīrghēṇeva hrasvabhūtena ekāreṇa okāreṇa ca nāntoccāraṇena ca sahitā. Līlātilakam*, I, 4, commentary.)

In this connection, it is interesting to note that according to *Līlātilakam*, the name *Tamiḻ* is the *apabhraṁśa* form of the word *drāviḍa*. Further we have to infer from a statement in this grammar that the sound systems of Kannada and Telugu had already changed to such an extent that there was doubt about their Dravidian origins.

In Sanskrit literature, the terms *drāmiḍī* and *draviḍa bhāṣa* seem to refer only to Tamil which was the language prevalent in the Coḷa-Pāṇḍya-Keraḷa areas prior to the eighth century of the Christian era. We are all familiar with the confusion engendered by the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. I, 1872) article on Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Tantravārtika* by Burnell in which he mistakenly wrote *āndhradrāviḍabhāṣāyam* for *atha drāviḍabhāṣāyam*. The impression that this gave rise to was that already by the time of *Tantravārtika*, the speech of the Āndhra area was sufficiently distinct from that of the rest of the South so as to be considered as something different. Of course, this is historically correct, but it is also quite possible that all the languages of the South were collectively referred to as *drāviḍabhāṣā* by Indo-Aryan speakers.

If *draviḍa* or *dramiḍa* refers to Tamil, is it the Sanskritised form of the name Tamil itself or is the term *Tamiḷ* a changed form of *dramiḍa*? We have so far no way of giving a definite answer to this question, but the probability is that *dramiḍa* is from Tamil and not the other way round. An examination of the names of the Dravidian languages, as I have attempted in a paper submitted to the First All-India Conference of Linguists held in Poona in 1970, seems to suggest that the Dravidian languages spread from the Eastern part of Central India to the South, West and North. If this theory can be sustained by further researches, it would seem that the name Tamil originated as a result of the contact of the Tamil speakers with the Indo-Aryan speakers, which, of course, may not have been before 500 B. C.

At this point, I may touch upon the efforts going on in India and abroad to decipher the Harappa writing. The researches of a Finnish team and a Russian team deserve especial mention in this connection as they have been the most systematic, using computers and statistical methods. Although no spectacular results have been achieved so far by these researchers, it seems to me that the researches are vitiated by the assumption that the language of the inscriptions is Old Tamil. The tacit assumption here is that the Tamil language has not changed for a period of nearly three millennia, which is indeed fantastic to say the least. That the Dravidian speakers once lived in the Indus Valley and other parts of North India is itself an unproven assumption.

While the publication of Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian* in the middle of the nineteenth century blazed the path of Dravidic studies in a brilliant way, little else happened in the field for a long time after the publication of the second edition of the work, although several valuable grammars of individual languages, both literary and non-literary, were published by pioneering workers. K. V. Subbayya, and then L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar and Jules Bloch, came into the scene and continued Caldwell's work in a most creditable manner in the first few decades of this century. But it is only since the forties that Dravidian scholarship received a real fillip with the growing interest in the field both in India and the West. It is not for me to draw up a list of the numerous important publications on Dravidian themes in the fifties and the sixties. What is of interest to us here is that the happenings in the Dravidian field since 1969 are a worthy continuation of the high standards set by scholars in the preceding years.

There is, in fact, a new upsurge of interest in Dravidic studies now, which is characterised by the following features :—

(1) Organised efforts to promote the studies and to publish their results.

(2) Collection of new materials and intensive exploitation of the existing materials.

(3) Application of the latest techniques of linguistic research and textual criticism.

(4) Development of the literary languages as media of expression for teaching different subjects at the High School and University levels.

(5) Preparation of teaching materials for teaching the Dravidian languages.

(6) The popularisation of linguistic studies.

I shall now mention the outstanding achievements under each one of these heads which have come to my notice.

The Advanced Centre at Annamalai University and the Linguistic Departments of the other South Indian Universities are continuing to make their valuable contributions. The publication of the papers presentad at the Seminars on comparative Dravidian held at Annamalai in 1968 and 1970 (the first is in print and the other xeroxed) and the Proceedings of the first and the second International Conferences of Tamil Studies have made available a number of valuable contributions and stimulated a great deal of interest in a variety of problems in the Dravidian field. The Proceedings of the second International Conference held at Madras in January 1968 were published in 1970 and contain a variety of papers on literature and linguistics.

Kamil Zvelebil's book entitled *Comparative Dravidian Phonology* (Mouton, 1971) has made available in a single work the materials for which one has to wade through a large number of papers before. Although one may not agree with many of the author's interpretations and conclusions, the value of the publcation is not to be underrated. It is stated that another volume on Comparative Dravidian Morphology by the same author is nearing completion.

The All-India University Tamil Teachers' Association has been holding annual conferences from 1969 onwards. Papers for 1971 alone (and that too not all) have been published. Most of the papers are short notices of one or other aspect of Tamil Studies. The papers dealing with linguistic topics especially are thought-provoking.

Another notable event of the period under review is the starting of a new organisation, the Dravidian Linguistic Association in 1971. The Association has held two Conferences, the inaugural one at Trivandrum in June last year and the second one at Tirupati this summer. The Association also publishes a journal, *The International journal of Dravidian Linguistics.* While several scholars have questioned the need for a separate Association and a journal for Dravidian when the Linguistic Society of India has now been revitalised and an All-India Conference of Linguists has been created with the express purpose of providing a common platform for Indian linguists, it is to be hoped that there will be no unhealthy competition between the two societies and conferences. The Journal is sure to serve a useful purpose.

The Linguistic Circle of Delhi, as you may be aware, publishes the *Transactions of the Linguistic circle of Delhi.* It is an occasional publication, although it came out regularly every year for a few years. The issue for the year 1968 was published last year. The Circle is now planning a volume in honour of the late professor L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, a scholar who devoted almost his entire life to the cause of Dravidian but who has, unfortunately, not been honoured with a volume of studies so far.

The South Asia volume of the Current Trends in Linguistics vol. 5, was published in 1969. It contains a general survey of Dravidian by Bh. Krishnamurthi, a survey of the non-literary Dravidian languages by Emeneau, and articles on the state of the linguistic studies in the major South Indian languages. The articles are of varying standards, but they provide considerable insight into the work that has so far been done in the areas concerned and the problems which await the researcher. It is a pity that some of the views expressed in the papers are of a highly personal nature. For example Krishnamurti describes Lahovery's attempt to connect Dravidian with Basque and some other languages of the Mediterranean area as a wild adventure which deserves no notice whatsoever. Zvelebil in his book on Comparative Dravidian phonology expresses a more moderate opinion on Lahovary's work when he says that the matter of relationship should be pursued more systematically. After all, the Dravidian languages may not be without their kins elsewhere, and scholars have to concern themselves with this problem in a serious way at some stage, although we may have more urgent things to do within the field itself at the moment.

Among the recent papers which relate to general Dravidian, I may mention here just two : Kamil Zvelebil's " Dravidian case-suffixes : an attempt at a reconstruction " published as a brief communication in *JAOS*, 92.2 (1972), and M. B. Emeneau's " Kodagu and Brahui Developments of Proto-Dravidian ṟ " published in Indo-Iranian Journal, 1971. The papers are important not so much for their intrinsic worth as for the problems they serve to throw into relief. As Zvelebil himself says at the end of his article, too much guess-work is involved in his reconstruction and that this cannot but be so " because we lack the necessary preliminary comparative work performed on regular phonological correspondences in the sub-groupings and sub-families ". The same remark may be applied to the reconstruction of proto-Dravidian ṟ. One wonders whether a re-examination of ṟ in the light of the Tolkāppiyam description of the sound will not lead to a different conclusion regarding the proto-sound involved. Anyway, it seems to me that a proper exploitation of Tolkāppiyam would yield rich dividends when we attempt to reconstruct proto-Dravidian or at least proto-South Dravidian. In this connection, I may say that lack of a proper understanding of the views expressed in Tolkāppiyam and other ancient works has led some scholars into errors as when they try to determine the status of the Tamil sound *āytam*.

Vigorous efforts are being made at several centres for collecting new materials on Dravidian languages. These efforts have led to the discovery of several new forms of speech, to some of which the status of independent languages has been given by their discoveries.

As you know, the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary : Supplement* (1968) has added etyma from three " new " languages : Pengo, Maṇḍa and Naiki of Chanda. The Linguistic Survey Bulletin published from Deccan College, Poona, claims in its issue for 1968 that two new languages, Belari and Korage, have been discovered. Zvelebil gives Iruḷa an independent status and thinks that it must have split off from proto-Tamil. Stephen A. Tyler published in 1969 a study of Koya entitled *Koya : An outline Grammar, Gommu dialect* (Berkeley, 1969), in which he deals with Koya as if it were a language in its own right and not a dialect of Gondi. Krishnamurti in his book *Koṇḍa or Kūbi : A Dravidian Language* considers Koṇḍa as a seperate language.

Intensive study of certain aspects of Dravidian phonology have resulted in some important papers. Examples are : T. Burrow's "The treatment of primitive Dravidian-r̤-in Kurkh and Malto" (*Studies in Indian Linguistics Professor M. B. Emeneau Ṣaṣṭipūrti volume,* Poona, 1968), M. B. Emeneau's "Proto-Dravidian r̤ in Kodagu and Brahui" (Indo-Iranian Journal, 1971) already referred to above and Emeneau's "Kodagu Vowels" (JAOS, 90.1, 1970). Great interest is being shown in the study of the sociolinguistic aspect of the major South-Dravidian languages. Two typical recent papers in this area are William Bright's "Phonological Rules in literary and Colloquial Kannada" (JAOS, 90. I, 1970) and A. Chandrasekhar's "Pronouns and Pronominal forms in Malayalam" (Anthropological Linguistics, Oct. 1970).

Dialect survey work is proceeding apace. The Telugu Academy has undertaken a dialect survey for the Telugu region. The plan is to publish descriptions of the dialects of each district separately and the main purpose is to describe the social variations. Trained workers are doing the job; so far three volumes covering Karimnagar, Cuddupah (Kadapa), and Visakhapattinam districts have appeared; the first volume appeared in 1970. Another important project going on in the Telugu area is the preparation of a dictionary of occupational terms under the auspices of the Andhra Pradesh Academy. Krishnamurthi has dealt with Agricultural and Weaver's terminologies. T. Darappa is doing fisheries, and G. N. Reddy is dealing with minor occupations such as carpentry, pottery and goldsmithy.

Dialect surveys are in progress in the Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada areas as well. The Kerala University has prepared an ambitious project, and limited surveys have been undertaken. The emphasis in the Kerala studies is at present on social dialects. No doubt, social dialects are very important, and no time should be lost in recording them, as they are fast disappearing. But equally important is the study of geographical variations, which are also undergoing rapid changes. Kerala perhaps offers the most fertile field for the linguistic geographer and the sociolinguist. This is due to the fact that the area was divided into three political divisions until recently, which had brought about corresponding differences in the speech habits of the people. It would be very interesting to undertake periodic surveys to determine how and to what extent the new political set-up brings about changes in speech-habits. Also, in no other part of India were there so many dialectal differences based on caste and community as in Kerala and these too are now disappearing very rapidly due to changed circumstances. It is to be hoped that the three Universities in Kerala and other organisations such as the Sāhitya Academy and the State Institute of Languages will make co-ordinated efforts and make available to scholars the valuable facts about speech-differences which are disappearing so rapidly. The same has to be done in the case of the Tamil and Kannada areas as well.

It is gratifying to note that serious efforts are being made to study the literary treasures of the Dravidian languages by applying the latest techniques of linguistic research and textual criticism. The Thirukkural Research unit at the Madras University has brought out three volumes on the literary aspects of Thirukkural indicative of painstaking research. Statistical counts have been made of the *alaṁkāras*, and an examination of their use in Thirukkural in the broader context of Tamil literature has been made.

Outside academic circles, Shri. M. Arunachalam has brought out a History of Tamil literature for the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries as part of his scheme to deal with Tamil literature century by century. The work is charaterised by meticulous collection of factual material and discussion of problems of chronology. Though one may not agree with the conclusions of the author always, his attempt at impartial assessment deserves commendation. An index of *Kambarāmāyaṇam* usages by Sri A. S. Sundararajan, Retired Professor of Jaffna, is a valuable addition to the available critical apparatus on Tamil literature. A few critical studies on modern Tamil writing have begun to appear. *Vaḷarum Tamiḻ Ilakkiyam* (C. L. S. Press, Madras) and *Nōval Ilakkiyam* by M. Ramalingam are two instances.

Two outstanding needs in all the major South Dravidian languages are comprehensive dictionaries on historical principles incorporating all the latest usages and authoritative historical grammars. Dictionary work is in progress both in Malayalam and Kannada although the pace seems to be rather too slow. Historical grammars need a lot of preliminary analysis of the literary and inscriptional sources. Such work is being done for all the major languages, although the progress is, again, slow, and there seems to be even a lack of interest in this kind of work generally speaking. It is a pity that we still do not have good historical grammars for any of the Dravidian languages dealing with all the periods in their history from origins to modern times. K. Mahadeva Sastry's work on the Historical Grammar of Telugu from 300 B. C. to 1000 A. D. deserves mention in this connection.

There is a massive and concerted effort going on since the middle of the sixties to develop the literary Dravidian languages as media of expression for teaching all subjects at the High School and the University levels. These efforts have taken a definite shape with the establishment of organisations like the State Institute of Languages charged with the preparation of technical terminologies, translation of standard works and the production of textbooks. Good work is being done at these centres, and it is to be hoped that they will soon enrich the language to such an extent that they will be able to play their full and legitimate role in education. One encouraging feature in the current phase of the work is that more emphasis is being placed on the original writing of books on different subjects than on translation. This is as it should be, since translation is more liable to stifle the growth of thinking in the language concerned than to promote it, in addition to all the ill-effects of incompetent translation. The performance of the State Institute of Languages at Trivandrum, for example, is creditable. Besides publishing nearly two hundrad titles on science subjects and humanities in its four years of existence, it has been publishing a monthly journal called *Vijñānakairaḷī* containing highly informative articles in these fields. The Sāhitya Academy of Āndhra, as noted above, has been primarily responsible for organising dialect-surveys in the Telugu speaking area.

Now that the Union Government proposes to place one crore of rupees at the disposal of each State for the specific purpose of developing the regional language in the Fifth Plan period, it is to be hoped that more systematic and organised efforts would be made for their development. The following approach, I think, will be most suitable in this connection :—

(1) Standardisation of the languages, which should be backed up with adequate research, as the first step in the preparation of books and teaching materials.

(2) Preparation of a dictionary for the standardised form of the language.

(3) Having books of scientific interest and text-books as well as translations of works in other languages prepared by teams of scholars and not one person for each book.

(4) Translations of outstanding scientific books to be made with suitable additions and modifications. That is to say, in case of books which assume a certain background in the reader, some explanatory notes may be added; where examples of a social or a linguistic nature are given in the original, examples from the Dravidian language concerned may be given as far as possible. Such a procedure would make the translated work look less like a translation and would, at the same time, enhance its utility.

One of the important tasks before scholars today is the preparation of adequate teaching materials for teaching the Dravidian languages. Three types of teaching materials seem to be necessary. The first type should be aimed at the speakers of other Dravidian languages; the second type should cater to the needs of the speakers of Indo-Aryan languages; and the third type should be designed to meet the requirements of foreigners.

The main differences would be the following: the first type whold take note of only the differences between the Dravidian languages and would assume a lot of automatic transfer of learning; the second type would highlight the the differences between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian and would assume some transfer of learning; and the third type would emphasize the major differences between an Indian language and a foreign language such as English and also give a great deal of attention to teaching the cultural background of a Dravidian language in the larger context of its being a typical Indian language.

Viewed in the light of the above-mentioned suggestions, I am afraid we do not have at present much by way of teaching materials to boast of. Books have, of course, appeared in recent years for all the four major Dravidian languages, and most of them have been prepared by men with linguistic training. But their standards vary considerably, and most of them leave much to be desired even for the limited purpose for which they are intended.

It is very gratifying to note that linguistic scholars are now trying to popularise the linguistic science and scientific research into the different Dravidian languages by writing about linguistics and lignuistic topics in the standard journals of the languages concerned. For example the Telugu magazine *Bhārati* and Malayalam *Māthrubhūmi* have been publishing linguistic articles and the reading public has been taking a lot of interest in them. Also popular books on linguistics have been published in all the four literary languages· The editor of *Vijñānakairaḷi* informs me that a book entitled " Ādhunika bhāṣāśāstram " has just been published by the Kerela Institute of Languages. I need hardly say that it would be the best interests of Dravidian languages if original works are written in a painstaking manner, instead of just summarising the works one may have read in English or some other European language. I may also venture to suggest here that good translations of the ancient Tamil grammar Tolkappiyam into the other three Dravidian languages should be made in order to promote the comparative study of Tamil and the other languages and to give a better perspective to historical research in them. At present only Malayalam has a translation of the work, and that too not very competently made.

We may now take a brief look at the developments in the literary fields in Dravidian. The past three years have been reasonably productive in all the four languages. Perhaps the most significant happenings have been in Telugu. The establishment of the Viplava Racaitala Sangham (Revolutionary Writer's Association) on July, 4, 1970 has radically changed the trend in poetry and short story, and the message now is to revolt against the existing social order and to support a political revolution. Some of the volumes of poetry and short stories incorporating the new trend have created a sensation, and we have witnessed the phenomenon of poets being arrested for their writing and the Andhra Pradesh High Court passing judgments on literature. But the traditional school continues to exist side by side. The award of the Jñānapīṭha to Satyanarayana for his Rāmāyaṇa-Kalpa-Vṛkṣa shows that the roots of traditional poetry are still strong.

The Navya or Modernist school in Kannada has been increasingly active. These writers have interested many, incensed some and intrigued not a few. But while their claim of a monopoly of significant and purposeful writing is highly questionable, they have indeed quickened our sensibilities and perception. The school has produced many outstanding novels, short stories and poems. However the traditional school as represented by Karanth's writings and the modern exist side by side.

In Tamil, experimentalists' creative writing continues to find irrepressible expression in *Ezhuttu* edited by C. S. Chellapan and other special journals. *Vāchakar Vaṭṭam*, a publication venture designed to give a fillip to new writing has sponsored experimentalists' psychological novels of Rāmāmṛthan like *Putra* and *Apitha* and the prose-poetry of Pichamurthi entitled *Kuyilin Curuti.* The recent passing away of Namakial Ramalingam Pillai in indeed a blow to the traditional approach in Tamil poetical and prose writings, but tradition continues to be strong in prose forms of creative and critical writings. The successful serialising in *Ānanda Vikatan* and later publication in book-form of Bharanidharan's *Arunāchala Mahimai* shows that the Tamil readers still attach great importance to religious and cultural values in spite of all social upheavals following in the footsteps of the new political movement in Tāmil Nāḍu.

In Malaylām, the Progressive Movement ("Purogamana Sāhityam") is decidedly gaining the upper hand in most forms of literary expression, and we hardly see anything of the traditional type in poetry, short story and novel. With the attempt to change the script also, the whole literary scene looks so unfamiliar to the older generation. A new style of prose writing, heavily influenced by anglicised journalistic expressions has taken firm roots, and it is only occasionally that one gets a chance to read anything of a traditional type in magazines as in K. P. Keshava Menon's articles. Even poets of the older school like Kunjirama Menon and Balamani Amma are tending to adopt the new imagery and idiom as typified in the compositions of Akkittam.

In conclusion, let me say a word about the history of literature. Uḷḷūr S. Parameswara Aiyar's history of Malayalam literature still continues to be unique in the Dravidian field. And similar exhaustive and highly authoritative histories for the other Dravidian languages are still awaited. The Yuvabhārati publication entitled "Mahati", published on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebration of India's indedendence, presents a collection of essays indicating the trends in Telugu language, literature and culture in the post-independence period. It is reported that a similar publication will soon appear for Tamil. It would indeed be a great service if representatives of all the four South Indian languages would together plan and publish a comprehensive comparative review of the trends and achievements in the Dravidian scene. Such joint effort would also serve to bring into focus the common problems of the languages and will contribute to the cause of Dravidian studies in general.

FINE ARTS AND TECHNICAL SCIENCES SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

R. C. AGRAWALA, JAIPUR.

Dear Friends,

I am extremely grateful to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the Fine Arts and Technical Sciences section this year. In fact I do not deserve this honour which has been bestowed on me. However I would like to submit a few observations in the capacity of a student interested in the study of ancient Indian Art and Culture.

To-day we have assembled at the historic city of Ujjayinī which occupied a very prominent place in the realm of ancient art as well. Excavations by Dr. N. R. Banerjee, at this site, brought to light very important art-objects including an early historic *Kiṇnari* Pot made of clay and bearing close resemblance with an earlier specimen from Begram and now preserved in the Kabul Museum. (R. C. Agrawala, *Pottery Handles from India and allied problems*, a monograph published by the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda, 1970). Another specimen of this type has not been recovered from any Indian site so far.

Friends! I would like to put on record the meritorious work done by a number of senior and young scholars in the field of ancient Indian sculpture, iconography, painting, architecture, textiles, etc. Their authentic publications in the form of the first rate monographs and research papers are very well known to you and therefore I would not like to burden you with a bibliography at all. Let us examine and discuss a number of problems which we are facing every now and then.

(1) Very little is known about the Minor arts from different parts of India, because most of the scholars have laid great emphasis on the study of Indian sculpture, terracottas and paintings. Other branches of Indian art remain sufficiently neglected; so is the case with art-material recovered from recent excavations in the nook and corner of the country. It is therefore essential that a study of minor arts is taken up at an early date. Śri. V. P. Dwevedi of the National Museum has made a detailed study of *Ancient Indian*

Ivories. Dr. S. B. Deo published the results of his researches on *Nepalese Wood Sculpture* in a special issue of the Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, No. 3. A detailed and comparative analysis of ancient and mediaeval wood-sculpture will be equally useful. Special monographs on Gujrati and South Indian Wood-sculpture should also be prepared and published as early as possible. The History of Indian Glass by M. G. Dikshit is a very useful study.

(2) Regional study of monuments, temples, Wall-Paintings and sculptures will be equally fruitful in order to have a better picture of Indian painting, sculpture and iconography. A beginning has already been made in some parts of the country and it is essential to impart great impetus to such projects. Besides this, exhaustive monographs on mediaeval art-centres like Osian, Kiradu, Pattadakal, etc., would be published on the lines of 'Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneshawar' by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi. Dr. Klaus Bruhn's study of Jain Images from Deogarh is the latest example in this direction. A note of caution is of course extremely essential, while taking up such a study and that too when we try to coin a particular name for a regional school of sculpture or painting. Some of the scholars have tried to locate Guhila and Chandela like schools of sculpture for the specimens which have hardly any association with those impacts at all. Great care is therefore needed while interpreting the art-impacts if any. Besides this, a time has come when the regional studies should specifically reveal the salient features of different schools of sculpture such as Guhilā, Pratihāra, Chandelā, Chālukya, Paramāra. etc. An exhaustive and comparative analysis of the lesser known centres is therefore urgently required. In Rajasthan alone we have a number of mediaeval Paramāra art-centres at Chandrāvati-Abu, and Arthuna in Banswara district. Contemporary material from Madhya Pradesha will further enrich our knowledge of Paramāra Art and Sculpture. Similarly a study of Pratihāra sculptures and temples in U. P., Rajasthan and M. P. will prove quite useful, for the proper understanding of the impact of Gupta art during the early-mediaeval period. We must be equally clear in our minds about the specific traits of Pratihāra art, if any, and only then it will be advisable to give such a nomenclature to a particular temple or a sculpture.

(3) A study of dated temples and sculptures will prove equally useful for a proper understanding of the growth and development of ancient art-motifs, architectural details and iconographic traits. Dr. Prithvi Kumar Agrawala of the Banaras Hindu University has taken up the study of dated Gupta sculptures. Dr. P. Pal, Keeper, Los Angeles County Museum has recently analysed a few dated bronzes from Nepal which he assigns to the 11th century (P. Pal. Three dated Nepali Bronzes and their stylistic signifi-

cance, Archives of Asian Art, XXV, 1971–72, pp. 58–66, figs. 1–45). Preparation of an exhaustive bblioraphy of inscribed sculptures and bronzes will also go a long way in furthering the cause of such a study.

(4) It is regretting to note that the theft of art-objects from Museums and Monuments is proving a great challenge to the cultural. heritage of this country. The Government of India has therefore come forward with a stern legislation so that illegal movement of antiquities to foreign countries be stopped forthwith. The task is of course quite stupendous; it also envisages the photo-documentation and registration of art-objects in the private collections throughout the country. Besides this, the Central and the State Governments should concentrate on donumenting the art-objects preserved under their direct control. This will go a long way in furthering the cause of research as well. The present position of documentation being far from satisfactory, we are not in a position to have proper access to Museum and Archival treasures. Detailed and scientific documentation, including photo-indexing, will ultimately present hitherto hidden treasures for the research workers. Establishment of such documentation centres at State-headquarters and a National Documentation centre at Delhi, should be spcially looked after during the coming Five Year Plan. This should be done with the assistance of trained photographers and experienced scholars in the country.

(5) Besides this, Museum collections should be published through catalogues, illustrated with small size photographs. It is a great pity that most of our existing museums are hardly devoting any attention to this important job. That is why a number of the important objects are still lying in oblivion in museum stores. Let the bigger institutions like the National Museum at New Delhi, Indian Museum at Calcutta, Salargung Museum at Hyderabad start publications of catalogues instead of monographs of stray interest. This will go a long way in furthering the cause of art research and also in keeping a scientific record of objects in different departments of museums. Dr. N. P. Joshi, Director, State Museum, Lucknow, has made a beginning in this direction; Catalogues of Gandhāra and Brahmanical sculptures in the Lucknow Museum are important additions in the field. Dr. Pramod Chandra should be congratulated for having prepared the exhaustive catalogue of sculptures in the Municipal Museum at Allahabad, which is soon going to be followed by a somewhat identical study on terracottas in the Allahabad Museum by Dr. S. C. Kala. The American Institute of Indian Studies deserves all praise for the publication of such monographs.

(6) May I request my colleagues in Museum profession to look into their museum objects, both on display in godowns or reserve stores, with rapt attention and care? Previous studies by J. Ph. Vogel and V. S. Agrawala

have shown us the way of regarding the interpretation and documentation thereof. A Curator or a museum officer must bring to light hitherto unknown material in his individual collection. A museum must be developed as a centre of education and research. Museum Bulletins like the ones from the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda, National Museum, New Delhi, State Museum, Lucknow, Indian Museum Calcutta are important and authentic publications in this direction. The latest issue of the Bulletin of Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay contains interesting papers on Indian bronzes by Mr. Gorakshakar, who has also highlighted the famous colossal Chamba *Vaikuṇṭha* Vishṇu image which was stolen for being smuggled abroad. It is also a very happy news that this rare bronze has been installed at its original place of worship.

(7) Our big museums should discourage, as far as possible, purchase of stone-sculptures. Purchases, if at all necessary, should be made in very rare cases when we are able to procure objects of outstanding interest. National Art Purchase Fund should be instituted to encourage such purchases and to collect objects from obscure and far off places. The State Governments and the Government of India have already started a campaign to collect sculptures and architectural pieces to safer places. Besides this exchange of art-objects between Indian and Foreign Museums should be profusely encouraged. Inside this country, this will give us better opportunity to study art-objects on a wider horizon. A beginning in this direction has already been made by the Governments of Rajasthan and Gujrat and the National Museum, New Delhi etc. At the same time, gifts of spare sculptures and bronzes to foreign museums will discourage thefts and smuggling. All this should be planned and executed through the bonafide agency of the Government of India. After all one must look into the causes of thefts and smuggling. At the same time scholars and museum curators abroad should lend their helping hand in catching smuggled art-objects in their respective countries, specially the ones which have been previously documented and published in journals of repute and art-monographs. Cases have come to our notice when a few foreign museums indulged into unhappy contracts by way of going in for such Indian objects for their museums and did not even care to infom their counter-parts in India. This is quite undesirable. The UNESCO is now contemplating to take up some legislation for curbing such evil tendencies. But the success of the project depends only on the mutual good will and active co-operation of our museum directors and partons in foreign countries. More so,we should oppose any suggestion to offer compensation for the purchases made abroad. In no case the cultural property of a country be smuggled abroad and heavy punishments should be imposed on the purchase of documented goods.

(8) Equal emphasis on the study of Indian sculpture, painting and architecture datable between the 15th and 18th centuries should also be laid in the near future. During our exploratory tours in Rajasthan we have been able to locate dozens of monuments and places where such dated material is still available in abundance. A comparative study of Rajput sculpture and painting will be quite fruitful for a better understanding of late-mediaeval art of the country. A detailed survey of wall-paintings throughout the country is equally essential, specially when old houses and buildings, in private possession, are getting exposed to decay and destruction for want of proper preservation. Mr. Karl J. Khandalwala has planned a project for the study of wall-paintings in Rajasthan but that is not sufficient. A village to village survey of detailed documentation of wall-paintings will help us in understanding the problem still further. This will involve extensive training of persons well versed in Indian painting, though there is hardly any arrangement for such a training either in any museum of repute or in a University in India. A very serious thought should be given for imparting impetus to the study of such technical branches, specially when great stress is being laid on the teaching of pre-and proto-history in Indian Universities. The State Departments of Museums and the Archaeological Survey of India should think of recruiting fairly a good number of persons having sufficient knowledge of paintings, bronzes and decorative arts as well. We are glad to learn that the technical aspect of wall-paintings in India is being very well handled by Sri O. P. Agrawala of the National Museum, New Delhi. Study of New Documents on Indian painting by Dr. Moti Chandra and Dr. U. P. Shah are most welcome.

(9) State Lalit Kalā and Sangeet Nāṭak Akademis should also be encouraged to take up regional surveys in different spheres and to publish the results within a reasonable time. It is a great pity that our progress in this field is far from satisfactory. Puclication of a research art-journal by each of these akademis, on the pattern of Lalit Kalā, will go a long way in disseminating knowledge among the people of the country. The success of such institutions may be brought by way of seeking cooperation of scholars as well and every effort should be made to curb down selfish motifs from infiltrating into these learned bodies in different states.

(10) It is very encouraging to note that a few museums and learned societies such as the State Museum, Lucknow, the Asutosh Museum at Calcutta University and the Indian Archaeological Society have organised seminars on different aspects of Indian Art during the past few years. They have also stressed on the publication of such reports well in time. Such programmes will be quite useful for the proper interpretation of art-objects in different parts of the country.

(11) Preparation of art-terminology in different languages of the country will be equally fruitful for writing the history of art and architecture in regional languages. The present state of affairs is, of course, far from satisfactory. When we have to face a lot of difficulty in explaining and interpreting art-objects for school-students and that too in regional languages, let us document the terms used by the living artists and artisans themselves. Coining of technical terms by literary experts will not be very much rewarding. I am aware of a few instances when the latter failed to catch the true sense of the word and translated the term quite wrongly; for example one of the scholars translated the word *Kela* as 'banana' whereas it was to be used in sense of textile fibre. Traditional artist and an architect can therefore be of great help in enriching our knowledge of terminology in different spheres throughout the country.

Friends! let me also make a passing reference to the discovery of a few objects of artistic interest such as the excavation of a Śunga stūpa with superb sculptural panels at Pauni in Maharashtra, Kuṣāṇa bronzes from the Excavations at Sonkh in district Mathura (U. P.), early Mauryan wooden female figure from Patna and interpreted by C. R. P. Singh and a few Kuṣāṇa Śiva liṅgas discovered by us at Chaum Bandapura (on U. P. Rajasthan border) and Gamari (near Bharatpur in Rajasthan). Dr. M. Taddei, Keeper of Indian antiquities in the National Museum at Rome and the leader of Archaeological Expedition to Ghazni, was able to recover a post-Gupta clay statue of Mahiṣamardinī from the Buddhist Vihar at Tapa Sardar (East and West, XIX (3-4), 1969, figs. 6–7, pp. 548–549) which is of great interest from iconographic point of view as well. The penetration of Brahmanic pantheon as far as Piandjikent in Central Asia is very well proved by latest researches (A. M. Belenitski and B. I. Marshak, *Arts Asiatiques*, Paris XXIII, 1971, pp. 3–40 and plates; P. Banerji, *Bulletin of National Museum, New Delhi* No. 2, pp. 17–20). The depiction of Śiva, carrying the sun and the moon in his upper hands, in the art of Dandanuiliq and Balawaste in Central Asia may now be interpreted in the light of Kuṣāṇa sculptures from Musanagar, (U. P.) and the famous early-Gupta Śiva-Pārvati terracotta preserved in Bikaner Museum (R. C. Agrawala, Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U. P. No. 3, 1969). We have been able to notice a mediaeval *Panchagaṇesha* stone-panel near Jaipur where appear four dancing Gaṇesha figures accompanied by the figure of an elephant seated on a lotus throne. This symbolic representation of Gaṇesha needs further interpretation with the help of textual evidence. A study of regional iconography will be equally fruitful for compiling the religious history of the particular area. A thorough documentation and study of collections in the Jaina Bhandars and religious establishments will certainly throw further light on our knowledge of Indian painting. The latest issue of Lalit Kalā (No. 15) contains some useful articles in this connection.

We may also compile a directory of ancient Indian musicians, artists, sculptors, architects and painters, highlighting their contributions to Indian art. Friends, let us pay our homage to them who have produced first rate specimens in different spheres of Indian art.

WEST ASIAN STUDIES SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

SYED SHAMSUL HUDA, Shillong

Dear Brothers,

I thank you from the core of my heart for having elected me Sectional President of the West Asian Studies. I just wonder how your choice fell on me in sptie of the fact that in India there are many scholars in the line under whom I will feel proud to study. I am feeling shy to speak to you scholars here who are specialised in this study. Placed in such an awkward position, I propose to deal with a few salient features of the developments in this region of everlasting interest.

The West Asian region is not a very well defined area. Previously it was called Middle East. The title Middle East, though conveniently could include a few African countries like Egypt, Sudan, etc., it could not be applied to some of the West Asiatic countries having important bearing on the affairs of this area. West Asia may inlcude countries like Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. Even West-Pakistan may fall within it, though in practice, scholars do not seem to deal with West Pakistan and Afghanistan while dealing with West Asia. West Asia may include the following countries—Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Israel, Lebanon, Jordan, Hadramant, Oman, Yemen, Bohreign, Cyprus, Kuwait and the African countries like Egypt, Sudan, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Libya.

It is but logical that West Asia should include some African countries, specially those of North Africa. The connection between Asia and Africa has always been close. Many scholars believe that there were probably land connections in pre-historic times. After the advent of Islam, the African people got so much connected with the Arab that it is indeed not possible to make clear study of West Asia without the Negroes of Africa. Ethnologically also, the people of the West Asia got mixed up with Negro blood long before Islam. The Asiatic and African blacks were strewn along a straight path between tropical Asia and Tropical Africa and there was much intermingling betweeen Africa and Western Asia. In Arabia, the Mongoloids and Negroids mingled from the earliest times.

In most of the political developments, wars, etc., of the Arab nations, the people of Africa played a vital part. With the help of the African people and soldiers, many spectacular victories were achieved by the Arabs. Thus study of the West Asian affairs requires study of the Africans also.

West Asia is the cradle of the most of the great religions of the world. The Aryans with their vedic religion of monotheism flourished near about this region (Caspean sea region) from where the vedic Aryans migrated to India about the time when Babylonia fell to the Aryan Kassits. The Aryans belong to Indo-European group speaking sanskrit, a language allied to Persian and several other European languages. There is enough scope and room for research about the Aryans in their ancient home, their beliefs, religion and culture, their adventures and wanderings until they reached India where they settled and since when they are in the light of history.

In view of the great cultural developments in the field of astronomy, Mathematics, etc., in India by the Aryans, it is very likely that the Aryans in their original home had great connection with Assyrians and the Chaldaeans who also made great progress in the study of the planets, stars, etc. Nineveh, which became the capital of Assyria, under Shalmanesser I about 1300 B. C., was a summerian town about 3500 B. C. and an important seat of learning in astronomy and other allied sciences.

It is this ancient home of the Aryans where another monotheistic religion of Zoroastrianism sprang up. It was propagated and preached by Zoroastra as called by his fellowmen in 1000 B. C. during the reign of Kai Vishtasp of Iran. His birth place was Rhaga in Media. He was a vegetarian. He proclaimed the unity of God, Ahura Mazda. After subjugation of Persia by the Muslims, a group of them came to India and settled in Cambay in Gujarat.

In India they came to be called Parsees who are the only survivors of this great people and their book ' Zend Avesta ' contains the last remains of the ancient doctrines, laws and customs of Zoroastianism. The similarity between the vedic and Zend Avesta languages, the resemblance of even the composition of the Zend Avesta and the vedas, the similarity of the doctrines and the ceremonies of the two religions, are some facts which should inspire scholars to make deeper and more intensive study.

Then sprang up in this region another world religion Judaism founded and propagated by Abraham of Ur in summeria. He came to Palestine and settled there where Judaism found a fertile soil to prosper. His followers are known as Jews.

It is here again where Jesus rose and founded christianity on the rudiments of Judaism.

Lastly, Mohammad rose in this same region and caught up the ends of the teachings of Abraham and Jesus and founded Islam.

The followers of these great religions spread out all over the world and have shaped and been shaping the thought of the world and philosophy of life.

Again, great civilisations and cultures rose in this region at different ages Assyrian civilisation, Babylonian civilisation, Mesopotamian civilisation, Egyptian civilisation, Iranian civilisation all rose and fell after contributing to the sum total of human knowledge and culture.

It is in this region where human civilisation started. Our forefathers who first learnt the alphabets (the Phoenicians), learnt agriculture, domesticated animals, invented the numerals, lived in this part of the world.

Great dynasties of king and monarchs like the pharoes and others ruled these regions, founded great empires, fought great wars with each other and left the world leaving indelible marks in human civilisation. Things of everlasting importance like Pyramids, Mummies, Hierogliphics, etc., are lying here to speak about the progress they made. The region is not only seats of civilisations but scenes of internecine wars and battles of great consequences. The red sea is so named because on it were fought many bloody wars and battles in ancient times.

It will, thus, be seen how very important and interesting is this region since ancient times.

Then came the mediaeval age with great upheavals due to clash of a new power namely the Moslems with the old ones. Great empires and kingdoms fell like nine pins before the onslaught of the Moslems and there sprang up a civilisation which absorbed the legacy of human knowledge and took the torch of knowledge further ahead.

An era of enlightenment, scientific investigation and culture followed and paved the way for modern science and civilisation. Knowledge was gleamed from every corner of the globe, true to the sayings of Prophet Muhammad "For a Muslim, knowledge is a missing camel, wherever he finds it, he catches hold of it" " Go even to China for knowledge ", " Seek after knowledge from cradle to grave ", etc.

Ibnul Muqaffa came to India at the very early stage of Moslem Soctiey. His Arabic translation of *Panchatantra* was the only extant book which was translated into Spanish and from the Spanish version it went to other European languages and from which it ultimately came to India, its original home. Though the European orientalists have done and been doing extensive researches on this period, there is enough room for research to bring out all the facts for a real picture of the age. Though the work of the European scholars is really very thorough, their habits of twisting facts and misinterpretation of facts reduce the value of the works.

The Islamic empire ultimately disintegrated. The princes raised their heads and became independent. Some of these small principalities flashed and shone like lightening in dark clouds.

After the fall of Baghdad, this region had, apparently, nothing worthy of special mention; as if the nations fell into a coma, until in the 16th century, an empire was again built under Turkish hegemony in which all the Arab countries including those in Africa were included. The coming into being of an Islamic empire after almost complete dismemberment speaks volumes about the vigour of the peoples of this region. The Ottoman empire extended from Budapest to Mecca and from upper Egypt to the Black Sea. The Arab countries remained in the Ottoman empire for nearly four centuries during which period European powers gradually began to penetrate into the Arab countries.

The rule of the Turkish emperors, rivalries and competitions among European powers for economic gains in the Arab countries (as a result of revival and rapid growth of international trade. European industry required additional market which was found in the Ottoman Empire), the national movements for independence and for cultural and religious as well as economic and agrarian reforms, all these are of absorbing interest for scholars and deserve intensive research.

Ecclesiastical states (Auquaf) under religious and educational institutions like mosques, Madrasas, Darvesh monasteries (Khanquhs) occupy very important position in any Muslim Society. Often these got embroiled in political movements made by aspirants of political power. During this period this feature was very prominent. The use of the Azhar university by every political party in Egypt for advancing their own cause is a very glaring instance of the kind.

An interesting feature of the ecclesiastical estates is that it made no distinction between the laity and the clergy. These estates were owned both by christian and Moslem denominations. In Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, for example, there were 10 Christian and 5 Moslem estates of importance. The Moronite church owned vast tracts of lands and exploited the peasantry.

The system of payment of three-year rent and $1/5$ of the value of land by the heir after the death of the owner of the land under the Mamelukes resembles the death-tax of modern times.

There was collective ownership of land in many Arab countries, specially among some tribes. This prevented fragmentation of land and brought wealth and prosperity to the whole commune or community. This is now very successfully practised in Israel and efforts are being made in some states in India for this system of co-operative agriculture.

The whole region is now reduced into many independent countries all of which claim to be Arabs except Turkey. This region has seen many socio-religious and socio-politico-religious movements from the early days of Islam which make very absorbingly interesting study. A few such glaring movements which thrilled and often jolted the Moslem Society all over the eastern world are the Kharijits, Sheism, the movement of Ibn Taymiya, Ikhwanussafa, movement of Jmaluddin Afghani, Sanusi movement, Wahhabism, Bektasi movement, Bahaism, young Turk movement and Moslem Brotherhood. There is enough room for intensive research about these movements some of which created sharp bends in the course of the culture of particular regions. These were reform movements and left great impressions in the activites and religious beliefs of millions of Moslems. Some of the chronologically later movements were influenced by earlier movements. Profitable research can well be made not only in these reform movements but also in their inter-connection and inter-influence. Such religious movements often had great political repercussions, *e. g.*, Kadiriya and Rahmania movements in Algeria spread hatred against the Turks. The Moslem Brotherhood propagated hatred against King Farooq. Great thinkers and writers arose in this area during the mediaeval period. While a few of them like Ibu Sina and Omor Khayyam, have attracted attention of the European Scholars, a great majority of them are left out mererly by making what may be called passing remarks. Some of these thinkers influenced Western thought. To mention a few, Dante got his idea of *Divine Comedy* from Ibn Tufail through his book *Hayy Ibu Yakzan*; Darwin got the idea of origin of life propounded in his book *Origin of Species* from Ibn Kholdoon who propounded the theory that at first there was mineral life which after a series of continuous developments and progress like cellular life, plant life, animal life, etc., ultimately developed into human life. Human life again developed from its premitive stage and going through series of various stages became Saints having spiritual powers over material World. According to him the highest development of human words, prophethood beyond which stage man can not go any further, in other life is he can not attain Godhood.

Downfall of these countries including the Ottoman Empire was brought about by the penetration of European powers into this area and their joint conspiracies to break to pieces any semblance of unity among these countries. Realisation of this objective of the European powers was helped by misrule, atrocities and oppression of the lower classes by the ruling class.

The ottoman feudal lords exploited the peasants and fellahin and sucked their blood to death. Occurrence of revolts in the form of reform movements was inevitable. Revolts for reforms led by Badruddin Simawi (1415–18) and Kara Yazici of Turkey against exploiters by the turn of the 16th century convulsed Turkey, Syria and Iraq. Such revolts occurred in other areas also against exploitation and oppression. This illustrates the truth of the Arabic proverb "when you Press something too hard it bursts". West Pakistani industrialists and capitalists exploited the masses and the peasants of what was then called East Pakistan now called Bangla Desh to such an extent that they ultimately revolted to throw out the yoke of tyranny and oppression. Acquisition of all the lands from the Multazims and Mamelukes by the state and payment of 'Faiz' or compensation for them resembles acquisition of the native Indian states by the Govenment of India and payment of compensation for them.

The work of Lawrence of Arabia was made easy by the uprising of Abdul Wahhab, the founder of Wahhabism, who inspired the people to rise against the Turks and throw off the yoke of foreign rule. His desire was unity among the Arab peoples. Efforts for unification of all Arab states speaking Arabic had also been made by Mohammad Ali, the Great, of Egypt. Since the Unkiyar Skelessi Treaty and Munchengratz convention barred the way of Mohammad Ali to win some European countries of the Ottoman Empire. Egypt's design was to revive national consciousness and restore Arab nationhood.

These revolts and uprisings may be compared with those of Wat Tayler, Thomas Munzer and John Huss and liberal wars of Russian peasants.

Another interesting feature of modern times is the trend towards nationalism against internationalism or international brotherhood of Islam, the religion professed by the general masses of this region. Philosophers and thinkers rise and rouse national feelings and discourage the tie of Islam as a unifying factor of all Arab or Islamic States. Zia Gok of Turkey, Dr. Taha Hussain of Egypt and Dr. Iqbal of India, afterwards of Pakistan, to mention but a few. The rise of narrow nationalism stands as a bar on the way of unity among the Arab countries even against their common foe. This is also responsible for failure of Pan—Islamism or movement of fertile crescent.

Attitude of the European powers towards events in the East is worth study. Greece revolted in 1826 to secede from Turkish rule. This revolt was backed by France, England and Russia. Russia fought against Turkey on behalf of Greece and made Greece independent of Turkey in 1829. A few years later in 1840, England, Austria and Prussia intervened in the internal affairs of the Ottoman empire and fought against Egypt in favour of Turkey. There were no protests from any power against these interventions. But when India backed the secessionist movement of Bangla Desh from West Pakistan with far greater justification, Europe was indignant with India.

The greatest event of the century in this area is however coming into being of a Jewish State, namely, Israel. Conceived by European conspiracy and delivered by the United Nations Organisation by caesarean method, the child has soon become a Goliath with its hairs of super arms obtained from the conspirators. Compared to Israel, all the Arab Countries of Asia and Africa combined together are but pigmies. Not forgetting her shameful defeat and loss of Jaruselam a few centuries earlier, Europe started a second round of crusades with quite a different but a very subtle strategy and overwhelmingly superior arms, cleverly conftriving to keep the Arab nations disunited, so that they can not offer any united stand. The Arabs depend on Europe for their arms and other capital goods for their economic developments. The game is quite clear. The rivalries and mistrust of each other among the Arabs, the European conspiracies and part European powers are playing to create and keep alive those mutual rivalries and differences, the lip sympathy of the communist block for the Arabs, all these are of absorbing interest for scholars. True European scholars have been writing innumerable works on these matters but as most of them are written with ulterior motive, it is difficult to get a true picture and one can not get to the depth. It is therefore necessary for oriental scholars of the east to make deeper study and research in this line.

I would suggest that in order to attract scholars and make this West Asian Section more interesting and profitable, we should extend special invitation to scholars of repute to deliver lectrures and make other contributions.

Lastly, I thank you most sincerely for your co-operation and patient hearing and adew good bye till we meet again in the 27th Session with prayer to almighty for long life and prosperity of the All India Oriental Conference.

SELECT PAPERS

VEDIC SECTION

VEDIC *STÁRYA-* AND PĀṆINI 3. 1. 123

By

M. D. BALASUBRAHMANYAM, TIRUPATI.

1 ... *A. 3. 1. 123*

Pāṇini (= P.) teaches in A 3, 1, 123—

छन्दसि निष्टर्क्य-देवहूय-प्रणीय-उन्नीय-उच्छिष्य-मर्य-स्तर्या-ध्वर्य-खन्य-खान्य-
देवयज्या-आपृच्छ्य-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचाय्यपृडानि

—that in the Sacred Literature (*chandasi*), *niṣṭarkya-* and the other words listed in the rule, are *nipātana-s*. This is one of the rules which demonstrate the fact that P. has exploited Vedic sources from first-hand experience,

Of the seventeen *nipātana*-words listed in the rule, four words -*unnīya*, *khānya-*, *pratiṣīvya-*, and *stāvya-* —may be considered as belonging to the class of unattested Vedisms, since these do not occur in the extant *Saṁhitā*, *Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka* texts. Concomitantly, six words belong exclusively to the domains of the *Ṛg*. and *Yajurvedas*. Such words are : *devahū̀ye* (*ṚV*. 7, 85, 2), *khā́nya-* (*TS* 7, 4, 13, 1), *brahmavā́dyam* (*TS* 2, 5, 8, 3), *ucchiṣyā́ḥ* (*Mai.S*. 3, 9, 2), *praṇī́yaḥ* (*Mai.S* 3, 9, 1) and *upacāyyā̀-pṛḍam* (*Kāṭha*.S 11, 1).

2 ... *Pāṇinīyas on A 3, 1, 123*

Following the explanation offered in the *Mahābhāṣyam* and the *Kāśikā*, we can conveniently group the 17 *nipātana*-words under the *Kṛtya-kṛt*-suffixes (gerundives in-*ya-*) with which these words are formed, as follows :

KyaP–words	ṆyaT–words	YaT–words
āpṛcchya-	upacāyyâ-pṛḍam	khánya-
ucchiṣyá- (?)	khānyâ-	devayajyá- (?)
unnī́ya-	niṣṭarkyâ-	dhvárya- (?)
devahū́ya-	brahmavādyâ- (?)	márya-
praṇī́ya-	bhāvyâ-	stárya (?)
pratiṣīvya-	stāvyâ-	

3 ... *stárya-* (*√stṛ* + *yaT*)

In this paper I focus my attention on *starya-*. That the word is derived from the process: *√stṛ* (or *stṛ-* according to the *Altindische Grammatik*, II. 2, p. 791) + *yaT*, is shown by Patañjali (*Mahābhāṣyam*, Ed. Kielhorn, II. 88. 1) who reads *staryā* (fem.). Accordingly, the author of the *Kāśikā* comments :

staryā, striyām eva nipātanam /

Bhaṭṭoji (*Sid. Kau.* 3407) voices a similar opinion :

staryā, / *striyām eva ayam* /

The grammatical steps with which *stáryā* is constructed, are shown below :

	√stṛ	+ ya–T	.. ..	nipātana by A 3, 1, 123
	"	+ ya–φ	.. ..	T = φ by 1, 3, 3 ; 9
	star	+ ya	.. ..	guṇa by 7, 3, 84
=	stárya–		.. ..	barytone by 6, 1, 213
	stárya	+ Ṭ–ā–P	.. ..	ṬāP by 4, 1, 4
	"	+φ ā φ	.. ..	Ṭ/P = φ by 1, 3, 5; 3; 9
=	*stáryā.*		.. ..	barytone remains, since /P/ indicates *anudātta* of suffix by 3, 1, 4.

Thus *stáryā* ' to be laid low ' or ' overthrown ' or 'conquerable ' is a barytone in Pāṇinian system of accentuation.

4 ... *The Vedic Facts*

The fem. word *stáryā* is not attested in the *Saṁhitās* that have come down to us. Nevertheless *Mai.S* 1, 5, 10 (*Brāhmaṇa* prose) records the fem. negative formation, *astaryā̂*, as a perispomenon :

eṣā́ vā́ agnḗr astaryā̂ḥ priyā́ tanū́r varūthyā / (v. Schroeder's edn., I. 78). It also occurs in *AV* (*Paippalāda*) 2, 23, 5–d :

urvī̀r astaryā śaradas tarema / (Raghuvira's edn., I. 31).

Among the *Brāhmaṇa* texts, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (=*ŚB*) alone records the masculine *stárya–* (barytone) twice at 2, 2, 2, 10 and 14 (=*ŚB Kāṇva* : 1, 2, 2, 7 ; 9). The oxytonic negative compound *astaryá–* (masc.) also occurs side by side with the barytonic *stárya–* in *ŚB*. Before citing this passage, a word may be said about the context of *ŚB* 2, 2, 2, 10. The Devas wanted to conquer the Asuras, their mortal enemies. In order that the enemies may be vanquished, the Devas thought it proper to keep the immortal, consecrated Agni, who alone among mortals is immortal, in their innermost souls; then they would become unconquerable (*astaryāḥ*) and immortal (*amṛtāḥ*). To quote *ŚB* 2, 2, 2, 10 :

ते होचुः । हन्तेदम् अमृतम् अन्तरात्मन्नादधामहै, तऽइदम् अमृतम् अन्तरात्मन्नाधाय, अमृता भूत्वा, अस्तर्या भूत्वा, स्तर्यान् सपत्नान् मर्त्यान् अभिभविष्याम, इति ।]Weber's edn.

Eggeling (SBE XII.p. 310) renders the passage as under :

> They said, ' Come, let us place that immortal element in our innermost soul ! When we have placed that immortal element in our innermost soul, and become immortal and unconquerable, we shall overcome our conquerable, mortal enemies.

Sāyaṇa glosses the word *astaryāḥ* with ' *ahiṃsyāḥ* ', and his explanation of the word at 2, 2, 2, 14 reads as follows :

अमृतरूपाग्निधारणेन यस्मादाहिताग्निरहिंस्यः तस्माद् विवदमानोऽसौ अनाहिताग्निम् अभिभवितुं शक्नोति इत्यर्थः । (Bombay edn., Part I. p. 385)

5 ... *Thieme's argument*

In his *Pāṇini and the Veda* (p. 94), Thieme candidly admits of " Pāṇini's independence in arranging Vedic facts, and his originality in putting a problem touching on Vedic grammar ". Yet he thinks (p. 19) that if P. had known the masculine forms (*stáryān* and *astaryā́ḥ*) attested in *ŚB*, " he would have read *starya*- beside *staryā* ". Furthermore, he writes (p. 20):

"It is not impossible that Pāṇini knew such a form (* *stáryā*: MS *astaryâ* = MS *mēdhya*– : MS *amedhyâ*–), but it seems more likely that he knew only *astaryā* and abstracted * *staryā* from it (cf. *KS aniṣṭarkyâ*–: *niṣṭarkyâ*– against Pāṇ. 6, 2, 160). I even think, it is again the accent that has induced him to include the word in his list. "

We have to face two difficulties in accepting Thieme's assumption : first, that the circumflex accent falling on the last syllable of * staryâ goes against the yaT–suffixation, that is to say, if yaT is suffixed to √stṛ–, the resultant kṛt-derivative must be barytonic according to P. 's rule: *yato'nāvaḥ* (*A* 6, 1, 213), and second, that the perispomenon of *astaryâ* occurring in *Mai.S* 1, 5, 10, contradicts the oxytonesis of *astaryā́*, since P. specifically teaches in the rule : *kṛtya-uka-iṣṇuc-cārvādayaśca* (A. 6, 2, 160), that a negative compound whose second component is made by means of the gerundive suffix in *-ya-* and others, is oxytonic. To put it particularly, the negative compound *astaryā́* (f.) must be oxytonic according to *A*. 6, 2, 160, while *stárya*– must be barytonic in P ' s system of accentuation through the force of *A* 6, 1, 213, if yaT is the suffix with which both the words are formed.

6 ... *The Samādhāna–*

I may now suggest a more convenient solution than the one suggested by Thieme. We have, of course, to tamper with the sandhi of "... *staryādhvarya* ..." (occurring in *A* 3, 1, 123), and dissolve the words as follows: "... *starya–* + *adhvarya–* ...". I now read *starya–* in lieu of *staryā* and *adhvarya–* instead of *dhvarya–*. In fact the gerundive adjective *starya–* will take proper care of the masculine *staryaḥ* and the fem. *staryā* . Therefore the supposition of the *Kāśikā* that *staryā* must be treated as a *nipātana* only in the feminine, runs on slippery grounds. Neither in the *Mahābhāṣyam* nor in the *Kāśikā* do we find any Vedic illustration for *staryā* and *dhvarya–*. Consequently a student of P. and the Veda is legitimately tempted to refurnish the text of the *Mahābhāṣyam* (II. 88. 1) as follows:

caturbhyaś ca yato vidhiḥ / *maryaḥ, staryaḥ, adhvaryaḥ, khanyaḥ* / Having dissolved the sandhi of *staryādhvarya–* as *starya–* and *adhvarya–*, we may now bring a 'rapproachment' between P. and *ŚB*. To explain fully, the barytonic *stą́ryān* add the oxytonic *astaryāḥ*, both of which belong exclusively to the property of *ŚB*, could be perfectly justified in the light of P.'s accent rules, 6, 1, 213 and 6, 2, 160 respectively. If my interpretation is correct, I think here lies the proof for P.'s acquaintance with *ŚB*.

My justification for accepting the readings, *stárya–* and *adhvaryą́–* stems from another important consideration. The word *dhvarya–* is attested neither in the *Saṁhitās* nor in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts. But the negative compound, *adhvaryaḥ* occurs in the famous *Prāyaścitti* hymn of *Kāṭha.S.* 35, 7 (= *KKS* 48, 9):

adhvaryô'yáṃ yajñó astu: "Let this sacrifice be unimpaired". Thieme (*op. cit.*, 24) again hypothesises that P.'s *dhvarya–* (√*dhvṛ* + *yaT*) might go back to *adhvaryâ–* in the same way as *staryā* is abstracted from *astaryā*. Obviously his hypothesis runs on uncertain grounds. It may incidentally be pointed out that Roth–Boehtlingk (PW, p. 1261) record *stárya* (not *staryā*) with the following note:

Stárya (von 1. star) adj. Pāṇ. 3, 1, 123. niederzustrecken, *ŚB* 2. 2. 2. 10. Consequently I am led to believe that P. might have had *starya–* and *adhvarya* in his mind, although his commentators have dissolved the sandhi of *staryādhvarya–* as *staryā* and *dhvarya–* without any justification whatsoever. As has been rightly stated by Thieme (*Introduction*, p. xi, f.), "none of the later interpreters took the trouble of questioning the completeness of the Vedic details given by pāṇini, which was taken for granted already by Patañjali".

Yet one difficulty remains to be solved. We get into trouble with the accent of the negative compounds, *adhvaryā́ḥ* (*a* √*dhvṛ* + *yaT*) occurring in *Kāṭha.S* 35, 7 and *astaryāḥ* (*a√stṛ + yaT*) attested by *Mai.S* 1, 5, 10. In conformity with the rule *A* 6, 2, 160, both the negative compounds must be oxytonic, whereas these derivatives in *-ya-* are perispomenised in the Veda. This apparent irregularity between P. and the Veda in the system of accentuation could be explained by adding Vedic *adhvaryá-* and *astaryá-* to the list of permutations (*vyatyaya-s*) taught by P. in the rule : *vyatyayo bahulam* (*A* 3, 1, 85). To explain fully, both words are perispomenised in the Veda on the strength of the rule : *tit svaritam* (*A* 6, 1, 185 which , although not actually prescribed here for operation, replaces *A* 6, 2, 160 which is applicable *sensu stricto* in this particular situation. That both the negative compound-words in *-ya-* are clear instances of *svaravyatyaya-s*, is shown by the fact that P. has treated these as *nipātanas*.

7 .... *Conclusion*

The problem posed here, although not exhaustive, is sufficient to furnish us with the following criteria governing the relevancy and applicability of P.'s rules to Vedic facts :

(i) P. has minutely observed the linguistic peculiarities of several Vedic texts which are intimately known to him and which appear more or less in the same form as these have been handed down to us through an unbroken, oral tradition.

(ii) The Pāṇinian commentators did not approach the problem *au grand sérieux*. What kind of Vedic texts furnished P. with the *nipātana*-words taught in *A* 3, 1, 123 – a rule which was commented upon by them in a rather lethargic mood, without providing us with apt Vedic illustrations ?

(iii) In consequence of (i) and (ii), a student of P. and the Veda is legitimately inclined to dissolve the sandhi of *staryādhvarya-* in A 3, 1, 123 as '*starya-*' and '*adhvarya-*' (against Pāṇinīyas). If this interpretation holds good, here lies one positive clue regarding P.'s acquaintance with the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* text.

(iv) It is now admitted beyond doubt that P. has drawn *devahūya* exclusively from ṚV, *khā́nya-* and *brahmavā́dya-* from *TS*, *ucchiṣyá-* and *praṇīya-* from *MaiS* and *upacāyyá-pṛḍam* from *Kāṭha.S*, Correspondingly, the forms *stárya-* and *adhvarya-* which exclusively belong to the domains of *ŚB* and *Kāṭha.S* respectively, are known to Ācārya Pāṇini, a *śrotriya-* par excellence.

APROPOS OF THE PRAVARGYA

By

C. G. KASHIKAR, Poona

The Pravargya is a rite which is performed to the accompaniment of a Soma-sacrifice. It used to be performed even in the Ṛgvedic period in some form not known at present, as is clear from the frequent mention of *gharma* in the Ṛgveda. The general view is that originally the Pravargya was an independent rite and was later on tacked on to the Soma-sacrifice. Even though a small rite, it holds a significant place in the history of the Vedic religion. Attempts to study the character and bring out the significance of the Pravargya have been made by several scholars. Recently J. A. B. van BUITENEN (= B) has published a monograph[1] on this subject. It would, therefore, be expedient to take a fresh stock of the study of the Pravargya.

The preparing of the Mahāvīra

The Mahāvīra-the chief implement used in the Pravargya, plays an important role in the rite. The pot, as it is traditionally used for the Pravargya even at present, is made of clay, is as high as a span, and looks as if three-spherical bowls were kept one upon another with an all-through vacuum. Even though B is aware that this shape " is not exactly what the Śrautasūtras indicate," [2] he seems to have laid much stress on this shape, and goes on to draw certain conclusions therefrom. He has first referred to Āpastamba's procedure of preparing the Mahāvīra. The relevant portion of the *ĀpŚS* 15. 2-14 reads : *mahāvīraṁ karoti tryuddhim pañcoddhim aparimitoddhim vā prādeśamātram . ūrdhvasānum upariṣṭād āsecanavantam bilam madhye saṁnatam vāyavyaprakāram. ĀpŚS* 15.3.4–5 adds : *veṇuparvaṇā bilaṁ karoti tṛtīyavelām atinayati.* Reading this in conjunction with the relevant portion from the *BaudhŚS,* he understands that " *uddhi* elevation can only mean one of the three segments set upon a lower one ; and the complete picture is of a clay *Vāyavya* beaker, made up of two more or less spherical clay elements which have a middle where they are joined and which surmount a third element flattened-out to form a broad and stable base ".[3] Here B has drawn a sketch and has asserted that " This shape unmistakably suggests the rough form of

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1. *The Pravargya*, Poona 1968
2. op. cit. p. 9
3. op. cit. p. 11

a man sitting crosslegged, the top corresponding to the head, the middle to the trunk, the base to the crossed legs."[4]

Before scrutinising B's interpretation of the *ĀpŚS*-passage it would be convenient to record the relevant passage from the *BaudhŚS* 9.1 : *trīn piṇḍān karoti/teṣām ekam kartre prayacchati-tenāsya budhnaṁ karoti atiśiṣṭāyai mṛdo-rdham prayacchati-tenā'sya madhyaṁ karoti sarvām antato mṛdam prayacchati tenā'sya bilam karoti-tam prādeśamātram pṛthubudhnam madhye lagnam karoti/ athā'sya veṇukāṇṇḍena dvibhāgam avavidhyati tad asya pinvanam bhavati.*

As B himself has said, the Mahāvīra being at present used at a Pravargya-rite, is not in complete conformity with the prescriptions in the Srautasūtras. The three spherical bowls, which form the chief characteristic of the present-day Mahāvīra, have no authority in the Sūtras. It is not known since what time, and how, the three-bowl-shaped Mahāvīra came to be used in the Pravargya-rite. Perhaps the misunderstanding of the word *uddhi* used in the *TĀ* (5. 1) and many of the Śrautasūtras was responsible for the wrong notion about the pattern of the Mahāvīra. *Uddhi* means an elevation or layer as the derivation (*Ud*+√*dhā*) indicates. Rudradatta on *ĀpŚS* 15.2.14 has explained it as *ucchritāvayavaviśeṣaḥ. Baudhāyana* has not mentioned the word *uddhi*, but from the portion of his sūtra cited above, it is clear that he prescribed the taking up of three lumps of clay one after the other, and the preparing, out of them, of the parts of the Mahāvīra to be placed one upon another. CALAND[5] has rightly explained the word *uddhi.*

Āpastamba says that the Mahāvīra may be prepared out of three layers or five layers or a few more layers. Supposing that *uddhi* was understood as a bowl, we have never come across a Mahāvīra with more than three bowls. Āpastamba has mentioned similar numbers of *uddhis* even in connection with the preparation of the Ukhā at the Agnicayana. The Ukhā does not have any number of bowls.[5a] Whatever may be the reason for the three-bowled moulding of the Mahāvīra in the ritualistic practices, it is obvious that that pattern was not the one which was intended by the Sūtrakāras. Āpastamba and others have described the Mahāvīra as resembling a Soma-cup (*vāyavyaprakāra*). A Soma-cup (Graha) is bent in the middle;[6] it is not described as having a three-bowled shape. It is, therefore, not reasonable to speak about the Mahāvīra characterised by three bowls, and build any theory on that basis.[6a]

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[4] op cit. p. 11

[5] Das *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba* II, Amsterdam 1924.

[5A] A *tryuddhi* vessl for cooking rice is mentioned in the Āp. Ś. S. 5. 22. 6. The word *tryuddhi* has been explained by Dhūrtasvāmin as *trikāṇḍa* and by Rudradatta as *trīṇi parvāṇi yasyāḥ sthālyāḥ sā tryuddhiḥ.*

[6] The Soma-cups are described in the ĀpSS 12. 1. 4 as *prādeśamātrāṇy–ūrdhvasāny upariṣṭād āsecanavanti madhye saṁnatāni vāyavyāni bhavanti.*

B has translated *madhye saṁnatam* of Āp as "indented in the middle". He has translated *madhye lagnam* of the *BaudhŚS* as "joined in the middle", and says that "that part which has a broad base, viz. the central segment, is joined with the top segment and it is this joint that is described as *madhya*"[7] In this connection M. A. MEHENDALE[8] has suggested that *lagnam* should be taken to mean 'thin, narrow'. This is right in view of the parallel *saṁnatam* in Āp and other Sūtras.[9] MEHENDALE further says that "the word *lagnam* is intended to contrast with *pṛthu* 'broad'." This does not appear to be correct. The word *pṛthubudhnam* occurs in the *BaudhŚS*; it is not found in the *ĀpŚS*. Bodhāyana asks the artisan first to prepare the Mahāvīra as high as a span, broad-based and bent in the middle region; and then pierce through it by means of a bamboo-stick from above up to the bottom of the second part. It may be observed that as a result of the piercing through, the two upper parts of the Mahāvīra will be widened, and the lowest part will be able to cope up with the enlarged circumference only if it is sufficiently broad. Presumably, after the piercing through, the lowest part and the middle part joining it would be of almost equal circumference, the lowest part will then not look broader. The Sūtrakāras have described the Mahāvīra as resembling a Vāyavya cup. The latter does not have a conspicuous base. So too the base of the Mahāvīra will not ultimately look larger than the bottom of the middle elevation.

Āpastamba further describes the Mahāvīra as *upariṣṭad āsecanavantam bilam* which B has translated as "a hollow on the top to contain liquid." But the sketch drawn by him shows a rather closed opening with a beak. As a matter of fact, the Mahāvīra is nowhere described as having a beak. A Vāyavya cup, which is mentioned to indicate the resemblance, does not have any beak. Perhaps B understood *prasecana* for *āsecana*.[10] The former means a beak, and in fact, Āp. in the same context prescribes the preparation of two milking pots having beaks.[11]

If we carefully compare the methods of preparing the Mahāvīra as laid down by the various sūtrakāras, it will be seen that it is only the method

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[6A] The present-day Mahāvīra can be prepared and is actually prepared on a potter's wheel. The procedure laid down in the Sūtras, however, presumes the preparing by hand.

[7] op. cit. p. 11

[8] *ABORI Golden Jubilee Volume* 1968, pp. 193–195. It is, however, not clear as to what he understands by the word *madhye*.

[9] Bhavasvāmin, the old commentator of the BaudhŚS, has explained *lagnam* as *tanubhūtam*.

[10] Rudradatta explains *āsecanam* as *bilam* in his comm. on ĀpŚS 12. 1. 4.

[11] cf. 15. 3. 10 : *dogdhre karoti hastyoṣṭhye prasecanavatī.*

laid down by Bodhāyana which can faithfully be followed in properly preparing the Mahāvīra on the spot. The artisan, without whose aid the Mahāvīra can not be prepared, is mentioned by Bodhāyana alone. Āpastamba who has sought the help of an artisan in preparing the Ukhā at the Agnicayana, has not referred to him in connection with the preparation of the Mahāvīra. Āpastamba, Bharadvāja and others have prescribed the polishing of the Mahāvīra which can hardly be accomplished without the help of an artisan. It is also difficult to finish it in the course of the procedure. Bodhāyana does not prescribe polishing. These facts point to the possibility of the Mahāvīra being actually prepared beforehand, and being symbolically manufactured at the proper time, in the time of Bharadvāja, Āpastamba and other sūtrakāras. The procedure of preparing the Mahāvīra as laid down by Āpastamba and others will, therefore, have to be looked in that light.

B's interpretation of the passage describing the girdle round the Mahāvīra is also not correct. Āp. says: *upabilam rāsnāṁ karoti* (15. 3. 3) which Rudradatta has explained as *bilapradeśe rajjusadṛśam valayam karoti.* Bodhāyana says *tryaṅgule caturaṅgule vā rāsnām paryasyati.* The original injunction it the *TĀ* (5. 3. 5) is: *parigrīvaṁ karoti* which is simply paraphrased in the Sūtras. CALAND says that this girdle was probably raised so that the pot may not slip from the hand ("das Nicht-aus-der-hand-gleiten des Gefässes"). Since the Mahāvīra is not held by the hand, it will be proper to say "from the clutches of the pincers" instead of "From the hand". B says: "this girdle we would expect to find around the central element the trunk". It is not clear on what grounds B brings down the location of the girdle. It may be noted that Āp. has prescribed the raising of the girdle (*rāsnā*) round the cavity.[12]. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (14. 1. 2. 17) which is quoted by B has sought to find out a queer analogy in describing the Mahāvīra. It reads: *madhye saṁgṛhītam, madhye saṁgṛhītam iva hi śiro'thā'syopariṣṭāt tryaṅgulam mukham unnayati nāsikām evā'sminn etad dadhāti.* The *KātyŚS* (25. 1. 17) paraphrases the injunctive part of this passage as *ūrdhvam mekhalāyās tryaṅgulam,* "the Mahāvīra should have a height of three fingers (round and) above the girdle". By the word *mukha* we have to understand the opening (=*āsecana* of Āp and *pinvana* of Bodh). The statement of *ŚBr.* that the Mahāvīra is bent in the middle because the head is bent in the middle and that the opening is the nose need not be taken seriously. B has concluded that 'the artifact was viewed as an anthropomorphus".[13] I think that the above discussion goes against his conclusion.

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[12] In the contemporary ritual-practices, no girdle is shown round the Mahāvīra, nor is it drawn by B in his sketch.

[13] op. cit. p. 12.

Not an icon

B further pleads his case by saying "that the object (=Mahāvīra) appears in two very different functions as an object which itself is the focus of the rite, the Mahāvīra as an icon, and as a vessel used for the oblation of a milk-mixture". He further adds that " any attempt at an explication of the rite should base itself upon this distinction."[14] The view that the Mahāvīra was an icon is not proved as we have seen above. The Mahāvīra, which resembles a soma-cup so often used in the Vedic rituals, cannot be taken for an icon. Taking the Mahāvira as an icon, B sought to find out the *pūjā*-element in the rite. After the Mahāvīra is placed on the *pravṛñjanīya* mound upon a silver sheet, " the priest anoints the pot with butter all around." He further adds: " while some texts give as an alternative that the hollow may be filled with butter, the stanzas of both Hotar and Prastotar, and the consistent use of the root *añj* in the manuals prove that the action was anointing. If we are justified in looking upon the Mahāvīra as an icon, it is hard to avoid regarding this anointing of an iconic god as a kind of *pūjā*".

Let us refer to the Sūtra-texts themselves. Bodhāyana, the oldest of the Sūtrakāras, does not at all use any verb derived from *añj*. He plainly says: *athai'nam ājyena pūrayati*," he fills the Mahāvīra with clarified butter."[15] Bharadvāja, the next Sūtrakāra, prescribes the filling in of the Mahāvīra[16]. Āpastamba prescribes the anointing of the Mahāvīra, or alternatively, the filling in of the same.[17] Satyāṣādha prescribes the anointing of the Mahāvīra.[18] Vikhanas,[19] Mānava[20] and Kātyāyana[21] prescribe the filling in of the Mahāvīra. Thus most of the Sūtra-texts prescribe the filling in of the Mahāvīra with clarified butter– a fact which does not conduce to the *pūjā*-element. Of course the Sūtrakāras also prescribe anointing around (*sam-añj*) the Mahāvīra and adding or adjusting the fuel by the priests.

The filling in of the Mahāvīra has a definite purpose. All the Sūtrakāras have prescribed the following by the Adhvaryu of the glow (*ūṣman*) issuing forth from the Mahāvīra at the moment the cow's milk and the goat's milk are poured one after the other into the Mahāvīra. The commentators and Prayogakāras have explained the word *ūṣman* by *jvālā*, while B under-

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14. op. cit. p. 23
15. BaudhŚS 9. 7–8.
16. cf. BhārŚS 11. 7. 14.
17. cf. ĀpŚS 15. 7. 5 : *mahāvīram anakty abhipūrayati vā*
18. SatŚS 24. 3. 2
19. VaikhŚS 13. 9–10
20. MānŚS 4. 2. 23 : *Mahārvīam sarpiṣaḥ pūrayitvā....*
21. KātyŚS 26. 3. 4

stands by it " the smoke caused by the evaporation of the cow's milk ".[22] *Ūṣman* cannot mean 'smoke'. The appearance of the glow is a usual experience even in the present day performances of the Pravargya. One may refer to the photograph furnished by B himself facing p. 62 of his book.[23] There would not be any glow unless there is heated clarified butter in the Mahāvīra while the milk is being poured into it. The filling in of the Mahāvīra prescribed by most of the Sūtrakāras is, therefore, fully justified in spite of the use of the root *añj* in the Vedic texts. Rudradatta in his commentary on the *ĀpŚS* 15. 7. 5 has suggested a compromise that with the verse the Adhvaryu should anoint the Mahāvīra and then fill it in with clarified butter without reciting any mantra.

There is yet another point to be considered in connection with the *pūjā* understood by anointing. The anointing together or around would serve the purpose of keeping the fire flaming. Even in the stanza mentioned by B the hope has been expressed that the Mahāvīra-pot may not be burnt (and burst) by the heat. The anointing therefore dose not depict a form of *pūjā.* Moreover, in iconic worship the area is required to be localised, while in the Vedic ritual the area is eminently mobile. In order to surmount this difficulty B has strived to show that the area of the Pravargya was like a simple temple. By no stretch of imagination the mobile area of the Pravargya can be regarded as a stationary place.[24]

Unitary rite

B distinguishes the Mahāvīra-the icon from Mahāvīra-the vessel. According to him, the Mahāvīra abruptly turns into a vessel after he is adored with a litany.[25] But he himself says that " the recitation of the Hotar, with interesting borrowings from the Atharvaveda, already announces that the Mahāvīra is just a vessel and the God Gharma of an instant ago, a sweet milk draught for the Aśvins. " The ritual of the Pravargya and the reciting by the Hotṛ start simultaneously, as is clear from the directions given in the Sūtras of Āpastamba and others. The verses which the Hotṛ recites in praise of the Gharma include a large number of verses addressed to the Aśvins. This means that the Gharma is primarily intended as an oblation for the Āśvins. The character of the Mahāvīra as a vessel does not *follow* the

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22. op. cit p. 30.

23. The explanation given below the photograph is misleading.

24. op. cit. pp. 25–26. cf. also p. 13 where B has erroneously explained a passage from the BaudhŚS.

25. op. cit. pp. 26–27.

character of the Mahāvīra as an icon; the Mahāvīra is prayed as an independent object and regarded as an oblation at one and the same time.[26]

A similar case is that of king Soma-both in the form of stalks and in that of juice mixed with water etc., and taken in cups and goblets and vessels for offering-whom prayers are offered and who himself is offered as an oblation to Indra and other divinities. There is, therefore, no reason for regarding the Pravargya as a coalescence of two distinct rites; it is a unitary rite.

Symbolism of the Pravargya

Attempts have been made to explain the symbolism of the Pravargya-rite. Thus OLDENBERG[27] has put forward the theory that Pravargya as a whole is meant to intensify the sun so that it may stand the onslaught by the rains that may come in the rainy season, GELDNER,[28] relying on the description in the *ABr* 1. 22. 14, regards it as an allegory of sexual union. KEITH[29] who has discarded GELDNER's theory saying that "the explanations of the Brāhmaṇas are always to be taken with the utmost care," has accepted OLDENBERG's interpretation. LUDERS[30] has advanced a new theory according to which the hot milk in the Mahāvīra represented the celestial Fluid. The Pravargya-rite was intended to strengthen, at a time when there were no rains, the hot celestial fluid which brought rains. According to him, the *madhu* distributed by Aśvins is the dew which wets the earth, and the Aśvins are the only divinity which moistens the earth in a period other than the rainy season. It is, therefore, appropriate that the *gharma,* which represents the heavenly fluid bringing rains, is offered to Aśvins. There is much force in LÜDERS' argument that in India the sun shone very brightly, hence, it needed no intensification. B does not regard LUDERS' explanation as plausible. He has discussed the verses from the well-known Frog-hymn of the Ṛgveda (7. 103) which LÜDERS has interpreted in his favour and which were earlier explained by HILLEBRANDT.[31] The Gharma-rite no doubt used to be performed in the Ṛgvedic times, but we are not in a position to ascertain its character. Whatever may be implied by the Frog-hymn, I think that LÜDFRS' interpretation has a sound basis, and that B's explanations of the Pravargya cannot be regarded as additional support to OLDENBERG's theory.

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[26] B says (p. 27) that there are interesting borrowings in the verses to be recited by the Hotṛ. In fact all the verses belong to the Rgveda. B, who has given the translation of several of the verses to be recited by the Hotṛ (pp. 67 ff.) has referred to a single borrowing from the Atharvaveda 4. 1. 1, 2, 4, 5 (p. 35n. 117). But those verses are really from the ṚV Khila (3. 22. 1–4); they are partly identical with the AV-verses.

[27] *Religion des Veda,* pp. 446. ff.

[28] *Vedische Studien* II, 135

[29] *Ril. Phil. Ved. Up.,* Cambridge 1925 p. 333

[30] *Varuṇa* II, Göttingen, 1959, pp. 359 ff.

[31] *Ritual-Litteratur,* Grundriss III. 2, pp. 134 ff.

B further holds that the rite of preparing, worshipping and disposing of the Mahāvīra was a non-śrotriya, perhaps a non-aryan rite. He sees in it the iconic element and also the liṅga element, the latter being not known to the Vedic Aryans. In my opinion there is nothing in the Pravargya-rite which may prevent it from being regarded as an Aryan and a Śrotriya rite. The symbolism of the Pravargya is explained in the *Aitareya*, the *Śāṅkhāyana* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas* and the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. Out of these only the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* has explained the Pravargya from the fertility aspect, and B is inclined to attach more importance to it. I see no reason for doing so; I simply recall the note of caution sounded by KEITH, mentioned before, with regard to the character of the Brāhmaṇas in general.

The Avāntaradīkṣā is an initiation to be gone through in connection with the study of the Pravargya-portion of the Veda. B has taken note of the enquires made in that connection by CALAND in his translation of the *ĀpŚS*, and has tried to satisfy them. He holds that the priest, who had to officiate at the Pravargya and the Soma-sacrifice, had to go through a supererogatory consecration.[32] I have elsewhere[33] dealt with the topic of Avāntaradīkṣā in detail; so I need not say anything about it here. Suffice it to say that B's explanation is off the mark.

Pravargya–a Sāmavedic rite

While discussing the relation of the Pravargya to the *Sāmaveda*, B has said that the Pravargya is not a Sāmavedic rite. The Pravargya is described in the *Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra* (1. 6) belonging to the Kauthuma Sāmaveda. In 1. 6. 1–12 the disposal of the Pravargya is described wherein four Sāmans ending with the Śyaita are to be chanted by the Prastotṛ. The next sūtra (1. 6. 13) describes the entry of the Prastotṛ at the Pravargya and the chanting of Vāmadevya Sāman; and this is followed by the sūtra (1. 6. 14) which states that the Sāmans (at the disposal of the Pravargya) should be concluded with the Śyaita. The next portion (1. 6, 15–37) records the Sāmans to be chanted, as an optional group, on different occasions beginning with the Dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi and ending with depositing of the Pravargya-implements on the Samrāḍāsandī. B therefore thinks that sūtras 13–14 [34] and 15–37 appear to be an insertion-if not as an insertion, at least as an optional addition. He further asserts " that the *Sāmaveda* eventually began participating probably due to the mere presence of its priests. As it were arriving at the sacrificial area for the Soma-pressings and rituals proposed, they became involved in the *udvāsana* ritual which marks the end of the preliminary rites of the Upasad-days and the beginning of the *Mahākarman*. Then gradually by a progression still dimly visible, they began chanting their sāmans during the Upasad-days themselves."[35]

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[32] op. cit pp. 38. 41.

[33] "*The Avāntaradīkṣa of the Pravargya*" Silver Jubilee Volume of The Journal Of Oriental Research, Madras 1971.

[34] Asko Parpola agrees with B in regarding sūtras 13–14 as an insertion. (*The Śrautasūtras of Lāṭyāyana ānd Dyāhyāyaṇa and their commentaries* vol. I: 2, Helsinki-Helsingfors 1969, Preface p. 5, f. n).

To me it does not appear that sūtras 13–37 should be regarded as a later insertion; they simply represent an optional view. As B has said, sūtra 13 prescribes the entry of the Prastotṛ at the Pravargya and the chanting of the Vāmadevya Sāman. But it need not be regarded as a Foot-note appended to sūtra 12; it represents the view of Dhānañjayya about the chanting of the Vāmadevya Sāman. One may compare with this the *JŚS* 1. 24 which prescribes the chanting of theVāmadevya Sāman as a Śānti at the beginning of the Pravargya-rite and also at the end. It is, however, difficult to construe the sūtra 14; it cannot be correlated to the preceding sūtra. Sūtras 15–37 represent an optional view intended to be recorded originally by the Sūtrakāra himself. The fact, that the *JŚS* 1. 5 prescribes the chanting of Sāmans at the disposal of the Pravargya and 1. 24 prescribes the chanting of the Sāmans during the Pravargya and also in the preceding rites, can be explained similarly. *JŚS* 1. 24 need not be regarded as a later addition, it represents an optional view recorded separately. It is significant to note that the Sāmans mentioned in the *LāṭyŚS* 1. 6. 15–37 are all found in the *Sāmaveda* collections. The tradition of chanting the Pravargya-sāmans is moreover as old as the period of the *TÀ*, *MS* and *GBr*, because these texts have prescribed the call to the Prastotṛ to chant the Sāmans relating to the Pravargya.

According to Āpastamba, the Adhvaryu gives a blanket-order to the Prastotṛ to chant the Sāmans, and this B regards as a sign of later addition of the Pravargya-sāmans. In this connection it may be noted that the Yajurveda Sūtrakāras have generally followed the injunctions in their respective Brāhmaṇas with regard to the giving out of the calls. On several occasions the Adhvaryu gives out a call to the Sāman-chanter to chant Sāman mentioning or not mentioning the specific Sāman. With regard, however, to the Prāvargya-sāmans and some other Sāmans no call is given, and the Sāman-chanter chants the respective Sāmans on the specific occasions of his own accord. This does not necessarily mean that such Sāmans are later additions. That such was not the case, is shown by the fact that the Sutrakāra regarded the presence of the Prastotṛ necessary at an early stage. According to

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[35] op. cit. p. 49

LāṭyŚS 1. 1. 13, the Udgātṛ, after being formally chosen by the sacrificer, sends the Prastotṛ and the Subrahmaṇya to the sacrificial hall in advance for the purpose of the functions to be performed by them, and according to 1. 1. 20, he presents himself at the sacrificial hall at the time of the purchase of Soma or on the Upavasatha day.

B further says, "In Kātyāyana finally we find an intermediary stage betwen the few-sāmans mentioned in the Sūtras of the Black Yajurveda, and those described in the "group" of Lāṭyāyana-Drāhyāyaṇa. This white Yajurveda Sūtra takes for granted that the Sāmaveda participates throughout."[36] I think that we can scarcely form any stages in connection with the participation of the Sāmaveda in the Pravargya. We have already seen that even according to the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, Sāmans were chanted at the Pravargya. We have also seen that Lāṭyāyana, Drāhyāyaṇa, and Jaimini have recorded the view of some teachers that Sāmans should be chanted at Pravargya and other rites. Kātyāyana also prescribes the chanting of Sāmans at the Pravargya. The only difference is that the Prastotṛ is given calls to recite certain Pravargya-sāmans. This does not make much difference. B is of the view that the Pravargya is a definite part of the Soma-sacrifice according to *KātySS* 26. 2. 1: *upasadā cariṣyanś cariṣyan pravargyeṇa carati sapravargye*. But Kātyāyana does not hold that the Pravargya is an essential part of a Soma-sacrifice. The word *Sapravargya* in the above mentioned sūtra clearly shows this. Moreover, with regard to the procedure of a Soma-sacrifice together with the Pravargya, Kātyāyana says that after the rites of Ātithyeṣṭi, Tānūnaptra, and Nihnava, the Pravargya and Upasad should be gone through; or if there is no Pravargya, only Upasad should be gone through. Consequently, the views of the Sūtrakāras of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, of Sāmaveda, and of Śukla Yajurveda in regard to the relation of the Pravargya to the Soma-sacrifice are not much different. Finally B's conclusion that the Pravargya was not a Sāmavedic rite cannot be accepted.[37]

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[36] op. cit. p. 48

[37] Asko Parpola, op. cit. does not agree with B. He had before him only an article written by B and published in *Mélanges d'indianisme à le mémoire de Louis Renou*, Paris 1968, pp. 179–186 which forms chap. 9 of B's book. He has not taken regard of B's book.

Comments on B's treatment in Part II of his book may not be out of place. He holds that Āpastamba is closecly followed by Bharadvāja (p. 53). In fact the latter lived prior to the former cf. C. G. Kashikar, *Sūtras of Bharadvāja* I. Intro.p. xcii. According to B the Agnidh in theory belonged to the Atharvaveda (p. 54). Really he belongs to the Brahman's group; and again the Brahman in theory does not belong to the Atharvaveda. He would be an Atharvaveda if the sacrificer is an Atharvavedin. Otherwise, he may belong to any Veda; he must, however, be well- versed in the three Vedas RK, Yajus and Sāman. By the word *dikṣitaḥ* in ĀpŚS 15. 1. 2. B understands (p. 55) one who has

(*Continued on the next page*)

To sum up:

i) The Mahāvīra connot be looked upon as an anthropomorphus.

ii) The Pravargya is not a coalescence of two distinct rites, worship of the Mahāvīra and offering of the Gharma therefrom to Aśvins.

iii) The Pravargya can hardly be understood as a rite to intensify the sun before rainy season; Gharma may be taken, following Lüders, as the hot celestial fluid bringing rains.

iv) Tne Pravargya-rite did involve the chanting of Sāmans to a smaller or a larger extent.

(Continued from the previous page)

undergone the Avāntaradīkṣā. Really speaking, it is the Dīkṣā at the Soma-sacrifice. The meaning is " If the sacrificer is already initiated, the Adhvaryu should put the thorny stick on the Āhavanīya fire with the verse, *yuñjate mana*. ." The words *anvārabdhe yajamāne* in the BaudhŚS 9. 1 are translated by B as " in case the Yajamāna is only latterly initiated " (p. 55). Obviously they would mean, " while the sacrificer has touched (the Adhavaryu)"

B has translated KātyŚS 26. 1. 1. *dīkṣāsu mahāvīrān sambharati* as " he collects the Mahāvīras (ingredients) when the Dīkṣās have taken place " (p. 56 f. n.). The correct translation should be " He prepares the Mahāvīras during the Dīkṣā days " B has explained *gavedhuka* as plants (p. 57) and grass (p. 60); really they are a kind of grains (Coix Bároata). cf. C. G. Kashikar, *sūtrās* of *Bharadvāja* II, Poona 1964, p. 317. On p. 61 n.§ 12. 1, B has mentioned the materials which the Adhvaryu is required to collect after the vessels are baked. Among these there is *aśmasaṁdāva* by which B. understands " a stone-pestle to grind down a broken implement ". *Aśmasamdāva* means *aśmacūrṇa* (stone-ash, *aśman* + *sam* + √*du*) which word Bodhāyana has actually used a few lines later in the same context. B is further inclined to suggest a correction as *aśmansamdhāva*(?). In the same note he has explained *Kharī* by 'stool'. *Kharī* means a basket. BaudhŚS 9. 5 reads: atra *pūrvaṁ Śāntim upayanti yeṣām anupetā bhavati*. B has wrongly suggested (p. 64 n. § 4. 1) the conjectural reading *anupetvā* instead of *anupetā*. B has stated (p. 67) that in the recitation by the Hotṛ at the Pravargya " every half stanza concludes with *om*, " and he has illustrated it by citing a verse whose halves end with *om* each. This is not correct. The verse is to be entirely recited without breathing in at the verse- half, and the *om* is to be suitably added *only* at the end. B says that " he builds four mounds " (p. 71). Really there are not four, but only three mounds; *pravṛñjanīya*, *udvāsanīya*, and *ucchiṣṭa*.

EKAVṚ́DH AND *EKAVṚ́T* IN THE VEDIC LITERATURE

By

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In the *Sat. Br.* 13. 2. 1 are mentioned the food offerings (*annahomas*) which are offered as part of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The offerings consist of different materials like *ājya, saktu, dhānā* and *lājā* and are offered throughout the night. The offerings commence with those to *prāṇa, apāna* etc. and then follow those which are offered to cardinal numbers like *eka, dvi, tri*, etc. going upto *śata* and *ekaśata* raising successively the following number by one. The formulas accompanying these offerings like *prāṇāya svāhā, apānāya svāhā* etc. are to be found in the *VS* 22. 23–34. While explaining the significance of the act of raising the number each time by one it is observed in the *Śat. Br.* 13. 2. 1. 5 as follows: *ekasmai svāhā dvābhyāṁ svāhā śatāya svāhaikaśatāya svāhā ityanupūrvaṁ juhoti | anupūrvam evaināṁs tat prīṇāti | ekottarā juhoti | ekavṛd vai svargo lokaḥ | ekadhaivainaṁ svargaṁ lokaṁ gamayati* " To one hail ! to two hail ! ... to a hundred hail ! to a hundred and one hail ! ' He offers in the proper order: in the proper order he thus gratifies them (the gods). He performs oblations successively increasing by one, for single indeed, is heaven: singly he thus causes him (the sacrificer) to reach heaven. " (EGGELING).

The word *ekavṛt* is used in the above passage to describe heaven and Eggeling's translation ' single' shows that he undestood it as containing the root-noun *vṛt* as the latter member of the compound.[1]
But since the word occurs apparently to justify the raising of the numbers each time by one (*ekottarā juhoti*) it appears that *ekavṛt* should be interpreted as the nom. sg. of *ekavṛdh* ' increasing by one ', and not of *ekavṛt* ' single '. In the Vedic literature the heaven, like the earth and the mid-region, is sometimes looked upon as having a single layer; but it is also looked upon as having three parts, lying one above the other, or sometimes even seven parts[2], and the sacrificer is supposed to rise (ā–*ruh*) gradually up to them. When in the *Śat. Br.* the heaven is described as *ekavṛdh*, it is obviously with reference to the three-fold or the seven-fold division of the

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[1] BR assigns to *ekavṛ́t* the meaning ' einfach '; MW ' being one', simple.

[2] On " Die Dreiteilung des Himmels " and " Sieben Götterwelten " see Lüders : *Varuṇa* I pp. 57 ff.

heaven. The divisions being looked upon as placed singly one above the other, the heaven rises successively by one. That is the reason why the offerings to cardinal numbers are given every time raising them by one. Only such interpretation of the passage will bring out clearly the relationship between the rising numbers and the rising heaven. Accordingly the last part of the above passage should be translated as: "He offers (the oblations to numbers) successively increasing (them) by one, for the heaven rises singly. He (the priest) thus enables him (the sacrificer) to go to the heavenly world singly"[3].

When one looks to the other occurrences of *ekavṛt* in the vedic literature it appears that *ekavṛt* can be interpreted as the nom. sg. of *ekavṛdh* and not of *ekavṛt*, at least in one more passage. Among the mantras prescribed by the *Āp. Śr. S.* 6. 23. 1 for the morning worship of the Āhavanīya fire occurs the following: *agnir yena virājati somo yena virājati sūryo yena virājati virāḍ yena virājati tenāhaṁ viśvataspari virājyāsam ihaikavṛt.*[4] Caland translates the mantras as: "Das, wodurch Agni sich auszeichnet ... dadurch möchte ich hier allerwärts einfach mich auszeichnen". But it will be seen immediately that in this context when the reciter of the mantra wishes to be prominent among all with that lustre by which Agni and the other deities shine forth, *ekavṛt* is better interpreted as containing the root-noun *vṛdh* 'increasing, prospering,' and not the root-noun *vṛt* 'being, existing, remaining'. The word *ekavṛdh* in this context would mean 'prospering alone',[5] and not, as in the *Śat. Br.* passage, 'increasing by one' (*ekena vardhate*).

It is not the intention to suggest in this paper that *ekavṛt* having the root noun *vṛt* does not occur at all in the Vedic literarure. It occurs, for example, in the *Śat. Br.* itself (3. 6. 3. 14) in connection with the spreading of the sacrificial grass. There the word means 'being single, consisting of a single layer'. The text reads as: *gṛhītvā prastaram ekavṛd barhiḥ stṛṇāti* "and having taken the Prastara, he spreads the altar-grass in a single layer" (Eggeling). The commentator on the *Kāty. Śr. S.* 8. 2. 25 and 8. 7. 12[6] where the word occurs in a similar context also, explains it as 'having one layer' (*ekavṛt*=*ekadhātu*) i. e. the grass is spread only once (*ekavāram*).

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3. The meaning of *ekadhā svargaṁ lokaṁ gamayati* is not quite clear. Perhaps it means that the sacrificer rises up to heaven in single steps.

4. A somewhat similar mantra is given in some manuscripts as the eleventh mantra of the Khila 4. 6: *agnir yena virājati sūryo yena virājati | virāḍ yena virājati tenāsmān brahmaṇaspate virāja samidhaṁ kuru.*

5. cf. *ekarāj* 'shining alone', *ekacara* 'wandering alone'.

6. Also Mānava Śr. S. 2. 2.4. 3.

In the *Alt. Gr.* II. 2, p. 43 it is observed that sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the root-noun *-vṛ-t* to be derived from the root *vṛ* to cover and the root-noun *-vṛt* to be derived from the root *vṛt* 'to be, to exist'. It is further noted that according to BR the word *ekavṛt*, occurring in the *AV* and the *TS*, contains the verb *vṛt* (*ekavṛt* = einfach), but according to Hertel (Indoir. Qu. U. F. 6. 31) it contains the verb *vṛ* (*ekavṛt* = einzig umgebend). Now in the *AV* the word *ekavṛt* seems to occur containing the root noun *vṛt* with both the verbs *vṛt* and *vṛ*. When, for example, *ekavṛ́t* appears in connection with the sun, as in 13. 4. 12 *sá eṣá ēka ekavṛ́d ēka evá*, or in 13. 4. 15 *yá etáṃ devā́m ekavṛ́taṃ vēda*, one can be sure that it contains the verb *vṛt* and means 'existing alone, existing by oneself'.[7] But when in the same hymn (13. 4. 13) it is said about the gods *etē asmin devā́ ekavṛ́to bhavanti*, the word *ekavṛ́t* seems to contain the verb *vṛ*: "These gods in him remain covered by one (i. e. by the sun)".[8] Similarly when in the *AV* 8. 9. 25–26 the word *ekavṛ́t* appears qualifying a *yakṣa*,[9] it is more likely to mean 'having a single cover' rather than 'existing alone, single'.[10]

In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (5. 2. 3. 7) the word occurs in connection with the piling of the fire-altar. The passage reads as: *ēkacitīkaṁ cinvīta tṛtīyaṁ cinvānā́ ekadhā vai suvargṓ loká ekavṛtaivā́ suvargā́ṁ lokā́m eti.* "He who piles a third time should pile in one layer; the world of heaven is in one place;[11] verily he goes to the world of heaven by the single (layer)." (Keith). Here, obviously, the heaven is looked upon as having a single layer or division and not as having three or seven divisions. This is because in the present context the heaven is related to the piling of the altar in *one layer*. Therefore it is possible to interpret the word *ekavṛt* in the present passage as containing the root noun *-vṛt* 'having a single (layer)'.[12] It is interesting to note that in this passage from the *Taitt. Saṁ.* occur both the words *ekadhā́* and *ekavṛ́t*[13] which also occur in the passage from the *Śat. Br.* cited at the beginning of this paper. What is noteworthy, however, is the fact that in the *TS* the word *ekadhā́* occurs as the description of heaven and *ekavṛt* occurs in connection with the sacrificer's going to heaven (*suvargáṁ lokā́m eti*), but in the *Śat. Br.* this is transposed. The word *ekavṛt* occurs as the description of heaven and *ekadhā́* in connection with the sacrificer's reaching heaven (*ekadhā eva enaṁ svargaṁ lokaṁ gamayati*)

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[7] This becomes clear as we read in the following verses (13. 4. 16 ff) about the sun *ná dvitīyo na tṛtīyas* etc. Whitney translates the word as 'single' in both these passages.

[8] But Whitney's translation here is 'single' (These gods in him become single).

[9] *yakṣaṁ pṛthivyām ekavṛt.*

[10] Whitney translates the word in 8. 9. 25 as 'simple', in 8. 9. 26 as 'single'.

[11] Rather 'has a single constituent', cf. Bhāṭṭabhāskara: *ekena prakāreṇa vartante.*

[12] It appears that the commentator Bhaṭṭabhāskara sees the verb *vṛ* 'to cover' in the root-noun *vṛt* in *ekavṛ́t* for he explains it as *ekadhaiva vṛtām* '(altar) covered (with bricks) only once'.

[13] In the Kāṭhaka 20. 1 and Kaṭha 31. 3 where the same subject is dealt with, only the word *ekavṛt* occurs: *ekacitīkaṁ cinvitottamaṁ cinvāna ekavṛd eva svargaṁ lokam eti* "He who piles for the last time should pile in a single layer; indeed, alone he goes to the world of heaven."

In the end we may note the occurrence of *ekavṛt* in the *Maitr. Saṁ.* 4. 2. 13. The passage reads as : *devā vai sarve sahāntarvanto ' bhavans te sarve saha vyajāyanta. tad ekavṛd aśayat saṁvṛttam.*[14] *tad devā itthaṁ cetthaṁ ca vyatyacharaṁs tan mitrāvaruṇā acāyatāṁ,* " The gods, verily, all become pregnant together. They were all born together. That lay covered existing alone (i. e. by itself, without procreation). The gods passed by and beyond it in this way and that. Mitra and Varuṇa observed it." It is further narrated that a cow was then created from ' it.' It is clear that in this passage *ekavṛt* contains the verb *vṛt* and not *vṛ*. Wheraes all gods were born and thus had reproduced themselves, ' that ' remained covered (*saṁvṛtam*)[15] perhaps in the womb, all by itself (*ekavṛ́t*) without being born.

The word *ekavṛdh* is not listed in the available lexicons. If the opinion expressed in this paper that in some of its occurrences *ekavṛ́t* should be interpreted as the nom. sg. of *ekavṛdh*, and not of *ekavṛt*, is found acceptable, we will have found an additional entry for the future Sanskrit lexicon.

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[14] This seems to be a mistake for *saṁvṛtam*, occasioned by the *vṛt* of *ekavṛ́t*.

[15] If the reading is to be retained as *saṁvṛttam*, it would mean ' rolled, collected together'.

VEDIC COMPOUNDS CONTAINING 'SATÁS'

By

RAM GOPAL, CHANDIGARH.

In the Vedic language there are three[1] peculiar compounds, viz. *Sató-mahat*, *Sato-vīra* and *Sató-bṛhat*, which contain Satás as their first member. The use of these compounds is extremely rare. The compound *Sató-mahat* occurs only once in *RV.* VIII. 30. 1 and nowhere else, while the second compound *Sató-vīra* is used once in *RV.* VI. 75. 9 and five times in its repetitions in the later Saṁhitās.[2] The third compound *Sato-bṛhat* is found once in *T. Br.* II. 7. 18. 5 and once in *P. Br.* XVII. 1. 11. Its feminine form *Sato-bṛhatī* which denotes the name of a particular metre is used several times in the Yajurveda-saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Vedāṅgas, but being a proper noun it does not render much hlep to us in determining the construction and meaning of such compounds. Our inquiry is, therefore, mainly concerned with the analysis of the above-mentioned three compounds which are adjectival in character.

There is a wide divergence of views among Vedic scholars both ancient and modern in regard to the interpretation of these compounds. In his commentary on *RV.* VIII, 30. 1, where the compound form *Sato-mahāntas* occurs as an adjective of *Viśvedevās*[3], V. M. regards its first member *Satás* as an ablative singular of the present participle *Sát* from √*as* "to be" and explains the compound as "those who are greater than all existing things including the earth etc."[4] Sāyaṇa simply follows V. M. in the explanation of this compound.[5] But both V. M. and Sāyaṇa find it difficult to adopt the above explanation of *Satás* in their commentaries on *RV.* VI. 75. 9 where *Sató-vīrās* occurs as an adjective of *Pitáras.*[6] Considering its first member *Satás* as a genitive singular of the present participle *Sát* and its second member *Vīra* as a synonym of *Preraka* "impeller", V. M. explains *Satóvīrās* as "impellers of the existing (things)".[7] Attempting a similar interpretation of this word in his commentary on V. S. XXIX. 46, Uvaṭa explains *Satás* as an adjective of *Bala* "strength" and *Vīra* as a compound of the preposition *Vi* and the verbal noun *Īra* derived from √*ir* "to impel".[8] Besides giving the explantion attempted by Uvaṭa, Mahīdhara advances his own interpretation in which *Satás* is shown as a genitive singular of *Sát* referring to the performer of the *Aśvamedha.*[9] In contradistinction to the views of his predecessors who regard *Sató-vīrās* as a Tatpuruṣa compound, Sāyaṇa considers it to be a Bahuvrīhi compound and explains its first member *Satás* as a synonym of *Prāpta* "attained", following Yāska and its second member *Vīra* as a synonym of *Vīrya* "strength" without any justification.[10] But he offers an entirely different explanation of the same word in his commentary on *T.S.* IV. 6. 6. 3, wherein *Satás* is taken as an ablative singular of *Sát* "famous" and *Vīra* is explained as "brave".[11] Commenting on *Sató-bṛhan* of *T. Br.* II, 7. 18. 5. Sāyaṇa explains *Satás* as an ablative singular of *Sát* "a righteous person".[12] But the same compound occurring in *P. Br.* XVII. 1. 11 is explained by him as "great by nature".[13]

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[1] In the abridged edition of St. Petersburg Dictionary, but not in the original, the words *Satò* and *Maghdvānas* occurring consecutively in RV. X. 27. 4 are shown as one compound word of this type and on the same pattern Monier-Williams also records their meaning as one compound word "equally liberal" with the remarks "if one word." But padapāṭha and accent do not support this view, because both these words are independently accented, whereas such compounds accent their first member only. This is why Grassmann and many other scholars treat them as two separate words.

[2] T.S. IV, 6, 6, 3; M.S. III, 16, 3; K.S. 46, 1; V.S. XXIX, 46; Paip.S. XV, 10, 9.

[3] नहि वो अस्त्यर्भको देवासो न कुमारकः ।
विश्वे सतोमहान्त इत् ॥ (RV. VIII, 30, 1)

[4] V. M. on RV. VIII, 30, 1c-
"सर्व एव सतोमहान्त एव । सर्वस्मात् विद्यमानात् पृथिव्यादेः ये महान्तस्ते सतोमहान्तः" ।

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[5] Sāyaṇa on RV. VIII, 30, 1c– "विश्वे सर्वे देवा यूयं सतोमहान्त इत् । सर्वस्मात् विद्यमानात् पृथिव्यामपि ये महान्तस्ते सतोमहान्त इत्युच्यन्ते "॥
Sāyaṇa's gloss "पृथिव्यामपि" in place of V.M.'s "पृथिव्यादेः" is awkward and "अपि" is entirely superfluous.

[6] स्वादुषंसदः पितरो वयोधाः कृच्छ्रेश्रितः शक्तीवन्तो गभीराः ।
चित्रसेना इषुबला अमृध्राः सतोवीरा उरवो व्रातसाहाः ॥ (RV. VI, 75, 9)

[7] V.M. on RV. VI, 75, 9a– "विद्यमानप्रेरकाः" ।

[8] Uvaṭa on V. S. XXIX, 46d– "सतः विद्यमानस्य बलस्य विविधमीरयितारः" ।

[9] Mahīdhara on V. S. XXIX, 46d– "सतोवीराः इत्येकं पदम् । सतो अश्वमेधयाजिनो वीराः शूराः । यद्वा सतो विद्यमानस्य बलस्य वीराः प्रेरकाः । विविधमीरयन्तीति वीराः । षष्ठ्या अलुक् ।"

[10] Sāyaṇa on RV. VI, 75, 9d– "सतोवीराः प्राप्तवीर्याः । तथा च यास्कः 'तिरःसत इति प्राप्तस्य । तिरस्तीर्णं भवति । सतः संसृतं भवति' (नि. ३, २०) इति" ।

[11] Sāyaṇa on T. S. IV, 6, 6, 3–
"सन् विद्यमानो लोके प्रसिद्धो यः शूरस्तस्मादपि अतिशूराः सतोवीराः" ।

[12] सतोबृहतीषु स्तुवते । सतोबृहन् । प्रजया पशुभिरसानीत्येव । (T. Br. II, 7, 18, 5)
Sāyaṇa on this passage : "सतः सन्मार्गवर्तिनः पुरुषाद् बृहन्नधिकः सतोबृहन् । प्रजया च पशुभिश्चाहं सतोबृहन्नसानि भवानीत्येव स्तोतारः प्रवर्तन्ते" ।

[13] अथो खल्वाहुः "अदर्शि गातुवित्तमः" इत्येव सतोबृहतीषु कार्यं विषम इव वै व्रातः सर्वानेवैनान्सतोबृहतः करोति" । (P. Br. XVII, 1, 11)

(*Continued on the next page*)

It is evident from the foregoing that our ancient commentators who do not feel sure about the construction and meaning of such compounds are advancing mere conjectures to suit the context. For instance, V. M. explains *Satás* in two different ways, whereas Sāyaṇa attempts as many as five different explanations of the same word. It seems that even at the time of compiling the Nighaṇṭu there was some doubt about the meaning of *Satás*. This is why *Satás* coupled with *Tirás* is included among twenty-six words enumerated in pairs in the Nighaṇṭu III. 29. Both *Tirás* and *Satás* are spoken of as synonyms of *Prāpta* " attained", by Yāska,[14] who derives *Satásl* from *Sam* + √*sṛ* and quotes the final pāda of *RV*. VII. 104. 21 in support of his view.[15] But neither his derivation nor this quotation is of any material help to us in determining the meaning of *Satás* in the above compounds, for *Satás* is not a part of any compound in the said quotation nor does Yāska paraphrase the quotation in his usual style. Sāyaṇa who in his commentary on this verse cites Yāska's view with approbation explains *Satás* as "Prāptān', qualifying the following accusative *Rakṣásas*.[16] Similarly V. M. also considers *Satás* of this verse as an accusative plural of the present participle *Sát* qualifying the following word *Raksásas*.[17] But Durgāchārya does not regard *Satás* as an accusative plural of *Sát* qualifying *Rakṣásas* and on the contrary he interprets it as an ablative singular of *Sát* signifying *Pradeśa* " distance ":[18] We fail to understand why Yāska's commentator Durgāchārya does not explain, unlike Sāyaṇa, the word *Satás* of the said quotation as a synonym of *Prāpta* in accordance with the Nirukta. In his commentary on this verse Durgāchārya does not use in any form the meaning *Prāpta* assigned by Yāska to *Satás*. Does it imply that the extant editions of Durga's commentary on the Nirukta are not wholly reliable ?

(Continued from the previous page)

Sāyaṇa on this passage : " व्रातों व्रात्यसमुदायः विषम इव वै विविधाचार एव खलु । तथा च नानाविधान् सर्वान् एव एनान् सतोबृहतः स्वभावतो महतः करोति " ।

14 तिरः सत इति प्राप्तस्य । तिरस्तीर्णं भवति । सतः संसृतं भवति । (Nirukta III, 20)
Durgācārya mentions " अप्राप्तस्य " as a variant reading, but Sāyaṇa supports the reading " प्राप्तस्य " which appears to be more logical.

15 पात्रे॑व भि॒न्दन्त्स॒त ए॑ति र॒क्षसः॑ । (RV. VII, 104, 21d)

16 Sāyaṇa on RV. VII, 104, 21d– " सतः । प्राप्तनामैतत् । यदाह यास्कः ' तिरः सत इति प्राप्तस्य ' (नि. ३, २०) इति । प्राप्तान् रक्षसः राक्षसान् " ।

17 V. M. on RV. VII, 104, 21d– " विद्यमानान् प्रादुर्भूतान् राक्षसान् " ।

18 Durgāchārya on Nirukta III, 20– " सतः प्रदेशात्, दूरादित्यर्थः " ।
But Mukunda Jha Bakhshi in his commentary on Nirukta III, 20 explains it as " सतः प्राप्तात् प्रदेशात्, अप्राप्ताद् दूराद्वा ". He has taken the variant reading of *Prāptasya* mentioned by Durga as a basis for suggesting opposite meanings. This approach is, to say the least, unscientific and therefore unacceptable.

Anyhow, in the present state of our knowledge Yāska's comment on the Nighaṇṭu III. 29 does not resolve the problem of *Satás* nor does it provide a safe basis for assuming the existence of an independent word *Satás* that may be altogether different from a similar form of the present participle *Sát*. Nevertheless, taking his cue from the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta referred to above, Roth assumes the existence of an independent adverb *Satás* meaning " equally " and he ingeniously derives it from *Sa*, the shortened form of *Sahā́* as well as *Samāna*,[19] by the addition of secondary suffix *tas*[20]. Considering the hypothetical adverb *Satas* as the first member of these compounds, Roth explains *Satṓ-mahat*, *Satṓ-vīra*, and *Satṓ-bṛhat* as " equally great ", " equally manly " and " equally high" respectively. Most of the modern scholars, such as Grassmann, Geldner, Whitney, Macdonell, Monier-Williams and Peterson, accept Roth's derivation of the hypothetical adverb *Satás* and follow him blindly in the explanation of these compounds. Geldner goes a step further and construes the form *Satás* occurring in *RV*. VII. 104. 21 and some other passages[21] as an adverb meaning " equally ", while his predecessors Roth, Grassmann, etc., regard the word *Satás* of these passages as a form of the present participle *Sát* from √*as* " to be ". Striking a divergent note, Griffith in his English Translation of the *RV*. renders *Satṓ-vīrās* as " real heroes " and *Satṓ-mahāntas* as simply " great " without any justification, whereas Keith in his English Translation of T. S. IV. 6. 6. 3 considers *Satṓ-vīrās* as a Bahuvrīhi compound and accordingly translates it as " with real heroes."

For the purpose of explaining our compounds we need no take Griffith and Keith seriously whose translations of these compounds are not based on any firm grounds. As for Roth's assumption of *Satás* as an independent adverb meaning " equally", it is pertinent to inquire if there is any evidence in the Vedic or Classical Sanskrit to substantiate his viewpoint. It may be stated without any fear of contradiction that there is no positive and irrefutable evidence about the use of *Satás* as an independent adverb in Sanskrit. Moreover, the mention of *Satás* in the Nighaṇṭu does not prove its existence as an independent adverb, for the Nighaṇṭu generally enumerates only such forms of words as are actually found used in the *RV*, without any reference to their base, e. g. Ayā́, Enā́. So it is not improbable that the

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[19] Cf. Pāṇini VI, 3, 78–89. Some scholars are inclined to regard *Sa* as a shortened form of the preposition *Sám*; Cf. Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, p. 412 where *Sa* is described as a prefix used instead of the preposition *Sám* and interchangeably with Sahá.

[20] Cf. Sanskrit–Wörterbuch, S. V.

[21] Cf. Geldner's German Translation of RV. VII, 104, 21; IX, 21, 7; X, 27, 4; 53, 10.

Nighaṇṭu may be here referring to any of the forms (*Satás*) made from the present participle *Sát*. Furthermore, Roth's derivation of the hypothetical adverb *Satás* from *Sa*, the shortened form of *Sám*, *Samānā́*, or *Sahā́*, by the addition of secondary suffix *tas*, is equally untenable on the ground of grammar and usage, for the use of *Sa* as a substitute for *Sám*, *Samānā́* or *Sahā́* is strictly confined to the first member of compounds, and its use as a stem for the formation of words with a secondary suffix is entirely non-existent. It is important to note here in this connection that, though the meaning "equally" assigned to *Satás* by Roth can be somehow adjusted to the context of the plural forms of such compounds, viz. *Satṓ-mahāntas* and *Satṓ-vīrās*, it is absolutely incongruous with the context of the singular forms *Satṓ-bṛhan* and *Satṓ-bṛhatī*. The plural form *Satṓ-mahāntas* qualifying the *Viśve-devās* in *RV*. VIII. 30. 1 appears to have tempted Roth to suggest this meaning for *Satás*.

However, it is evident from the foregoing discussion that there is no sound basis for the assumption of an indepednent adverb *Satás* meaning "equally", nor does such an assumption fully solve the problem of these compounds. A solution to this problem should, therefore, be sought elsewhere. In the present state of our knowledge the form *Satás* may be explained either as an accusative plural or a genitive singular or an ablative singular of the present participle *Sát* from √*as* "to be". There is no way of explaining *Satás* as an accusative plural of *Sát* in the first part of these compounds. So far as the other two alternatives are concerned, they being grammatically feasible have been tried by the ancient commentators in their own way as noted above. The senses assigned to *Satás* by the commentators under these two alternatives do not uniformly fit into the context of all these compounds.

In the opinion of the present writer, all these compounds would yield a logical sense conforming to their context, if their first member *Satás* is explained as an ablative singular of *Sát* "existence" and if the ablative case in *Satás* is taken to express "reason" (*Hetu*), as warranted by Vedic usage and Pāṇinian Grammar.[22] In that case the meaning of the first member *Satás* would be "on account of existence" and accordingly *Satṓ-mahāntas* and *Satṓ-vīrās* would mean "great on account of existence" and "brave on account of existence" respectively. The implication is that "they are great or brave by reason of their very existence without any reference to extraneous factors." In essence it means that "they are great or brave by nature", as suggested by Sāyaṇa in one of his explanations (see f. n. 13). Such an explanation of *Satás* suits the context of all these compounds. For instanec, *RV*. VIII. 30. 1 (see f. n. 3), wherein *Sató-mahāntas*, employed to describe the Víśve-devās, would thus mean " None of you, O Gods, is an infant or a child. You are all great on account of your very existence or by nature ". Similarly the compound *Sató-vīrās* of *RV*. VI. 75. 9 (see f. n. 6) which qualifies the *Pitáras* would in this way mean " they are brave by reason of their very existence or by nature." This type of analysis of the first member *Satás* is equally appropriate to the interpretation of *Sató-bṛhan* (see f. n. 12 and 13) and *Sató-bṛhatī* employed in the later language. As regards the grammatical explanation of these compounds, it may be stated that they seem to fall in the category of irregular Tatpuruṣa compounds which are justified by the traditional scholars by referring to Pāṇini[23] II, 2, 72. Though there is no specific rule in the Pāṇinan Grammar to justify the accent of such Tatpuruṣa compounds on their first member, some students of Pāṇini are inclined to refer in this connection to Pāṇinian rule II. 2. 42 as opined by the *Kāśikā*.[24] However, I am in favour of a Vārtika[25] found in the *Kāśikā* to justify their accent on the first member.

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[22] Cf. author's Vaidika-Vyākaraṇa, Part II, p. 834.

ABBREVIATIONS

K. S. = Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā.
M. S. = Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā.
Paip. S. = Paippalāda-Saṃhitā.
RV. = Ṛgveda.
T. Br. = Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa.
T. S. = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.
V. M. = Veṅkaṭamādhava, the commentator of RV.
V. S. = Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā.

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[23] Pāṇini II, 2, 72- मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च ।
Kāśikā on this rule : " अविहितलक्षणस्तत्पुरुषो मयूरव्यंसकादिषु द्रष्टव्यः " ।

[24] Kāśikā on Pāṇini II, 2, 42- " यस्य तत्पुरुषस्य पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वमिष्यते, न च विहितं स सर्वो दासीभारादिषु द्रष्टव्यः " ।

[25] Vārtika on Pāṇini VI, 2, 199 in the Kāśikā : " पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तप्रकरणे मरुद्वृद्धादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् " ।
But this Vārtika is not found in the Mahābhāṣya and the Siddhānta-kaumudī.

IRANIAN SECTION

ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAME *ZARAθUŠTRA*

By

M. A. **Mehendale**, **Poona.**

The significance of the name of the founder of the Zoroastrian religion, which appears as *Zaraθuštra* in the Avesta, has been much discussed. The most recent attempt in this direction is that of Prof. R. W. **Bailey**[1] who observes : " So many attempts have been made to explain this name without a generally accepted solution that it may seem bold to try once more. " His explanation will be referred to later in this peper. **Bailey** feels that his explanation is likely to be more acceptable than that of others, which means he is not sure that the solution to the problem has at last been found. The present writer, therefore, may be excused for attempting one more solution to the problem from quite a different angle.

A general start to the attempts to explain the prophet's name seems to have been given by such Sanskrit proper names as *Jarat-kāru* and *Jarat-karṇa* which contain the word *jarat* as the first member of the compound, and such Iranian proper names like *Hitāspa* and *Yuxtāspa* which contain the name of an animal (horse) as the second member of the compound. Hence **Bartholomae**[2], among others, looks upon *zaraθuštra* as a compound formation consisting of the two members, **zarant* (Skt. *járant*) ' old ' and *uštra* (Skt. *uṣṭra*) ' camel ', the name of the prophet thus meaning ' one whose camels are old (des Kamele alt sind).'

But scholars felt that a name having this import is not one which can be looked upon as suitable for a prophet. Hence attempts were made to give a different meaning either to the first or the second member of the compound, or to both, but retaining mostly the analysis of the name as a compound form with two members as noted above.

Thus, for example, M. **Haug** in his Gāthās Vol. II, pp. 245-246, f. n. 1(1858)[3] has suggested to equate *zarad* with *hṛd* 'heart' and *uštra* with *uttara*

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1. Trans. Phil. Soc., 1953. 40.
2. Altiranisches Wörterbuch, 1676.
3. One can find here one more explanation by Haug himself and various earlier explanations of other scholars. One such is that of Burnouf who understood Zaraθuxtra to

(*Continued on the next page*)

'higher, excellent', the compound then meaning 'one who has an excellent heart (der ein treffliches Herz hat)', or to connect *zaraθ* with Sk. √*jṛ* 'to sing', the compound then meaning 'the excellent singer of praises, the most excellent poet (der treffliche Lobsänger)'. HAUG prefers the latter explanation as, in his opinion, the singing of praise-songs plays an important role in the Gāthās and Zarathushtra himself appears in the Gāthās as a poet.

In 1862, in his book Essays etc., pp. 252–253 HAUG gave up this explanation. Here he calls attention to the fact that the prophet is also known in the Avesta as *zaraθuštrōtemō* which, as a superlative form, must mean 'the greatest or highest zaraθuštra'. HAUG argues that this denomination can have sense only when it is assumed that there were several zaraθuštras and that the prophet was the best among them. "The name "zarathustra" therefore, must have conveyed in ancient times about the same sense, as the word Destur now-a- days, meaning the spiritual guide and head of a whole district, or even province. The Zarathustrōtemō then is to be compared with the Destur-i-Desturān or the Chief High priest......"

Writing about the significance of the prophet's name, Dr. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, a Parsee scholar, disapproves of the meanings in which *ushtra* is taken to mean 'camel, and observes: "Far better is the suggestion made by some scholars deriving the name from *zaratha* (golden) and *ushtra* (light), from the root *ush* "to shine". Thus this designation of the Prophet would mean "He of the Golden Light", which is just the appropriate name to be given to one of the Greatest of the Light-Bringers of the world."[4]

BAILEY, whose article was mentioned above, proposes to establish a verbal base Av. *zar*, Skt. *jar* 'to move' and on its strength explain the prophet's name as 'one who drives camels' that is 'one who can manage camels'. He compares with this name other proper names like *yuxtāspa*[5] 'he who has harnessed horses' and *hitāspa* 'he who has put horses into a team'. He believes that understood this way *zaraθuštra* can be looked upon as quite a respectable name, for, "This skill among a nomad people deserved the respect its use in proper name implies." He rejects Bartholomae's explanation, referred to above, in which *zarat* is taken to mean 'old'; for he says

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mean 'having yellow camels'. For other explanations, some of which show "a good deal of fancy", also cf, A. V. Williams Jackson, Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran (1901), pp. 12–14 and Appendix I, pp. 147–149. Also cf. John W. Waterhouse, Zoroastrianism (1934), pp. 2–3.

[4] The Religion of Zarathushtra, pp. 23–24 (1926). Also cf. R. P. Masani, The Religion of the Good life, Zoroastrianism, London, 1954 (2nd edn.), p. 36.

[5] Bailey cites the form as *yuxta.aspa*. As a proper name, Bartholomae gives it as *yuxtāspa* which is adopted in the text above.

"....it is hard to conceive why a man (or a boy) should be named from the possession of *zarant* – ' old, decrepit ' camels. With *zarat* – ' moving, driving, controlling ' the name has an important meaning befitting the local life."[6]

BAILEYY'S explanation thus retains the meaning of the word uštra ' camel ', but changes that of the word *zarat*. The meaning obtained by him does give some respectability to the prophet's name. But even with this new meaning the name appears to be somewhat of a general nature and has nothing specific in it to be looked upon as suitable for the prophet. The explanation attempted in this paper, however, has a direct bearing on an important aspect of the prophet's teaching which must have brought about an economic, as well as religious, revolution in ancient Iran.

It is well known that killing cows and oxen and offering them in sacrifices were practised as acts of religion before Zarathushtra.[7] It is against these practices that Zarathushtra speaks very vehemently in the Gāthās. He exhorts people to take good care of the cattle and offer them protection.[8] He says that giving fodder to the cow and offering worship to Ahura Mazdah are the best things for any one to do (Yasna 35. 7). It is hardly necessary to cite here the different passages from the Gāthās in support of this contention.

Zarathushtra, thus, appears in his new religion in the role of ' the protector of the ox '. If we remember this as forming one of the striking features of his new religion, it would be easy for us to recognise the verb *trā* – 'to protect' in the final syllable of the prophet's name. And since we know that the word *uxšan* – (Skt. *ukṣán*) ' ox ' is well attested in the Avesta, it should not be difficult for us now to guess that *uštra,* occurring in the prophet's name, has nothing to do with camels, but that it stands for **uxštra* meaning ' protector of the ox '. The name *zaraθuštra* would, in that case, mean ' the old protector of the ox '.[9]

There is hardly anything to object to this interpretation from the point of view of the meaning arrived at.[10] Of all the interpretations of the name

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[6] Tr. Phil.Soc., 1953, p. 41 and f. n. 3.

[7] B. Schlerath, Opfergaben, Festgabe für Herman Lommel, pp. 129 ff

[8] " Die pflege und Schonung des Rinds ......steht im Mittelpunkt der *zaraθuštrischen* Lehre ". Bartholomae, Wörterbuch, 509.

[9] or, ' the protector of old ox ', but this is clearly not likely.

[10] It semes pertinent here to cite the following passage from J. Duchesne – Guillemin's The Hymns of Zarathustra (Eng.Tr.by Mrs. M. Henning), pp. 5–6: " The society in which Zoroaster lives and preaches is a pastoral society, not yet settled on the land. He teaches— as Nyberg has well pointed out – the fertilization of the meadows which makes permanent settlements possible. But these must be defended against the raids of

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suggested so far this is the one which would suit the prophet extremely well. There has been some controversy about the point whether this name was given to the prophet by his parents in his childhood or whether he adopted it himself later in his life after he started preaching his new religion. JACKSON held the former view and said that although the name, as understood in his time, was unromantic and unpoetic, it was retained by the prophet "as his birthright even after he became famed as a spiritual and religious teacher. The very fact of his retaining this somewhat prosaic appelative testifies to a strong personality; Zoroaster remains a man and he is not dubbed anew with a poetic title when later sanctification has thrown a halo of glory about his head".[11]

On the other hand, Dr. TARAROREWALA, whose view has been referred to above, believes that *zaraθuštra* is the title by which the prophet was known after he had proclaimed his message.[12] The interpretation of *zaraθuštra* suggested in the present paper would also lead us to reject the view that this was the prophet's first name. It could come to him only after he had started proclaiming his new message of ox–protection (*uštra*) and while doing so had become somewhat old (*jarat*). It is likely that he did not himself adopt this name but that it was given to him by others-perhaps his revilers-as indicated by a reference to his old age. It is, indeed, possible to discover a place of evidence testifying to the prophet's having become old while carrying on his struggle to save the ox from the tyranny to which it was subjected. This evidence is to be found in the famous Yasna 29, known as the Gāthā of the Ox–Soul. The ox complains about the ill-treatment given to him and the cow by the people. He wants to know who created him and for what purpose. If he was endowed with life by the Creator, he had a right to live, and, as animals helpful to men, a right to seek protection. The Wise Lord

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(*Continued from the last page*)

the nomads by force of arms. The nomad is a thief of cattle, which he sacrifices and eats. The good deed is to be summarized shortly as the care and the defence of the cattle, to which is added the duty of extending the area of fertilized meadows at the expense of the nomad.

This eminently practical and earthbound aspect of Zoroaster's programme is not always recognized. Thus the latest Parsee interpreter of the Gāthās refuses, for reasons of piety, to admit that such a trivial thing as cattle–raising could be mentioned in sacred hymns. Therefore, he concludes, it can only be by allegory. In this way some vivid texts are emptied of their sap, and we are supposed to accept Zoroaster as a dreamer or a pure mystic." Thus, for example, Dr. Taraporewala, in his book. The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra, p. XIII, urges us to interpret the words for 'cattle', 'fodder' and 'pastures' in the Gāthās 'in a higher sense'. He takes the word *gāu* to stand for Creation and more especially Humanity, sometimes also Mother Earth (p. 36).

[11] Jackson, op. cit., p. 14

[12] The Religion of Zarathushtra, p. 23.

then replied to the ox that the Creator had fashioned him for the milker and the herdsman (and apparently not for the sacrificer). But no one was appointed till then to take care of him. The Good Mind then pointed to Zaraθuštra and said: "I know but this one: Zarathustra Spitama, the only one who has heard our teachings. He will make known our purpose.... Sweetness of speech shall be given to him."[13] But the ox is not satisfied. He continues to lament that he has been handed over to a powerless man and not to a strong guardian. In Yasna 29. 9, the Ox-Soul moans: "That I should have to be content with the powerless word of a man without strength for a guardian, I who wish for a strong master!". What comes after this reads as follows in the original:

kadā yavā hvō aŋhaṯ, yē hōi dadaṯ zastavaṯ avō

which has been rendered as: "Will he ever be, he who shall help him with his hands?"[14]

In the above translation the two opening words *kadā yavā* are taken together to mean 'when, if ever'. *Yavā* is interpreted as instr. sg. of *yav* 'Dauer', used as an adverb.[15] But this seems to be the only place where *kadā* and *yavā* are used together. HUMBACH[16] asks us to compare *kadā yavā hvō aŋhaṯ* with *yadā hvō aŋhaṯ* occurring in Yasna 31-16. But this will show that in our passage we should construe *kadā* alone with *hvō aŋhaṯ* when will he be?" The remaining word *yavā*, then, can be interpreted as nom. sg. of *yavan*, *yvan*, 'young man, young hero' which is attested in the younger Avesta. The line cited above will thus mean: "When will that young man be who will give ue help with his hands?" This meaning will suit the context because the Ox-Soul is asking for a powerful man with physical strength as his guardian. If this interpretation is correct, the word *yavā* 'young man' will indicate that the prophet had become old when the Gāthā was composed and that he had till then not succeeded in persuading the people to accept the change in the religion as preached by him.

Now we are ready to face some other questions before we can admit *uštra* 'protector of the ox' as a compound from *uxšan* and the verb *trā*. Such a form normally should have been *uxšaθra*, and the prophet's name, then, would have been *zaraouxšaθra*.[17] First, we will look to the disappearance of

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[13] This and the following are translations by Duchesne - Guillemin, op. cit. p. 61.

[14] H. Humbach, *Die Gāthās des Zarathustra* I. 82. puts it as 'wann jemals wird der zur Stelle sein, der ihm Hand und Hilfe geben wird?"

[15] Bartholomae, *Wörterbuch*, 1264-65.

[16] Op. cit. II. 17

[17] I am not referring here to the difficulty regarding the occurrence of θ in *zaraθ* for this has been already noticed earlier. Scholars are agreed that *zaraθuštra* is a secondary develop-

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x before *š* in *ušan* for *uxšan* and in this regard note that a few possible examples of the disappearance of *x* before *š* have been recorded. E, g. we get *avašata* 'he spoke' for **avaxšata* <**a-vak-sa-ta.*[18] BARTHOLOMAE thinks it possible that *x* before *š* has been lost in the form *višānō* (Acc. pl. of *višan*)[19] < **vīxšānō* (*višan* < *vis* + √*han*, Skt. *viś* + √*san*). But it is still more important to note that GERSHEVITCH[20] has cited a Zoroastrian Middle Persian form *zarduxšt* which shows the presence of *x* before *š*. GERSHEVITCH tries to explain this away as arising due to dissimilation, the form *zarduxšt* being derived from **zarduršt*. Rather, the Middle Persian form will show that in Old Iranian there existed a form **zarad-uxštra* for the prophet's name, besides *zaraθuxtra* which is attested in the Avesta. **uxštra* will then lend support to our explanation of *uštra* from **uxštra.*

The loss of the final vowel with the following nasal of *u*(*x*)*šan*, when it occurs as the first member of the compound *uš-tra*, is more difficult to explain. Of course, one may point out that Stammverstümlung in Vorderglied[21] does in general occur. And in particular, one may note that the final vowel with the following consonant of the first member of a compound is indeed considered to have been lost in a few examples by commentators on Sanskrit grammatical works.[22] These examples are *patañjali* < *patat*+*añjali*, *manīṣā* < *manas*+*īṣā*, and *sīmanta* < *sīman*+*anta.* The point, however, to be noted is that in all these examples the second member of the compound begins with a vowel, while in *uš.tra* it begins with a consonant.

I shall finally turn to a question for which I have no answer. But this does not invalidate the explanation suggested in this paper. Of the two words for ox in the Avesta, *gav-* and *uxšan,* the former is more cammon than the latter. Why is it, then, that the word *gao.θra* was not used to express the meaning 'protector of the ox' and the word *zarat.gaoθra* to name the prophet ?

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ment out of **zarat-uštra.* Haug in his Gāthās II. 246, end of the foot-note 1, explained the devlopment of *t* to θ (of *zaraθ*) due to the following vowel *u*. Bartholomae, GR. Ir. Phil. I. 1. 182 notes also other examples of θ replacing t. Bailey thinks it possible that this is a case of θ replacing, *t*, TPS 1953. 41.

[18] Jackson, Avesta Grammar, 187 (5), p. 58. He also notes the loss of *X* before *t* in *tūirya* for **xtūirya.*

[19] Gr. Ir. Phil. I. 1. 149, § 264 note 2, and Wörterbuch, 1472–73.

[20] Journal of Near Eastern Studies, XXIII (1964), p. 38. According to Hübschmann (Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachf. XXVI (1883), p.604), the Old Persian form of the prophet's name was **zara–uštra.* According to Gersheivitch, the Median form was ** zarat.uštra.*

[21] Wackernagel, *Alt. Gr.* II. 1 § 26, pp. 64–66.

[22] Given in the *śakandhvādi* gaṇa on the Vārttika on P. 6. 1. 94,

CLASSICAL SANSKRIT SECTION

POET JAYADEVA'S BIRTH-PLACE CONTROVERSY

By

PRASANTA KUMAR DASGUPTA, DURGAPUR.

In *Gītagovindaṁ*, Poet Jayadeva has himself described :

> *Varṇitaṁ Jayadevakena hareridaṁ pravaṇena*
> *Kenduvilva samudrasambhava rohiṇī ramaṇena*
>
> (3rd Canto, Śloka 10)

The lamentation of Hari is described by Jayadeva, the moon born of the sea of Kenduvilva, with all humility.

The word 'rohiṇīramaṇa' may be understood as (full) moon, or one who unites with 'rohiṇī' (the name of a star, traditionally believed as the wife of the moon). Vāuls of Bengal explain the word in another way, which indicates that Rohiṇī was the name of a damsel, who was his companion of secret religious practice.[1] The difference of explanations submitted above has been resolved by accepting either of the views according to the choice of the reader. But no difference of opinion probably has ever been found about accepting that 'Kenduvilva' is the name of village the sea of which has produced poet Jayadeva. All the traditional tales about poet Jayadeva are collected in the 'Bhaktamāla' series, either in new Indo-Aryan languages or in Sanskrit, and all the commentators on *Gītagovindaṁ* are unanimous about the acceptance of the meaning. Different readings, however, have been found in these texts for the word 'Kenduvilva', which are 'Vinduvilva'[2] 'Tinduvilva'[3] 'Kendavelvi,'[3a] 'Kinduvilla' etc.

Controversy arises from the point when the scholars tried to locate the position of the village Kenduvilva. Most of the claims regarding the identification of the village are based on unhistoric hearsays and are conflicting also.

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[1] See 'Kavi Jayadeva O Śrī Gītagovinda' by Dr. H. K. Mukhopadhyay, intro. pp. 40-41, 4th ed. 1372 B.S., Calcutta.

[2] 'Bhaktamāla' by Cakradatta. Sarga 39.

[3] 'Rasikapriyā' commentary on G. G.; 'Bhaktabjaya' by Mahipati.

[3A] Dinamaṇi-Candrodaya by Manoharadāsa.

Demands are now being made by accepting the name 'Kenduli' instead of the word Kenduvilva, as the former one has been considered as the phonetic development of the latter, in the new Indo-Aryan stage.

Demands have so far been made about locating the village in Tirhut of Mithila, district Bogra of East Bengal (now in Bangladesh), district Puri in Orissa and district Birbhum, West Bengal. Claims of all these places are being constantly considered by the scholars, since the begining of this century. Want of records, epigraphic or otherwise have made the problem unsoluble till date.

Maithilis claimed that the birth-place of Jayadeva is the *Kendoli* which is situated on the Belar river near Jenjharpur in Tirhut. Orientologist **Colebrook** has mentioned the fact and the claim has been aptly refuted by the late M. M. **Chakravarty**, who commented[4]:

> 'Beyond the similarity in the name, nothing else has been found to support it. The tradition may have originated by confounding the Gītagovindakāra with a later vernacular poet Jaideb. The latter flourished in Mithila by about 1400 A. D. (*J.A.S.B* 1888, p. 12) and Dr. **Grierson** extracted one Hindi song of his in the *J.A.S.B.* 1884, p. 88.'

The claim of Mithilā is a not so much vocal now-a-days. Perhaps considering the fact that Jayadeva is traditionally connected with the king Lakṣmaṇasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal and no patronage of the king of Mithila has ever been heard of-- the claim seemed to have been withdrawn.

Regarding the claim of Bogra district the traditional story was developed centering a village named Kendul, P. O. Kendul, 8 miles east of the Jaipurhat R. S., situating in between two rivers named Hārāvatī on the eastern side and Tulsīgaṅgā on the western side of the village. The tradition was collected by Sri D. N. **Bal** who was an inhabitant of Barail village, 14 miles from the village Kendul. (Bīrbhumi, Jyaiṣṭha, 1335, B. S.). The village was once very much developed. There were ruins of temples and sculptures in the village and few beautiful images of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva were also found. It is said that those images were broken by Muslim iconoclasts. Tradition ran that Jayadeva lived in the village. A big pond was named after him. A portion of uncultivable upland and some portion of cultivable land were shown as the site of Jayadeva's house.

Claim of this village is also seemed to be subdued, probably considering that the traditionl claims of other places are much more stronger.

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[4] *J.A.S.B.* – N. S. 5, 1906, Vol. II, p. 163: Sanskrit Lit. in Bengal during Sena Rule by Manomohan Chakravarty.

Most vocal and strongly pursuaded claim has been forwarded by the scholars of Orissa. Identification of the kenduvilva referred by Jayadeva in Canto 3 sloka 10 has been made by the Orissan scholars with a villgae named Kenduli of Puri District, under Valiyantā Pañcāyet Samiti. The village once a very large one in the past, is at present divided into three adjoining villages namely Kenduli Śāsana, Kenduli Deuli and Kenduli Patna. These three villages taken as one unit stand between two rivers, Prācī and Kuśabhadrā

> 'The Kenduli area has got its antiquities which can safely be assigned to the circa 8th century A. D. if not earlier. In the outskirts of the village still stand three small dilapidated brick temples of the Bhauma Period (C. 650–850 A. D.)'.[5]

There are images of four armed goddesses namely Ambikā and Jogeśvarī, of Viṣṇu with Śaṁkha, Cakra, gadā & padma in his four hands. Nṛsiṁha images have also been found there, which is said to have been established by a Gaṅga king. A big festival is held every year on the day of amāvāsyā of the lunar month, Māgha in the confluence of the three rivers, namely Prācī, Candrabhāgā and Dhanuā–Triveṇī Saṅgama–not very far from this village.

Claim of this Kenduli as the village referred by Jayadeva is now being backed by the enthusiastic state Government of Orissa. Government has opened a research centre of Jayadeva culture there. A ceremony on Akṣaya Tṛtīyā tithi (famous people are born either on purṇimā of any month or on any other considerably auspicious tithi like akṣaya tṛtīyā !) regarded as the tithi on which the poet was born, is now being celebrated each year with the participation of both the government and inhabitants of nearby villages. Thus an all round attempt is being constantly pursued to make it believable that Jatyadeva belonged to Orissa.

Scholars should not be easily swayed away with the beliefs and traditions unless these are backed by plausible arguments based on facts. The claims of Birbhum in Bengal, therefore, may now be taken into account and the arguments forwarded by the scholars, supporting these two claims may then be discussed.

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[5] Lines are from the article 'New light on Poet Jayadeva, the author of G.G., by Sri K. N. Mahapatra, published in *Orissa Historical Research Jl.*, Vol. VII, pts. 3 & 4, P. 199, The very same lines have been found in the article 'The birth-place of Poet Jayadeva' by Dr. Mrs. Savitri Raut, submitted for deliberation at the 25th Session of A.I.O.C. Almost all the lines of the latter article, it may mentioned here are from the former. Not, a single argument has been forwarded in Dr. Raut's article which is not found in Sri Mahapatra's article. For discussion we shall, therefore, take the aritcle of Sri Mahapatra only into consideration.

Kenduli (23° 38′ N & 87° 26′ E), popularly called Jayadeva–Kenduli, of District Birbhum, West Bengal has traditionally been claimed as the birth-place of poet Jayadeva. It is under Ilāmbazar P. S. of Suri Subdivision and almost 22 miles south from Suri, situating on the river Ajaya. An annual fair in his honour is held in the village on the Pauṣa-Saṁkrānti or the last day of the Bengali solar month, Pauṣa, and on the first two days of Māgha.[6] Tomb of Jayadeva (who is said to be buried and not burnt after his death) can still be seen at Kenduli.[7] Parganā under which this village is situated is called parganā Senbhum.[8]

Traditional claim of Birbhum Kenduli seems to be older than that of Orissa Kenduli Śāsana. This can only be proved by showing the old gazetteers and annals. Early scholars and orientologists have recorded the claim of Birbhum Kenduli and of no other places. Had the claim of Orissa been popular in late 19th century even, it would have been mentioned by W. W. HUNTER in his famous book *orissa* (or the vicissitudes of an Indian Province under native and British rule) published in 1872. In chapter III bearing title *Jagannātha* (Mediaeval legends of Jagannatha) P. 114 – a legend is mentioned in the following language:

> 'The Beerbhum poet Jayadeva, whose herdsman's song is now the devotional work of a great sect of his countrymen, abandoned his ascetic life on account of a Brāhmaṇa girl who had been dedicated to Jagannātha. The god himself assisted the poet in his writing..The king of Orissa, having heard the fame of the poem, composed another and called it by the same name. The obsequious priests received it with rapturous adulation and placed it in the temple along with the original work. But the Lord Jagannātha stepped down from his throne and taking up both poems, hurled Raja's out of the temple, and tenderly placed Jayadeva's in his bosom.'

If the claim of Kenduli Śāsana of Puri was popular at that time, HUNTER would never have qualified the name of Jayadeva as the 'Beerbhum poet,' in the later period of the 19th century.

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[6] District Hand Book, Birbhum-1951 by Sri A. Mitra, ICS P. 146 & Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial series: Bengal Vol. I, 1906, p. 285.

[7] District Hand book, Birbhum- 1951 Appendix I, p. LVII and also Bengal District Gazetteer – Birbhum by L.S.S. O'Malley, ICS, 1910.

[8] 'Kenduli', a small village on the bank of Ajai, situated in Pargana Senbhum is celebrated as the birth-place of Jaideva, a Vishṇuite reformer and sanskrit poet, the author of G.G. or songs in praise of Krishna. An annual fair in his honour is held in the village on the last day of the Hindu month, Māgha (?) and is attended by upwards fifty thousand persons.'–Statistical Account of Bengal by W. W. Hunter, Vol. IV, 1876, p. 343.

This older claim of Bengal is now being challenged by Orissan poets, and their arguments may now be considered.

In the 4th stanza of the 1st Canto of *Gītagovindam* names of five contemporary poets have been mentioned :

> *vācaḥpallavayatyumāptidharaḥ sandarbhaśuddhiṅgirāṁ*
> *jānīte jayadeva eva śaranaḥ ślāghyo durūhadrute*
> *śṛngārottarasatprameyaracanairācārya-govardhana-*
> *spardhī ko'opi na viśrutaḥ śrutidharo dhoyī kavi-kṣmāpatiḥ*

The five poets mentioned here, namely, Umāpatidhara, Jayadeva, Śaraṇa, Govardhanācārya and Dhoyī are said to be the court poets of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal during the 12th Century. Umāpatidhara was the ' Sāndhivigrahika [9] of kings Vijayasena, Vallālasena and Lakṣmaṇasena. He was the writer of famous inscriptions on the Pradyumneśvara temple[10] situated in the district of Rajsahi now in Bangladesh. Verses 7, 23, 24 and 30 of this inscription are found quoted in *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (1206 AD) an anthology compiled by Śrīdhara-dāsa.[11] Tale of Umāpatidhara and his master king Lakṣmaṇasena is also fonnd in the *Prabandha cintāmaṇi* by Jain writer Merutuṅga Ācārya (Tr. by C. H. TAWNY). That he was connected with the sena king of Bangal is proved beyond doubt.

As regards Dhoyī, the definite evidence to prove that he was patronised by king Lakṣmaṇasena is his *Pavanadūtaṁ*. King Lakṣmaṇasena was the hero of this *dūta-kāvya*.[12] As many as 20 Ślokas of Dhoyī have been quoted in '*Saduktikarṇāmṛta.*'

Besides 21 Slokas under the name Śaraṇa (Śaraṇadeva), no other work of Śaraṇa has been found. There is reference of a Sena king in his śloka qouted there[13] and of the victories of a sena king[14] who can be no other than the king Lakṣmaṇasena.

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[9] Commentary on G.G. by Dhṛtidāsa quoted in " Kavi Jayadeva O Śrī Gitagovinda " by Dr. H. K. Mukherjee, p. 20.

[10]
nirṇiktasenakulabhūpati mouktikūnā-
magranthila grathana pakṣmala sūtravalliḥ
eṣakaveḥ padapadārthavicāra śuddha-
vuddherumāpatidharasya kṛtiḥ praśastiḥ

—Inscriptions of Bengal Vol. III by N. G. Mazumdar, p. 49.

[11] As many as 92 verses of Umāpatidhara are found in *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* ed. by Dr. S. C. Banerjee, Calcutta.

[12]
dṛṣtvā devaṁ bhuvanavijaye lakṣmaṇam kṣouṇi-pālam
vālā sadyaḥ kusumadhanuṣaḥ saṁvidheyi babhūva.

Verse 2, Pavanadūtam ed. by C. Cakravarty.

tasmin senāvaya nṛpalināṁ deva rājyābhiṣikto

Verse 28, ibid.

Govardhanācārya has written *Āryāsaptaśatī*, and six ślokas (not āryā) are found [15] in *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*. He was also claimed as an Orissan Poet by the scholars of Orissa[16] —but there also a bias is observed as the 'Śenakulatilakabhūpati' mentioned in one of his āryās, has been tried to be identified with the king Pravarasena, author of *Setu-Bandha Kāvya* and king of Kāśmīr in the 5th century A. D. instead of identifying with Lakṣmaṇasena. [17] No sensible reason can be observed behind this identification as patronage by a 5th century Kāśmīrī king to an Orissan poet of the 12th century is highly impossible and also unheard of, traditionally or historically.

Mentioning of all these contemporary poets in a single stanza by poet Jayadeva only proves that this has not been written according to the poetic tradition, in which case mention of more famous poets could have been done[18] as it has been done by Govardhanācārya in his work. Traditional verse claiming all these poets as the gems of the court of Lakṣmaṇasena may here be quoted supporting above statement. But I was unable to trace the source and therefore refrain myself from quoting it. [19]

Attempts also were made to disprove the genuineness of the verse (*G. G.* 1/4) under discussion, as it has been stated that the earliest (?) commentary *Sarvāṅgasundarī* does not mention it. But the *Rasikapripā* commentary of *G. G.*, said to be the earliest commentary by Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa and innumerable other copies of MSS. of *G. G.* quote it and therefore its genuinity cannot be doubted.

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[13] *sevābhiryadi senavaṁśatilakādāsūdanīyaśriyaḥ*
saduktikavṇāmṛta (3/54/5), 1640)

[14] *bhṛūkṣepād gouḍalakṣmīṁ vijayate kelimātrāt kaliṅgān*
SKM (3/12/4, 1444)

[15] Nos. of these ślokas are 513, 875, 986, 1195, 1210, & 2095

[16] *O. H. R. J.* Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 40–46.

[17] *sakalakalāḥ kalpaytiuṁ prabhuḥ pravandhasya kumudavandhośca senakulatilaka bhūpatireko rūkā pradoṣaśca* 11. 39. 11.
Vide 'Āryāsaptaśatī by Govardhanacarya published from Nirnay Sagar Press –Bombay in which the editors (Pandit Durgaprasad, Kasinath Pandurang Parab & Vasudev Laxman Sastri Panashikar) (3rd Ed. 1934) have commented also:
'*senakulaṁ kāyasthakulaṁ vaṅgadeśa–prasiddham, tattilakāyamāno bhūpatirlakṣmaṇasenaḥ yatsabhāhāyām Govrdhanācārya āsīt. Na tu setuvandha–kāvyakartā kāśmīrmahārājāḥ pravarasenaḥ*'
See also 'subhāṣitāvalī' ed. by Peterson p. 37 published by Bhandarkar Prācya vidyāmandir.

[18] *O. H. R. J.* Vol. VII, Pts. 3& 4, pp. 191–93; also 'this juxtaposition is best explainable on the supposition of Jayadeva too being a Bengal contemporary= *J.A.S.B.* 1906, NS. 5 Vol. II, Loc. cit.

[19] *govardhanaśca śaraṇo jayadeva umāpatiḥ*
kavirājasya ratnāni samitou lakṣmaṇasya ca
The way Mr. Mahapatra dealt with the saying of getting it on the door of Navadwīpa-court, deserves credit.

Attempts have been made to disprove the connection between the sena king of Bengal and with Jayadeva. Absence of any direct reference to king Lakṣmaṇasena and the nature of *G. G.* were the arguments forwarded for the purpose.[20] These are strong arguments as these are facts. But fecund as they are, they are inadequate and inconclusive to say the least, as the reference of king Lakṣmaṇasena can be found in *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* in two of the verses of Jayadeva in the 'Vicīs' priyavyākhyānaṁ and Deśāśrayaṁ of Cāṭupravāha. The verses are:

Lakṣmīkelibhujaṅga jaṅgamahare saṁkalpakalpadruma
Śreyaḥsādhakasangasangarakalāgāṅgeya vaṅgapṛiya
Gouḍendra pratirājarājaka sabhālaṅkāra-kārārpita[21]
Pratyarthikṣitipāla-pālakasatāṁ dṛṣṭo'si tuṣṭā vayaṁ.

(3/11/5; 1425)

The king who was eulogised here had the attributes 'Ganḍendra' & 'Vaṅgapriya.' Who was this 'Gauḍendra' in that period?

Another verse referred to the victories and invasions of the king in a very high eulogising tone:

Tvaṁ colollolalīlāṁ kalayasi kuruṣe karṣaṇam kuntalānāṁ
Tvaṁ kāñcīnyañcanāya prabhavati rabhasādaṅgasaṅgaṁ karoṣi
Ittham rājendra-vandistutībhirupahitotkampamevādya dīrghaṁ
Nārīṇāmapyariṇām hṛdayamudayate tatpadārādhanāya

(3/15/5; 1445)

It may be pointed out here that preceding verse of this subdivision (Vicī) (i. e. 3/15/4; 1444) was of Śaraṇa, of which reference was given earlier (See f. n. 14). Idea of these two verses are almost the same and this helps us in establishing the identity of the eulogised king who could be no other than Lakṣmaṇasena.

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[20] "What to speak of Lakṣmaṇasena, nowhere in G. G. is there any veiled reference to the effect that the author had adorned the court or received the patronage of any King.".. 'G.G. was only a hymn to Govinda, which was solely meant to be sung before god of his devotion and was not written to gain good will and favour of any royal patron" – –Ibid

[21] Variant – 'Karṇāmṛta'

Five verses of the *Gītagovindam* have been quoted in *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*[22] and twentyfive other verses[23] by poet Jayadeva are also found in it.

Thus though in *G. G.* there is no refernnce of king Lakṣmṇasena[24], yet the verses quoted above lead us to establish the identity of 'Gauḍendra' & 'Vaṅgapriya' who was King Lakṣmaṇasena and nobody else. A later reference can be cited here from which tradition of the connection of Jayadeva with the court of Lakṣmaṇasena can be traced back to the first part of the 16th Century A. D. It is the 'Sekśubhodayā' of Halāyudha Miśra which (though ascribed to Halāyudha Miśra, Mahādharmādhyakṣa in the court of Lakṣmaṇasena) was certailny written in the 1st part of the 16th century.[25] Mentions of Govardhanācārya, Dhoyī and Jayadeva besides Halāyudha Miśra have been made in it.

> 'Govardhanācārya, has been called 'Jagadguru' and he appears as upright, pious brāhmaṇa of somewhat irritable temper. The anecdote regarding Dhoyī as an illiterate man coming to possess divine gift of high poetry is obviously a folk story following the tradition of series concerning Vālmīki and Kālidāsa[26].

A story has been mentioned there about Jayadeva in which he has been hailed as a musician, who defeated a musician named Vuḍhana Miśra. Vuḍhana Miśra came to the court of Lakṣmaṇasena and declared that he was a champion in music and all other branches of knowledge and he possessed a Jayapatra collected from King Kapilendradeva of Orissa when he defeated all the scholars of Orissa. But after subsequent tests this Vuḍhana Miśra had to accept his defeat to Jayadeva.[27]

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[22] Cf. 1/59/1 (294) of SKM=11/34 G. G; 2/37/4 (659) SKM=6/11, GG; 2/132/4 (1134) SKM=12/10 G. G.; 2/134/4 (1144) SKM=12/12 GG; 2/137/5 (1160) SKM=12/14 GG.

[23] Nos. of verses quoted in SKM which are not found in GG are: 19, 248, 425, 834, 860, 1325,1394, 1414, 1415, 1419, 1425, 1445, 1465, 1470, 1484, 1515, 1538, 1539. 1540, 1558, 1564, 1570, 1630, 2079 and 2087.

[24] A single reference of king Lakṣmaṇasena in G.G. has been observed by BUHLER. "BUHLER, who saw in Kashmir a manuscript of G.G. with a note at the end, according to which Sri Jayadeva lived in the time of a king called Lakṣmaṇasena, has already identified the poet's patron with a Vaidya king of Bengal whose inscription at Gaya is dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1173 or A. D. 1116–See BUHLER's Kashmir Report, P. 64 and Prinsep's Essays, Vol. II. P. 272"– From 'Subhāṣitāvalī' ed. by Peterson, Publ. by Bhandarkar Prācyā-vidyā mandir, P. 37.

[25] Sekśubhodayā of Halāyudha Miśra by Dr. S. Sen, Pub. by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

[26] Ibid–intro. p. vi.

[27] The story of Jayadeva and his wife (Padmāvati) contesting Vuḍhana Miśra is obviously apocryphal as Kapilendra of Orissa belonged to 15th century-ibid, pp. vi–vii.

Sekśubhodayā, as told before, cannot be earlier than the first part of the 16th century A. D. – is the opinion of Philologist Dr. S. SEN. But all of its stories are centred round a 'Sekh' called Jālāluddin Tabriji who is stated to have come to the court of king Lakṣmaṇasena and had tremendous influence on the king. Therefore, relevance of mentioning this work may be well-understood.

Dr. SEN opined that Jayadeva did not originally belong to the court of Lakṣmaṇasena and that he had first come there as an outsider.[28] Supporting this, the verse *Lakṣmīkelibhujaṅga*.. etc. (quoted earlier) has been cited. But, mere eulogising a great king as an 'all-giving tree of wish', 'whose company brings success', 'cherisher of good people', does not necessarily mean that he was an outsider. This is corroborated by the fact that Umāpatidhara, Govardhana-Dhoyī, Śaraṇa, Halāyudha, Jayadeva and Śrīdharadāsa, all the gems of the 12th century Sena court have eulogised Lakṣmaṇasena in 'full-throated case.' Umāpatidhara's eulogy '*sādhu mleccha narendra*... etc. (vide verse No. 2088 *SKM*), Govardhana's āryā *Sakalakalākalpayituṁ*...etc. (āryā 39 of *Āryāsaptaśatī*), Dhoyī's *Pavanadūtam* (which is nothing but complete eulogy), Śaraṇa's verse (śloka quoted in *SKM* No. 1444) Halāyudha's eulogy in *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* – all these can be presented for example. Śrīdharadāsa wrote:

Samrājāmiva yogināmapi gururyaśca kṣamāmaṇḍale
Sa śrīlakṣmaṇasena eva nṛpatirmuktaśca jīvannabhūt[29]

A point may now be added to establish the relation of Jayadeva with Lakṣmaṇasena.

In *Saduktikatṇāmṛta* verse No. (1/55/3; 272) written by King Lakṣmaṇasena and verse No. (1/54/5; 270) written by prince Keśavasena bear in the fourth line *Rādhāmādhavayorjayanti* as in the first verse of the first canto of Jayadeva's *G.G.* have been marked by the scholars. The similar way of using the phrase has been explained that these were probably written to complete a verse by challenge (Samasyāpuraṇa)[30] with the phrase *Rādhāmādhavayorjayanti*. If Jayadeva did not belong to the court of king Lakṣmaṇasena, this case would never have been found.

That the identification of Kenduli Sāsana of the Puri District of Orissa with Kenduvilva of *G.G.* has been supported by literary evidence furnished by works written in different parts of India deserves careful consideration:

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[28] Ibid.

[29] For both Śrīdharadāsa's composition eulogising the King and that also for Halāyudha see 'Prācīn Vāṅglā O vāṅgālī' by Dr. Sen, pp. 22–24, Viśvavidyā saṁgraha series, Viśvabhāratī.

[30] *O. H. R. J.* Vol. VII pts. 3 & 4. p. 199, article by Sri K. N. Mahapatra,

> "In *Sampradāya Pradīpa*' by Gadā Dvivedī (1553–54 A. D) it is stated that the saint Jayadeva belonged to Utkala (*History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I p. 660 by Mm. P. V. KANE), Mahipati of Mahārāṣtra in his *Bhaktavijaya* speaks of Jayadeva as an incarnation of Vyāsa belonging to a village named Tinduvilva near the sacred city of Jagannatha. Nābhājī of Gwalior in his Bhaktamāla in Hindi assigns Jayadeva to Utkala (*J.K.H.R.S.* Vol. I, pp. 243, 245), Candradatta of Mithila in his *Bhaktamāla* in Sanskrit does not claim Jayadeva for his own land but mentions definitely that Jayadeva belonged to a Brahmin village namd Vinduvilva near Jagannātha Puri (*Bhaktamāla* printed and published by Venkateśvara Press, Bombay)."

Passage from Cakradatta has also been quoted:

> *Jagannāthapurīprānte deśaiva cotkalābhidhe*
> *Vinduvilva iti khyāto grāmo brāhmaṇa-saṅkulaḥ*
> *Tatrotkale dvijo jāto jayadeva iti śrutaḥ* ..' etc.[32]

Answer to the later citation can be drawn from late M. M. CHAKRAVARTY'S article referred earlier:

> "The Sanskrit '*Bhaktamāla*' was evidently based on Hindī '*Bhaktamāla*' by Nābhādas as edited and re-written by Nārāyaṇadāsa in the reign of Shahjahan A. D. 1628–58. (GRIERSON–Mod. Vern. Lit., Hindi, *J.A.S.B.* 1888, p. 27). The tradition cannot thus be traced back beyond the 17th century and requires strong corroboration before it can be accepted as a narration of events taking place in the 12th century."[33]

Few factual errors may be corrected from the above quotation. Nābhājī was the writer of *Bhaktamāla*. But many MSS. of *Bhaktamāla* do not bear his name and instead of his, name of Nārāyaṇadās has been found. Many scholars, therefore opined that Nābhājī and Nārāyaṇadāsa are identical persons. After accepting the Viṣṇuite belief he bore that name, but he was also known in his former name. Dhruvadāsa has written the name of Nārāyaṇadās in his *Bhaktanāmāvalī*, Priyādāsa in his *Bhaktarasabodhinī* commentary (1712 A. D) of *Bhaktamāla* and Lāldāsa or Kṛṣṇadāsa of Bengali edition of the same has written the name of Nābhājī.

Candradatta, son of Veṇirāmaśarmā Maithil therefore wrote sanskrti *Bhaktamāla* on the basis of Nābhājī or Nārāyaṇadās (not edited and rewritten by Nārāyaṇadās) and on the commentary of Priyādasa[34] (Saṁvat 1769 = 1713 A. D.) and thus the tradition (of Utkala) cannot bet traced back beyond the 18th century.

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[32] Loco citato.

[33] *J. A. S. B.* Vol. II. No. 5, 1906, p. 157

Time of *Bhaktalīlāmṛta* written by Mahipati (a Hindi MS. kept at Hindi Vidyāpīṭha, Agra) is not within our knowledge and therefore we refrain from commenting on it. But it is evident that all the Bhaktamāla series have got their inspiration from Nābhājī, who was probably of later period of 15th century A. D,, as it is told that Nābhādāsa was fifth disciple-descendant from Rāmānandaji (Rāmānanda - Anantānanda, Kṛṣṇadāsa - Agradāsa - Nābhā). The time of Rāmānanda is told as 1356–1467 saṁvat i. e. 1299 to 1410[35] A.D.). Since the 16th century the tendency of preparation of the biographies of the religious saints increased, most of which were written in Vrajabhāṣā, Āvadhī, Rājasthānī and in all probability Mahipati had written his book in the 16th century earliest. The original *chappayā or ṣaṭpadī* of Nābhādāsa is quoted below:

Pracura bhayon tihun loka Gītagovinda ujāgar
Kokakāvya navarasa ṣoḍaśa sṛngār ko sāgar
aṣṭapadī abhyās karai tahin vuddhi vaḍāwai
(*śrī*) *rādhāramaṇa prasanna sunan tahin niścai āvai*
santasaroruha khanda kou padmāvatī sukhajanaka ravi
jaidev kavi nṛpa cakkayai khaṇḍamanḍaleśvaram āni kavī (170)

The 'tippani' made by Vaiṣṇavadāsa (Nimvarkaite and Grandson of Priyādāsa) has clearly mentioned the place belonging to the Birbhum District of Bengal. Priyādāsa also silent about the location (1712 A. D.) inspired the editor of the Bhaktamāla[36] to place it in Bengal.

Older tradition than that of Gadā Dvivedī and Mahipati seem to have been found. In the oldest known commentary of *G.G.*, the *Rasikapriyā* written by Mahārāṇā Kumbha of Medāpāṭ (Mewāḍ), it is commented under verse 4, Canto I.

iti ṣaṭpaṇḍitastasya rājño lakṣmaṇasenasya prasiddhā iti rūḍhiḥ'

Late M. M. CHAKRAVARTY wrote:

'Of the king Kumbhakarṇa of Medāpāṭ various inscriptions have been found ranging from A. D. 1438 to 1459 so the tradition was current at least in the first half of the 15th century.[37] Tradition which is older is, therefore,likely to refute the younger one.

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[34] '*Nābhājī āur priyādāsjike ādhārpar hi yaha sanskṛit padyānuvād kiyā huyā hai*' see *bhaktamāla* by nābhājī ed. by vrajavallabh śaran vedāntācārya vṛndāvan, with '*Bhaktirasabodhinī*' commentary of Priyādās.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

It has been argued that Śrīcaitanya never paid a visit to Bengal Kenduli. Had it been considered a sacred place before the days of Śrīchaitanya, on this account, he who was a great admirer of the *G.G.* of Jayadeva, must have paid a visit to this place at least once during his lifetime. But contemporary Vaiṣṇava literature is silent about this matter.[38]

The very same question can be put back to the advocates of Orissa Kenduli. Sri Caitanyadeva passed 24 years at Puri barring 3 or 4 years for his travel at southern and northern parts of India (from 1510 to 1553–4 A. D.). Had the Kenduli near Puri been considered as the birth-place of Jayadeva during Caitanya's time, he must have paid a visit there from Puri. The point was significantly skipped over.

Some scholars have doubted the very existence of Kenduli in Bengal. It has been argued that if it were in existence earlier, it is not at present. The fair which is held here is not the fair of a village, but a fair relating to the bath ceremony on the Pauṣa saṁkrānti on the bank of Ajaya. There is no evidence to say that there was a village called Kenduli at this place.[39]

This is manifestly absurd.

Kenduli, more popularly Jayadeva-Kenduli is a little village still in existence. It seems mysterious that the significance of bathing ceremony on the last day of Bengali solar month Pauṣa is not held on all over the bank of Ajaya but at a particular village, is not understood by the learned scholar. That the village existed and still very much exists can only be doubted by the blind.

The oldest map which I could collect (1874) shows the place (vide 1″ = 16 miles map of Bardwàn Division comprising the districts of Bardwàn, Bírbhum, Bankura, Hugli with Howrah & Midnapur under the jurisdiction of the Lieut. Govt. of Bengal, published under the direction of Colonel H. L. THUILLIER, F.R A.,F.R.S., Surveyor-General of India, Surveyor-General's Office, Calcutta, June, 1874, engraved under superintendence of C. W. COARD for the Statistical Account of Bengal by W. W. HUNTER, LL. D). System of making or preserving of maps was not in vogue before the British rule.

District Handbook - Birbhum, 1951, Annual Report on the Survey & Settlement Operations in the District of Birbhum by Rai B. B. MUKHERJEE Bahadur, 1924–1932; (Vide Appendix X, pp 177–181, or particularly p. 180

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[37] *JASB*–1906, p. 157. Vol. II.

[38] *OHRJ*, Vol. VII Pts. 3 & 4, p. 198.

[39] See Bāṅglā Sāhityer Itihās, Vol. I by Dr. S. Sen p. 41, 4th ed. 1963.

where lists of Hasta-Fairs & Melas are given)[40]; Bengal District Gazetteers-Birbhum by L. S. S. O'MALLEY, I.C.S, 1910, p. 119; *Imperial Gazetteer of India-Provincial Series*,Bengal Vol. I, 1909, p. 285, *Statistical Account of Bengal* by W. W. HUNTER, Vol. IV (Burdwan, Bankura & Birbhum) - 1876, London - these are enough of the disinterested abundance of narration about Kenduli, Jayadeva fair and mela at Kenduli. If anybody is not satisfied with all these records, statements and accounts, he should go and visit the place himself which is accessible from Durgapur or Bolpur or collect a map of Mouja Jayadeva Kenduli, J. L. No. 63, P. S. ILAMBAZAR from record office of Birbhum District.

In the year 1614 of Śaka era i. e. 1692 A.D., a temple of Rādhā-Mādhava was built by the Maharani Nairani Devi, (mother of Kirtichandra) of Burdwan. It is said that the original image of Rādhā-Mādhava was taken along with Jayadeva to Vṛndāvana and the present image was brought from Shyāmārūpār Gaḍ, a place near Kenduli. Those, who say that the history of existing temple near the place of mela began from 1694, may understand that had there been no tradition of Jayadeva connected with this place, Maharani of Burdwan would never have built a temple there in honour of Poet Jayadeva. [41]

It has been rightly observed by some scholars that:

> 'the school of Nimvārka gave great prominence to the worship of of Rādhā along with Śrīkṛṣṇa' and that the 'exaltation of Rādhā, which is district feature of Nimvārka school, inspired Jayadeva to develop his erotic mysticism.'[42]

The subject has also been discussed in an article of the writer of this paper. [43] It is for the information of all the scholars interested to determine the birth-place of Jayadeva, that there is a temple and maṭha at this village which was established by one of the followers of Nimvārka school at Kenduli. [44]

Manohara Dāsa, told to be the great-grandson of Vāṇinātha Paṭṭanāyaka, brother of Rāya Rāmānanda the great friend, philosopher and devotee of Śrī Caitanya, first came to Burdwan, following his elder brother Nityānanda from Cuttak, where his father resided. He went to this Kenduvilva village

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40. loc. cit.
41. See Bāñglā Sāhityer Itihās vol. I, P. 41, by Dr. S. Sen.
42. See *ȮHRJ* Vol. VII, pts. 3 & 4, p. 202.
43. See Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, Vol. 74, issue 4, 1374 BS under the title *Gītagovinda kāvye dharmīya preraṇā*
44. For detail information please see 'Śrī Nimvārka O Dvaitā-Ḍvaita-Darṣana' by Dr. A. P. Bhattacharya, Cal. 1966, pp. 68–70.

by accepting Gourhari Vāul as his guru in the 17th century A. D. *Dinamaṇi candrodaya* by Manoharadās a 17th century work narratesa the fact.[45] This shows the tradition of Bengal Kenduli was popular even amongst the 17th century Orissan people.

An argument has been forwarded by Orissan scholars that the temple-architecture and iconography of Orissa with abundance of erotic figures shows that erotic emotion reflected in *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva either proves that this was influenced by the former or that the former was influenced by the descriptions of the latter. This carries no weight. The erotic emotion was very much cultured in the 12th century Bengal. Sṛṅgārapravāha of *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* bears enough testimony to this statement.

It was also pointed out that thousands of images of Kṛṣṇa or Rādhākṛṣṇa have been found in Orissa. While, ' we find a scarcity of combined images of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in Eastern school but, no image of Kṛṣṇa by himself earlier than fifteenth century has been discovered anywhere in Bengal or Bihar '.[45] This was explained that Jayadeva's tremendous influence on Orissan iconography is the reason behind it.

Firstly, we do not consider that Jayadeva's influence on Orissan inconography does not prove in any way that the Kenduli Śāsana of Purī is the birth-place of Jayadeva. He could be of any place in and outside India and could influence the iconography of Orissa. Secondly, after R. D. BANNERJEE much reserach on Bengal school of sculptures has been made. Abundance of Viṣṇuite figures have been found from Pre-Gupta period. Viṣṇu image of Hankrail (1st century A. D.), Garuḍavāhana image of Lakṣaṇakāṭi (Barisal), Viṣṇu image of Kākdighi (Dinajpur) of Gupta period[46], Kṛṣṇa legend scenes of Pāhārpur [47] (8th century A. D. Pāla period of Bengal), Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa image of Pāhārpur, several terracota images depicting tales of Kṛṣṇa have also been found. In this connection, it is to be remembered that stone-images and temples were built in Rajmahal and Bankura Manbhum area. Stone-architectures were made by kings at southern & northern Rāḍha and Varendrī by bringing stone slabs from Rajmahal area, and the brick-built instead of stone-made architecture was generally popular in Bengal .[48]

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[45] *pūrve chilā dakṣiṇadeśe jājpuragrāma*
vardhamāne rahi dui viṣaya karmarase
ārvāra kahilā more kariva gamana
kendavelvi-yār vali āche mora mana
śrī jayadeva patha kailāṅg daraśane etc.

See Dinamaṇi candrodaya by Manohardāsa pub. by Gorācānd Dās, Cal. 1306, BS pp. 81–83.

[46] See Early Sculptures of Bengal by Dr. S. K. SARASWATI.

[47] Paharpur and its Monuments by Dr. C. C. DASGUPTA.

[48] *Bānglā Sāhityer Itihās* by Dr. S. SEN, Vol. II p. 23.

It has also been argued that almost all the rāgas used in *G. G.* were used by the early Orissan poets while composing their verses[49]. Does that also prove anything? It is to be remembered that Jayadeva has called his own work as the 'Prabandha' form of music.[50] This 'prabandha' type of music was gradually losing its popularity and Muslim way of music slowly cast its influence in Bengal.

Secondly, *Rāgatarangiṇī* by Locanācarya who was stated to be of Bengali origin, and who flourished at the time of Ballālasena, described some rāgas, which are similar to some rāgas described by Jayadeva.[51] Tālas used by him are still in use by the Bengali musicians who are followers of older school and by the 'Kīrtana'-singers. But the character of rāgas (rāgarūpa) seems to be lost. The prominent musicians opined that the present form of music, still in vogue at Mahārāṣtra or Orissa for singing *G.G.*, bears imaginary character or is vulgar in form.[52] It is, therefore, difficult to claim that Jayadeva was of Orissan origin as almost all the rāgas used by him were used by early Oriya poets, while composing their verses. Mere naming the rāgas in Oriya kāvyas cannot be definitely stated to bear also the original form of rāgas used by Jayadeva.

The argument that many commentaries and imitations of *G.G.* were written in Orissa and also many Oriya translations were made and there is abundance of illustrated manuscripts of the same in Orissa only proves that Jayadeva's influence in Orissa was tremendous and does never suggest conclusively that he belonged to Orissa. Maithili poet Vidyāpati was more popular in Bengal and the imitation of Vidyāpati's lyric was very much in vogue in Bengal. Should we for that reason only claim him as a Bengali poet.

A list of commentaries of *G.G.* written in different parts of India can be found in Theodor AUFRECHT's *Catalogus Catalogorum* (pp. 153–4). A list of commentaries and imitations can also be found in the version of *G.G.* edited by Dr. H. K. MUKHERJEE (pp. 268–72). Studying these lists one would find it very much difficult to identify the poet's province of birth. Detail description of all of the commentators and imitators is wanting. Their origins are equally unknown and controversial too. Before making an objective study of these commentaries, it will not be very proper to say that Orissa was the land of Jayadeva as has already been established.[53]

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[49] *OHRJ* Vol. VII pts. 3 & 4, p. 206.

[50] *Śrī vāsudeva ratikeli kathā sameta*
Metaṁ karoti jayadeva kaviḥ prabandhaṁ 1/2, G.G.
Sri Rajyeswar MITRA writer of Prācīna Bāṅglār Sangit may kindly be consulted.

[51] 'Gītagovinde Gīta' by Sures Ch. Chakraborty, Siṁgītaśāstrī, in Viśva Vāṇī, 1358 BS and quoted in Kavi Jayadeva O Srī Gītagovindam by Dr. H. K. Mukherjee, 4th ed. pp. 90–98.

[52] Ibid,

Thus all the argumenets, forwarded by the Orissan scholars in their attempts to establish the identity between the Kenduvilva and Kenduli śāsana and to prove that he was of Orissan origin and that he had no connection with Lakṣmaṇasena, have been exhaustively dealt with. We are thus, not at all satisfied with any one of their arguments. Therefore, we do not find any reason to alter the older traditional claim and belief that Jayadeva belonged to Birbhum Kenduli which has been supported by facts and arguments and contradictions of the counter–arguments as have been shown in the text of this paper. Still, we presume that the controversy will remain as this is more a sentimental matter to the people of Orissa or Bengal and none, we think, will agree to forgo his demand for poet Jayadeva. Demands and counter demands will only cease when both the parties will be tired of arguments as has been in the case of Chātnā–Nānnur controversy for the birth–place of Caṇḍidāsa.

Few more Jayadevas have been found in India. Names of 14 Jayadevas have been included in AUFRECHT's *Catalogus Catalogorum*. One amongst them is writer of *Chandasūtra* who flourished, probably in 7th or 8th century A. D. as Abhinavagupta of 9th century A.D. has mentioned his name. Second one is the writer of *Prasannarāghava* nāṭaka and Candraloka (Alaṁkāra) who flourished in 13th century A. D.[54] Third one is the writer of two 'padas' of yoga theory which are collected in the *Granthasaheba* edited by Sikha Guru Arjuna in the later part of 16th century[55]. Name of a vernacular poet 'Jaideb' (of 1400 A. D.) has also been found one of whose songs has been extracted by Dr. GRIERSON (in *JASB*, 1888, p. 12). Name of another Jayadeva is also found as the writer of a drama named *Pīyūṣalaharī* (Vaiṣṇavāmṛta), a drama with Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and other imaginary characters, written in Sanskrit language but in Oriya script in only one extant manuscript. It is my personal humble opinion, which I may be permitted to place, that the tradition of Jayadeva, the author of *G.G.* having traditional connection with Purī and Jagannātha temple, has been confounded with the writer of *Pījūṣalaharī*, who may be of Orissan origin.

Purī gained its popularity as a place pilgrimage since the erection of the famous temple of Jagannātha in 1096 Saka era or 1174 A. D. in the reign of Anaṅgabhīmadeva. It is very probable, that Jayadeva, the author of *G.G*, paid visit to Purī and like Caitanyadeva was accepted as a great devotee and gained popularity there. Popularity of Jayadeva is the sole reason of his birth-place-controversy. Similarity of the name of the Village Kenduli śāsana with the Kenduli of Birbhum is another reason for the development of the controversy.

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[53] 'A study in a few lyrical works of Orissa' by Banamāli Rath, summary of the paper (No. Cl. 28) submitted for deliberation of the 25th session of AIOC.

[54] 'Date of Jayadeva–A Telegu source' by Dr. B. Rama Raju.

[55] Bhāratavarṣa Śrāvaṇa 1350 BS, Loc. cit.

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN AND THE *KRIYĀKALPĀ*

By

M. G. DHADPHALE, POONA

In his 'Studies On Some Concepts Of Alaṅkāra Śāstra'[1] Dr. V. RAGHAVAN devotes a whole chapter to the consideration of the names of Sanskrit poetics in which he suggests that in the pre-Bhāmaha period Sanskrit poetics was known by the name *kriyā-kalpa*. The word occurs in the list of sixty-four Kalās - *Catuṣṣaṣṭi-Kalāḥ* enumerated by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāma-Sūtras*. After Abhidhānakośa (lexicon), Vātsyāyana mentions a subject, called *Kriyā-Kalpa*. Jayamaṅgalā explains it as Kāvyakaraṇa-vidhiḥ meaning Kāvyālaṅkāra and says that all the three (i. e. Abhidhānakośa, Chandas and Alaṅkāra) are subservient to poetry (*tritayamapi kāvyakriyāṅgaṁ*). Dr. RAGHAVAN also quotes in support the *Lalitavistara* (p. 156. LEFMANN'S Edn.), the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin i. 9, which makes a mention of Kriyāvidhi (which Dr. RAGHAVAN holds synonymous with Kriyākalpa) and also the Uttarakāṇḍa of *Rāmāyaṇa* (Chap. 94, verse 7) which reads *kriyākalpavidaścaiva tathā kāvyavido janān.*' In all these places, argues Dr.- RAGHAVAN, the word Kriyākalpa is used in the sense of poetics.

DR. RAGHAVAN's suggestion is severely criticized by Dr. P. V. KANE[2] who gives several reasons to show that Kriyākalpa does not mean poetics. All his arguments deserve to be read in original.

This Paper proposes to throw some light on the term Kriyākalpa occurring in all these contexts referred to by Dr. RAGHAVAN. Dr. KANE in refuting Dr. RAGHAVAN's contention in this matter, suggests that the *Lalitavistara* in the said context means by the word Kriyākalpa only the Śrāddhakalpa. This may well be the case for the word Kriyākalpa does not have the same meaning in all the contexts in which it occurs.

In this connection, it will be very interesting and illuminative too, to refer to a queer word which occurs very often in the Pāli Buddhist Literature, in a stereotyped formula.[3] The word is '*keṭubha*' which is explained by

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1) Studies On Some Concepts of the Alaṅkāra Śāstra, Dr.V. Raghavan, 1942, pp.258–267.

2) History of Sanskrit Poetics, Dr. P. V. Kane. Third revised Edn. pp. 341–344.

3) '*Tiṇṇaṁ vedānaṁ pāragū sanighaṇḍukeṭubhām sākkharappabhedaṁ itihāsapañcamānaṁ...*' (D. 3. 1. 3. M. 41. 2. 8. Sn. 3. 7. 0 etc. all the references are to the Nāgari Edns.)

all the commentators on the Pāli canon in an identical way. It is said to be *kiriyākappa-vikappo kavīnaṁ upakārāya satthaṁ* (DA 247, SnA 447, Saddhamma-pajjotikā II. 14 etc.). This, when rendered in Sanskrit, will read as *kriyākalpa-vikalpaḥ kavīnāṁ upakārāya Śāstram* i. e. Kriyākalpavikalpa, a science useful for the poets. Dr. RAGHAVAN will certainly be happy to see his contention, at least apparently, confirmed by Pāli commentarial literature. And it is not only the commentaries which say this, the Pāli lexicon *Abhidhānappadipīkā*, also does the same.[4] Two eminent scholars who have separataely edited the lexicon also interpret it in that sense. SUBHŪTI in his Siṁhalese edition of the lexicon (p. 18) gives in English a marginal note on the meaning of the word Keṭubha, in the words a 'poetical fiction'. MUNI JINA VIJAYAJI in his Nāgarī. Edn. of the Abh. (q. v.) expressly calls Keṭubha, a kāvya-śāstra. It is of course the Ṭīkā on the Abhp. which seems to have guided both these editors, for the ṭīkā explains Keṭubha as *kiṭanti gacchanti kavayo kosallaṁ etenā'ti.... kriyākappavikappoti vacībhedādilakkhaṇā kriyā kappīyati vikappīyati etenā'ti kriyākappavikappo–so pana vaṇṇapadabandhapadatthādi vibhāgato bahuvikppo' ti vuccati. idañca mūlakriyākappavikappagandhaṁ sandhāya vuttaṁ, so hi mahāvisayo satasahassa·gandha-parimāṇo nayādicariyādikaṁ pakaraṇaṁ.* It is notable that while in Sanskrit we have only the word Kriyākalpa, in the Pāli explanation of Keṭubha, we have it as Kriyāvikalpa also. This of course is merely a reduplication[5] of which there are many examples in Pāli. The *vi* in the *vikalpa* is only stylistic. The understanding of this stylistic feature will, however, be very useful in relieving the rather unnecessary tension caused by the variant reading of the word, for while Vātsyāyana reads the word as Kriyakālpa, Śrīdhara in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata*, reads it as Kriyāvikalpa. Dr. RAGHAVAN perhaps disturbed by this variant says (ibid. p. 265) that Śrīdhara has wrongly written it as Kriyāvikalpa, while Dr. P. V. KANE finds in this, that way insignificant variant,[6] a sufficient reason to discard Dr. RAGHAVAN's proposition. Says Dr. KANE in this context, "Five great commentators of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* X. 45. 36 have the reading (in the list of 64 Kalās) Kriyāvikalpa instead of Kriyākalpa. Thus, the whole edifice of Kriyākalpa being the ancient name of the science of poetics is raised on rather slippery foundations, viz. a doubtful reading Kriyākalpa". (P. V. KANE ibid. p. 344).

In this Paper I have tried to show that Kriyākalpa (or Kriyāvikalpa) does not mean originally 'the science of poetics' as Dr. RAGHAVAN takes it

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4) '*Keṭubhaṁ ti kriyākappavikappo kavinaṁ hito.*' Abh. I. 112.

5) It is a reduplication with modification.

6) So many times even in Sanskrit the 'vi' is only pleonistic. So, very often in *Atharvaveda* we have yātudhāna and yātuyidhāna. Yāsk in his *Nir.* 11. 11 says *Vidhātā dhātrā vyākhyātaḥ* and Durga explain it as *dhātaiva Vidhāta*

to be; no, not even the Pāli word Keṭubha means originally a Kāvyaśāstra.[7] But both Keuṭbha and Kriyākalpa mean something which is very much related to Kāvyaśāstra and which even forms a branch of the Kāvyaśāstra which is after all a composite science. In one of my articles[8] I have tried to show that Keṭubha originally means 'a dictionary of verbal synonyms' corresponding in some ways to the later Dhātupāṭhas and the books like the famous *Kavirahasya*. For, had the Pāli commentators meant by Keṭubha the kāvyaśāstra I wonder what could have prevented them from using some such direct term as 'Kabhasattha.' Instead we find them using very cautiously the term 'uyakārāya satthaṁ' which means that according to them Keṭubha was a science only useful for the poets. The term Upakāra like its synonym aṅga (in Vedāṅga etc.) means only an auxiliary matter. Now what other science than lexicography there can be to render best help to the poets? Our writers on Sanskrit poetics have stressed the importance of the making of a poet which consists in his knowing so many arts and sciences like the Abhidhānakośa, Chandojñānaṁ, Vyākaraṇaṁ etc. (see. *Kāvyānuśāsanaṁ* I. 8 and '*Vivaraṇa*' thereon). If for a proper choice of words a poet must know the synonymous nouns (Nāmas), he must equally know the synonymous verbs, without which he cannot even complete his rasātmaka vākyas. It is therefore that I interpret Abhidhānakośa as a dictionary of nominal synonyms and Kriyākalpa as a dictionary (or in the formative stage only lists) of verbal synonyms. So many lexica have been written with the avowed purpose of helping the poets. We read the following corresponding to the Pāli expression 'kavīnaṁ upakārāya satthaṁ'[9]–

a) *Kavīnāṁ Sukhahetave* (Dharaṇi)
b) *Kavīnām hitakāmyayā* (Dhanañjaya)
c) *Kaveḥ śighrakavitvāya* (Śīghrabodhinī)
d) *Saṁvittīnāṁ bhūṣaṇaṁ satkavīnāṁ* (Vaijayantī)
e) *Kavikaṇṭhabhūṣaṇārthaṁ* (Halāyudha)
f) *Kṛpāmupetya satāṁ kavīnāṁ* (Maheśvara).

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[7] It is very difficult to imagine the existence of any 'poetics' in B. C. 500. Dr. De and Dr. Dasgupta who have studied the problem of the origin of Sanskrit poetics in full details have come to the conclusion that "there is no evidence that there was any alaṁkāra Śātra before Patañjali" and "that there is no evidence that any alaṁkāra Śāstra existed beyond the commencement of the christian era" (*Hist. af Skt. Litt.* pp. 522–523).

[8] On the meaning of the word keṭubha, M. G. Dhadphale, Fergusson College Magazine (Research Section, II), 1968–69, pp. 39–44.

[9] The point is that even a lexicon of verbal synonyms substantially contributes to the equipment of a poet and thus forms an important auxiliary branch of the Science of Poetics.

The word 'kriyā' originally means only an 'action' and then it stands for the roots, denoting particular actions (Kriyāpadas). The books on grammar so many times say 'dhātvarthāḥ kriyāḥ' and we find *Mbh.* or Pāṇini I. 3. 1. *kriyāvacano dhātuḥ* the *Saddasāratthajālinī* in Pāli (verse 487) has also *dhātusaddo kriyāvācī*. It is true that the extant lexica have devoted themselves mostly to the nouns (nāma or abhidhāna), yet the Vedic Nighaṇṭus, prefixed to Yāska's *Nirukta*, give us, besides the nominal synonyms, the verbal synonyms also. Yāska while quoting the *Nighaṇṭu* lexeme tags on to it the word karman if the lexeme be a verbal form. We have such examples as '*Maṁhater dānakarmaṇaḥ*' (*Nir.* I. 7 & *Ngh.* III. 20). In fact, once we accept the fourfold classification of words, we can legitimately expect four types of nighaṇṭus, viz. nāmanighaṇṭu, ākhyāta or kriyānighṇṭu, upasarganighaṇṭu and Nipātanighaṇṭu.[10] The Upasargas and nipātas being very limited in number can very well be excluded from the scheme of separate divisions of Nighaṇṭus, but the Nāmas and kriyās must be compiled separately. In fact the *Nir.* (cha. I. Sec.20) very clearly says '*etāvantaḥ samānakarmāṇaḥ dhātavaḥ* | *etavantyasya satvasya · nāmadheyāni*. The enumeration of the *Samānakarmāṇa dhātavaḥ* is what is meant by a kriyākalpa.

The word Kalpa denotes in the first place a section and secondly a sectionwise collection. The celebrated Pāli grammar of Kaccāyana has the chapters known by the term 'kappa' and we have nāmakappo, sandhikappo, ākhyātakappo etc. The Sanskrit root kalpa (Pāli, kappa) means cutting, 'kalpaka' (= barber) is the instance. MAYRHOFER (*Kurzge Eteymologisches Worterbuch Des Altindischen*, S. Kalpate) suggests **Klep* the IE root behind the Sanskrit kalpa and the Pāli kappa. Kriyākalpa thus means a section (or even a sub-section if it is Krirāvikalpa) or a sectionwise classification of Kriyās or Dhātus.

Lastly, I quote P. K. ACHARYA who in his aricle on Fine Arts (*IHQ.* Vol. V) translates kriyāvikalpa as 'derivation and conjugation of verbs in various ways' and surprising as it may appear, he makes this explanation refer to 'Grammar and Poetics'.[11] But this is very true for the kriyākalpa although not itself a science of poetics, is all the same very much akin to it, and is directly useful to it. The order in the Kāmasūtras in listing the arts is abhidhānakośa, chandojñāna and kriyākalpa. Barring the insertion of chandojñāna the order in the Pāli books is much the same i. e. Nighaṇṭu and

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10) In fact even the comment of Durga on *Nir.* I. 1. *sa ca vyākhyātavyaḥ* seems to suggest this. He says. 'vibhajya *imāni atra* nāmāni, imāni ākhyātāni, ime upasargā, ime nipātā....' Indeed we have in the nighaṇṭus a separate enumeration of nipātas.

11) Much of the portion of poetics has a direct bearing on Grammnr. Poetics is in many respects an extension of the science of grammar, necessitated by aesthetic considerations.

Keṭubha. The Kavirahasya, which to me, is the ectype of the kriyākalpas, a type of poetico-grammatical literature, presents its scheme of multi-division (kalpavikalpa, we should say) in the following verses :

Ekārthāḥ ekaśabdāśca nānārthāścaika-vācakāḥ |
Sadṛśārthābhidhānāśca nānārthāḥ sadṛśākṣarāḥ ||2||
Ekārthāstulyaśabdāśca nibadhyante'tra dhātavaḥ |
Dhātupārāyaṇāṁbodhipārottīrṇadhiyā mayā ||3||

It is again noteworthy that Rājaśekhara who in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (p. 1) gives us the mythical account of how the original science of poetics came to be divided ultimately into 18 different chapters, also tells us that the first chapter of it was the Kavirahasya.[12]

It will thus be seen that Dr. V. RAGHAVAN was after all not wrong in maintaining that Kriyākalpa was at one stage a name for the Kāvyaśāstra. However it will always be better, more cautious and more faithful also, to the historical evidence that we have before us, to contend ourselves on saying that Kriyākalpa was only a section of that composite type of science, known as Kāyaśāstra and that Kriyākalpa originally signified only a collection (or a lexicon) of verbal synonyms, the knowledge of which is directly helpful to the poets. It thus formed a very important branch of poetics.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abh. – Abhidhānappadīpikā of (Cūḷa?) Moggallāna.
D. – Dīghanikāya.
DA. – Dīghanikāya–aṭṭhakathā.
IHQ. – Indian Historical Quarterly.
M. – Majjhimanikāya.
Mbh. – Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.
Ngh. – Nighaṇṭu (s)
Nir. – Nirukta of Yāska.
Sn. – Suttaninpāta.
SnA. – Suttanipāta–Aṭṭhakathā.

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[12] Even though it might not be the present kavirahasya, it must have been certainly very much similar to it in design.

PATTRAKAUMUDĪ

By

S. S. Janaki, Madras

The *Pattrakaumudī* is important for two reasons. Firstly it is one of the few specimens of the epistolary literature in Sanskrit which has not received the due attention of scholars. Secondly, it is attributed to Vararuci.

S. C. Banerji had drawn attention[1] to *PK.* and also presented[2] its reconstructed text from the manuscripts at Govt. College, Rajashahi, India Office Library and Sanskrit College, Calcutta, with a running English account of the text.[3] Unfortunately, all the three mss. used by him are incomplete and are also much mutilated in the last few passages containing the eulogies. Of the seven[4] other mss. that S. C. Banerji did not use for his edition, one[5] ms. at Mithilā has a completeext. Besides, the entire text has been printed at Calcutta in 1842 in Bengali characters with a Bengali commentary, in a collection entitled *Praśastiprakāśikāgrantha.* The following account is based on a study of this printed text.

The Calcutta edition runs to thirty-eight pages and on p. 33 is the colophonic statement-*iti Pattrakaumudyām pattra-lakṣaṇa-paricchedaḥ*; on pp. 33–35 is the *Caturvidha-rājalekhaparicched*a on the four types of writers at the royal courts; pp. 36–38 contain some eulogistic verses and the last colophon reads as *Śrī Vararucikṛtā Pattrakaumudī Samāptā.*

After invocation to Lord Kṛṣṇa and the Goddess Sarasvatī, it is said that the intelligent Vararuci composed the *PK.* at the instance of the very famous king Vikramāditya.

Vikramādityabhūpasya kīrtisindhor nideśataḥ |
śrīmān Vararucir dhīmānstanoti pattrakaumudīm ||

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1. *IHQ.* XXXIV. iii – iv. 1958, pp. 226–9.
2. *BDCRI.* XX. *S. K. De Felicitation* Vol. 1960, pp. 3–18.
3. The *Śabdakalpadruma,* under ‘ Pattra ’ quotes almost the same length of the text as given by S. C. Banerji, with only the omission of verses 1–4 at the beginning,; the quoted text is ascribed to Vararuci in the *Śabdakalpadruma.*
4. 5 mss. at Mithilā noticed by K. P. Jayaswal in Vol. II, *Descriptive Catalogue of mss. in Mithilā*, Nos. 71, 72, 72a, 72b, 72c; one each in (a) *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.* Rajendralal Mitra (p. 197, No. 347) and (b) *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.* Second Series, Haraprasad Sastri, Vol. 1 (p. 214, No. 216).
5. *Ibid.* No. 71.

In verses 3–9 the author gives a list of the topics dealt with in brief in the work. The topics are –

1. The characteristics of letters to (a) king (b) minister (c) scholar (d) teacher (e) husband (f) wife (g) father (h) son (i) ascetic (j) servant and (k) enemy.
2. (a) The dyeing (b) dimensions and (c) folding of the letter (d) characteristics of a scribe (lekhaka) (e) composing the text of the letter (f) bringing and (g) reading of the letter (h) letter-marks (i) cutting its edges (j) special arrangements of words (k) use of *Śrī*.

Verses 8–9 follow here and while enumerating the topics, one of them is not quite clear. Banerji does not translate either. They are indeed important in that they throw light on the real nature and length of the text; but more about this later. They run as follows:

Utthāpyākāṅkṣāpattram ca saṅketalekhanakramaḥ /
Aṅkapallavibhāṣā ca bhāṣāpattrasya lakṣaṇam // (v. 8)

Here it is not clear what *Utthāpyākāṅksā–pattra* is. The other two types of letters referred to above are (1) those using 'signs' (*saṅketa*) like the employment of numerals (*aṅka*) and (2) letters in vernacular.

Kīrtivarṇanaślokāśca prītiślokāstathaiva ca /
Nītiślokāśca granthe'smin samāsenātra varṇitāḥ // (v. 9)

"In brief are dealt with also the eulogistic, pleasing and edificatory verses."

It is evident from the above that the *PK.* is a handy manual dealing with almost all the important aspects of letter-writing. To give a detailed idea about the contents and the value of the text printed at Calcutta, below is given a running account of the matter from the tenth verse onwards, as in Calcutta edition and as in the text presented by S. C. Banerji.

Banerji's *text in BDCRI.* XX. 1960 pp. 10–18	*Calcutta edn.* 1842. 38 pp.	*Subject - matter.*
p. 11. v. 10.	p. 3. v. 10[1]	Dyeing[2] of the letter : Best letter by gold ; medium by silver and ordinary with dyes.

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[1] In the printed edition, the verses are not numbered : they are numbered here for convenience.

[2] That royal epistles were coloured is evident also from *Lekhapaddhati* (*G.O.S. XIX*, p. 29. 1.18).

BANERJI'S *text in BDCRI.* XX. 1960 pp. 10–18	*Calcutta edn.* 1842. 38 pb.	*Subject–matter*
p. 11. v. 11.	p. 4. v. 11.	*Measurements* : Best letter should be one cubit and six finger-length; medium, one cubit and ordinary, as long as the clenched fist.
p. 11. v. 12.	p. 4. v. 12.	A letter must have three folds, the upper two folds being left out, the information in prose and verse is to be written in the lower part.
p. 11. vv. 13-16.	p. 4. vv. 13-17. (one extra verse that is omitted in *BDCRI. XX*)	*Characteristics of a scribe* : He must be a brahmin, counseller, proficient in polity; knower of various scripts and languages; should have knowledge of peace and war, skilled in royal duties, always a king's well-wisher, truthful, self-controlled, pure at mind, discriminating and frank.
pp. 11–12. vv. 17–20.	pp. 5–6. vv. 18–21.	*Composing the letter* (*Patraracanākrama*) The king calls forth the scribe and tells him that a suitable letter is to be written in prose and verse. The scribe himself brings a learned man. The draft is prepared in two or three days by the scribe in connection with the pandit. The scribe writes it on an ordinary paper, reads to the king in secret, and then at the king's orders, writes it on auspicious paper.
p. 12. vv. 21-25	pp. 6–7. vv. 22–26	*The mode of letter-writing* : In a letter to denote auspicionsuess first should be written an *aṅkuśa* mark, with a dot inside and the no. 7 below; below this, the word *svasti* and then auspicious prose (obviously praising the addressee) and then the word *śrī*. The welfare (of the addressee) is then to be enquired only in Skt., to be followed by the information, good or bad, either in Sanskrit or Prakrit; then the main news conveyed in suitable words, in accordance with the length of the paper; then eulogistic verse men-

Banerji's *text in BDCRI.* XX. 1960 pp. 10–18	*Calcutta edn.* 1842. 38 pp.	*Subject-matter*
		tioning the fame (of the addressee) and his delighting others; then an expression like *kim adhikam* (i. e. what more); then the verse giving, in numerals the day, month, etc. of sending the letter. For a letter specimen according to *PK* see *BDCRI. XX.* p. 8.
p. 12. vv. 26–8	p. 7. vv. 27–9	Praise of one who knows the above details and depreciation of the other who does not know them.
p. 13. vv. 29–32	p. 7. vv. 30–33	*Mode of carrying the letters* : A royal letter, a teacher's and that of a brahmin, ascetic and husband on the head: minister's on the forehead, that of wife, son and friend on the chest: the warriors' at loins.
p. 13. vv. 33–37	p. 7. vv. 34–38.	*Mode of reading the letter* : Having taken the letter and saluted it, the royal scribe should keep it before the king in the assembly with its tip turned towards the east. Having opened it, he should read to himself twice, and then aloud. Confidential letters are to be read to the king in privacy. Those containing bad news should never be read aloud in the assembly.
p. 13–14. vv. 38–42	p. 10 vv. 39–43	*Letter-marks* : Leaving six inches from above a circular mark like moon's orb must be made, – with musk and saffron for king; only saffron for minister; vermillion for husband; sandal for scholar, father, son and ascetic; lac–dye for wife; red sandal-paste for servant; and blood for enemy.
p. 14. v. 43	p. 11. v. 44.	*Cutting of a royal epistle* : at the right corner below an inch–space should be cut.
pp. 14–16. vv. 44–54.	pp. 11–15. vv. 45–56.	*Word–arrangement* : In royal letters epithets like *mahārājādhirāja* (universal ruler), *dānaśauṇḍa* (muificent in gifts), *saccarita* (of good conduct), *kalpavṛkṣa* and the

Banerji's *text in BDCRI.* XX. 1960 pp. 10–18	*Calcutta edn.* 1842. 38 pp.	*Subject-matter.*
		like should be employed; to a minister *saccarita*; to a scholar and teacher reference to his proficiency in the śāstras and the repeated salutations to him by the writer; to a husband, *prāṇapriya* (dear like one's life) etc., with salutations; to a wife, *prāṇapriyā* and *saccaritā*; to a father, *prabhu* (master) *saccarita* and the like along with salutation; to an ascetic, *sarvavāñchāvinirmukta*. (free from all desires), proficient in all śāstras; to ordinary persons, servants and enemies, just the name of the addressee and some other words suitable to him.
p. 16 v. 55	p. 14. v. 57.	The word *Śrī* is to be used six times to a teacher, five times to husband, two to servant, four to enemy, three to friend, and one each to wife and son.

At this stage follows elaborate eulogies (*praśastis*) to different persons like the king, minister, preceptor and ascetic. They are all in prose and contain very elaborate and exaggerated praise of the person concerned, and those of the king being in a considerable number of passages. As they are conventional and stylised and follow a set pattern, even a running English rendering of these passages is not attempted here. However, the following table gives, at a glance, the text as available in *BDCRI. XX*, and Calcutta edition.

Subject-matter.	*BDCRI, XX.*	*Calcutta edition*
1. Rājapraśasti (praise of the king)	pp. 16–17: only three passages. These correspond to Nos. 1, 2 and 35 in Calcutta edition. Even the available matter is full of lacunae.	pp. 15–22 passages on the king.
2. Mantripraśasti (of the minister)	p. 17: five passages.	pp. 23–4; eight passages.

Subject–matter	*BDCRI. XX.*	*Calcutta*
3. Paṇḍitapraśasti (of the scholar)	omitted.	p. 24 : five passages.
4. Gurupraśasti : (of the teacher)	p. 17 : one passage.	p. 24 : two passages.
5. Svāmipraśasti (of the husband)	p. 17 : two passages	p. 24 : two passages.
6. Bhāryāpraśasti (of the wife)	p. 17 : one passage.	p. 25 : one passage.
7. Pitṛpraśasti (of the father)	p. 17 : three passages	p. 25 : three passages.
8. Putrapraśasti (of the son)	p. 17 : one passage.	p. 25 : one passage
9. Sannyāsipraśasti (of the ascetic)	p. 18 : six passages. many lacunae.	p. 25–26 : six passages.
10. Bhṛtyapraśasti (of the servant)	p. 18 : one passage.	p. 26 : one passage,
11. Aripraśasti (of the enemy)	p. 18 : one passage.	p. 26 : one passage.
12. Vivekipraśasti (of the discerning)	p. 18 : two passages full of lacunae.	p. 26 : two passages.

At this point, the text in *BDCRI. XX.* and *Śabdakalpadruma* comes to an end, with the colophonic statement *iti śrīmadvararucikṛtā Pattrakaumudī samāptā*. The Calcutta edn., however, continues further and the contents in the remaining part of the text are as follows :

pp. 27–8. *The mode of writing Utthāpyākāṅkṣāpattra* : The latter term as pointed out earlier, is rather obscure. The long letter exemplifying this type of epistle is in an old form of Hindi, and begins and ends with *Rām Rām*. The Hindi here is obsolete and there are only a few words which could be clearly understood. With the help of these, what could be made out is that the concerned letter is a political one and the writer refers to the Iranian troops having entered the territory of the addressee frequently and capturing his people forcibly ; the same Iranian king had previously sent a large army to invade the writer's own territory ; the writer further regrets that though he was the ruler of the territory, the addressee was not able to take full command of the situation.

The above is obviously a letter from one king to another, but the relationship between them is not clear. However, it expresses the desires of the writer that the addressee should rise up to the occasion. Hence in this sense, the name *Utthāpyākāṅkṣā-pattra* is significant.

p. 28. *Mode of writing Ubhayākāṅkṣā-pattra*: Here there are just two lines in Hindi that give the beginning words of a letter which run as follows: 'To our dear, confidential, all-comparable, reverential 'ji' after offering salutations'. From these two lines, which could just be the beginning of any type of letter, it is not possible to say why the author calls this type as *Ubhayākāṅkṣā*. Probably the further contents express the mutual desire of the writer and the addressee.

p. 28. *Hindustani letter*. The same wording as that of the *Ubhayākāṅkṣā-pattra* above except for the substitution of the word 'message' (*Sandeśa*) for 'salutation, (*Praṇāma*).

p. 28. *Gujarati letter*. Some formalities of the preliminaries of a letter as above, replacing Hindustāni by Gujarati.

pp. 28–9. *Marathi letter*. Two examples of this letter are given and the letter preliminaries observed here are more elaborate and poetical than the Hindustani and Gujarati letters.

The first example is a letter of a certain 'Panta', offering his eight-limbed salutation to another 'Panta', who is enjoying royal favour and the former expresses the wish that his own mind of peacock will be awaiting joyfully the happy news of the latter's prosperity, which is like the rain-bearing cloud.

The second example is also written in the same elaborate, stylised form by a certain 'Panta', to a 'Rao'.

pp. 29–30 *Specimen of 'Pallavi-bhāṣā'* (Whatever it may mean) in numerals as code language (*saṅketana aṅke*). Under this *Aṅkapallavibhāṣā* all letters are divided into eight sections (*vargas*) as follows:

All vowels	Varga 1
Gutturals	,, 2
Palatals	,, 3
Retroflex	,, 4
Dentals	,, 5
Labials	,, 6
Semi-vowels	,, 7
Sibilants and Aspirate	,, 8

According to the *P. K.* for each letter there should be three numbers, namely, those of *varga, akṣara* and *mātrā*. For example, 'Rāma,' should be represented in numbers as follows:

Rāma = Rā + ma.
Rā = R + ā. Here R belongs to *varga* 7 (of semi-vowels), and is the second letter or *akṣara* in the semi-vowel group.
Hence R = 7 (*varga* no.) + 2 (*akṣara* No.).
similarly ā = 1 (*varga* no.) + 2 (*mātrā* no., for '*ā*' is long or *guru* and hence equal to two *mātrās*).
So Rā = 7 2 1 2.
Working out in the same manner, ma = 6 5 1 1
Therefore Rāma = 7 2 1 2 6 5 1 1

pp. 30–1 Eight Anuṣṭubh verses from a work *Rājanīticintāmaṇi* on the measurements and folding up of the letter, and in the part of the paper in which the message is to be written and how the message is to be written. The matter here, in the citation from the *Rājanīticitāmaṇi* corroborates the information already given in *P.K.* (see p. 191 above).

pp. 31–2. Twelve Anuṣṭubh verses from *Rājānītiratnāvali* on the ways of cutting the corners of the different types of letters. The matter here is elaborate and detailed while, as seen earlier (p. 192 above), the *P.K.* deals with it in a single verse.

Here runs the colophon *Pattrakaumudyām pattralakṣaṇa-paricchedaḥ*.

pp. 33–5. As the colophon here says, this is the *pariccheda* on the four types of royal scribes (*rājalekhaka*).

p. 33 On the qualifications of a *pattra-navica* (letter-writer) three Anuṣṭubh verses from the *Padyakādambarī*. According to these verses the letter–scribe must know well the preservation, measurements, cutting, and distinctions between the ordinary and best letters; must know the characteristics of letters of kings, queens, ministers, teachers, ascetics and servants.

pp. 33–4 Four Anuṣṭubh verses from *Rājanīticandrikā* on the *bhūbandhanavica* (whatever it may mean) who should know the mode of writing letters, ordinary, best and medium, and of teacher, scholar, ascetics and ladies; who knows the characteristics, good and bad of the letters in his hand and who knows all technical details about many kinds of letters. As seen from the qualifications of a *pattranavica* and *bhūbandhanavica* it would appear that the former is expected to do the mechanical work of cutting, folding, marking, etc. in the letters while the actual writing is done by the latter.

p. 34. Six Anuṣṭubh verses from *Rājanīticintāmaṇi* on *Kaphiyā-navica* who should be a knower of śāstras, skilled in polity, truthful in speech, self-controlled, frank, righteous, a medical man, a scholar, ascetic, monk, villager, ugly, with ashes all over the body, shaven, with matted hair, with beautiful appearance, goes often secretly to the houses of worthy persons and ministers, moves about in villages and towns and speaks out truthfully and secretly on what he saw and heard at different places.

From the innumerable qualifications as seen above, which are sometimes contradictory, it is rather difficult to find out who the *kaphiyā-navica* is. The non-Sanskrit word *Kaphiya* tempts one to take the term in the sense of 'copyist', although it must be stated that the qualifications referred to above, do not support it.

p. 35. Four Anuṣṭubh verses on royal scribe (*Rājalekhaka*), who tells all he sees and hears in many countries and his own thoughts before the king; who knows everything about writing and such other matters.

A *Subhāṣita*,[1] 'cows see by smell, brahmins by vision of Vedas, kings by spies and other people by eyes' is quoted here, obviously to emphasize the fact that a royal scribe is expected to be an expert in calligraphical matters and should also have a comprehensive yet thorough knowledge of everything about the king and kindom. He may be the learned man in consultation with whom the king prepares the draft of a letter (see above p. 191).

pp. 36–8. *Kīrtivarṇana-ślokāḥ* or verses in praise of a king. There are four prose passages, and eight verses, of which six (nos. 1, 3–7) are in the Mandākrāntā, one in śloka or Anuṣṭubh (no. 2) and one in Mālinī (no. 8). All these are again, exaggerated and conventional descriptions like the praśastis above.

p. 38. *Prītiślokāḥ* – three verses in the same strain as above. The text of the first verse is not well-preserved and hence its metre is not known definitely. The second verse is in Anuṣṭubh and the third in Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

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[1] This verse 'Gāvaḥ paśyanti' etc. is found in *Pañcatantra*, Book III. (p. 211, N. S. edn. 1959, 10th edition).

Then comes the final colophon – *iti śrī Vararucikṛtā Pattrakaumudī samāptā.*

That the text given in the Calcutta edn. is indeed the whole work is clear from the prefatory verses that give the topics dealt with in *P.K.* (see above, pp. 189-90). With the complete text before us, it would be useful to discuss the probable date and the authorship of the work. A. C. BURNELL, without assigning any reason, says[1] that the *P.K.* ' appears to be derived from Muhammadan custom and not to be of Hindu origin '. On the other hand, the various references to Hindu Divinities in the course of describing conventionally a king in the praśastis, kīrtiśloka and prītiśloka, and also the preference given to brahmins as scribes and calligraphists would point to Hindu influence in the work. S. C. BANERJI says[2] that ' there is no means of ascertaining the part of India where the work originated ' and that we ' can neither identify the author nor settle his date '. The date and the authorship of the *P.K.* is indeed a difficult problem. The available complete text, however, is helpful in some ways, to solve this difficult problem.

Of the divinities mentioned in the course of *P.K.* (all the page references hereafter are to the Calcutta edn.) there are epithets of both the Śaivaite and Vaiṣṇavaite Gods and Goddesses – Candracūḍa (pp. 15, 37), Viśveśvara (pp. 16, 25) Umāramaṇa (p. 17), Gaurīnātha (p. 19), Bhairava (p. 21), Mṛḍānī (p. 21), Śaṅkara (pp. 22, 24), and Parameśvara (p. 26), synonyms of the God Śiva; and Murahara (p. 16), Govinda (p. 18), Nārāyaṇa (pp. 18, 19. 22–4, 26), Mukunda (p. 19), Śeṣaśāyin (p. 21), Hari (p. 22), and Gopīnātha, the Viṣṇu epithets (p. 37) as also of Brahma (p. 21) and Vedhas (p. 37).

As mentioned above in the prefatory verses (p. 2, v. 9) and as is clear from the text itself the *P.K.* treats briefly the subject of letter-writing (*granthe'smin samāsenātra varṇitaḥ*). That the author of *P.K.* had before him more detailed treatises is evident from *P.K.'s* citations from *Rājanīticintāmaṇi* (pp. 30, 34), *Rājanītiratnāvali* (p. 31), *Padyakādambarī* (p. 33) and *Rājanīticandrikā* (p. 33). Unfortunately, nothing more is known about these works[3] except for their citations in *P.K.* Although a handy manual, *P.K.* pays attention to minute details in letter-writing and reflects a society in which these were observed and also a sort of protocol prevailed.

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[1] *Elements of South Indian Paleography*, London, 1878 (2nd edn.), p. 89.

[2] *IHQ.* XXXIV. 1958, p. 228; *BDCRI* XX, 1960, p. 3.

[3] The Kashmirian Kṣemendra is known to have composed a work entitled *Padyakādambarī* from his citations in his own *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* (see sandhis 3, 4, and 5, *K. M. Gucchaka* IV). From the available citations, however, this *Padyakādambarī* appears to be a rhetorical work.

From the way in which the folding and cutting of the letter are referred to, it is obvious that *pattra* is used in *P.K.* in the sense of paper and that paper was in common use during that time. Considering the fact that paper was first manufactured in China before the Christian era, Indians may have known the art of paper-making from an early date.[1] But still, such a common use of paper as referred to in *P.K.* precludes the possibility of considering the ancient Vararuci, the predecessor of Patñjali, as the author of *P.K.*

A more definite evidence to push the date of *P.K.* to a later date is its language in some letters and a few peculiar Sanskrit terms. First of all, it is noteworthy that according to *P.K.* only the welfare of the addressee is to be written in Sanskrit. As far as the actual matter is concerned it would be either in Sanskrit or Prākṛt (see above, p. 191) and the *P.K.* itself gives examples of letters in Hindustani, Marathi, and Gujarati, none of which languages could be earlier than the 12th century A. D. Again, as already pointed out, the terms *Utthāpyākāṅkṣāpattra*, *Ubhayākāṅkṣāpattra*, *Aṅkapallavi-bhāṣā*, *Pattranavica*, *Bhūbandhanavica and Kaphiyānavica* are either not clear or are vernacularised Sanskrit forms. The latter terms are:
(1) Aṅkapallavi (Skt.)– See Hindi Aṅkapala-ī (= code or sign language).
(2) Navica (Skt.). see Hindi and Marathi Navis; Bengali Navis (= scribe or writer).

If *Kaphiyā*[2] is from English 'copy' the *P.K.* will have to be considered a very late work. In the *Utthāpyākāṅkṣāpattra*, there is a reference to the invasion of foreigners and of Iranians. The reference is however too general and hence not clear enough. Anyhow, the above facts would show that the *P.K.* is a mediaeval or even a post-mediaeval work and that its attribution to Vararuci is apocryphal. The legendary king Vikramāditya referred to in the second verse at the beginning of *P.K.* may have been introduced to confirm the connection of Vararuci.

As regards the provenance of *P.K.* it is clear that the work is in no way connected with south. In it there are references to Paramahaṁsa Parivrājakācārya (pp. 24, 25) and to Gosvāmin (p. 26). As titles of Sannyāsins the former is used in all parts India, while the latter is used only in the North and there specially in Mithilā, Vṛndāvana and Bengal. The reference to the Mandākinī (p. 20) and Revā (p. 38) would also point to the same fact. The hitherto available manuscripts of *P.K.* are all in Bengal and

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[1] Rajendralal MITRA, *Papers relating to the collection and preservation of the records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature in India*, Ed. A. E. GOUGH, Calcutta, 1878, p. 16.

[2] S. K. CHATTERJI, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, Part I, p. 646.

Mithilā. It is interesting to note that the following *Praśastāvali* works in Mithilā as in the descriptive Catalogue of Mss. in Mithilā, Vol. II deal with the epistolary art and contain Praśastis like *P.K.*:

Desc. Cat. No.	*Title*	*Author*	*Details*
No. 85	Praśastāvali	Ratnapāṇi	82 verses
No. 86	Praśastāvali	anonymous	Prose and verse
No. 87	Praśastāvali	anonymous	Prose and verse
Nos. 88, 88 A and 88 B	Praśastiprakāśikā	Bālakṛṣṇa Tripāṭhin	Prose
No. 89	Praśastimañjarī	anonymous	verse
No. 90	Praśastimālā	anonymous	verse
No. 91	Praśastimālā	anonymous	verse

In their notices of Sanskrit Mss. Rajendralal MITRA and Haraprasad SHASTRI refer to the existence of a work *Praśastiprakāśikā* in Bengal (Vol. VIII, No. 2606; X. 4024).

Viśvanātha of Orissa (c. 14th century A. D.) deals with the varieties of kāvya in Sanskrit in the sixth pariccheda of his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. Towards the close of this pariccheda, Viśvanātha deals with the class of mixed poetry and prose and gives its three varieties, Campū, Biruda and Karambhaka. Of these, the first is well-know from the time of Daṇḍin. Biruda[1], is according to Viśvanātha, the praise of a king in prose and poetry (*gadyapadyamayī rājastutir birudam ucyate*) and refers to its specimen *Birudamaṇimālā*. Karambhaka is one composed in different languages (*karambhakantu bhāṣābhir vividhābhir vinirmitam*). Viśvanātha's own work *Praśastiratnāvali* composed in sixteen languages (*yathā mama ṣoḍaśabhāṣāmayī praśastiratnāvali*) is a specimen of this type. These references to Biruda and Karambhaka as a class of literary works would presuppose the existence of a considerable number of compositions of these types that would have necessitated their recognition by Viśvanātha.

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[1] Vidyānātha from Āndhra (14th century) defines a type of composition called Birudāvali as consisting of epithets and titles in a bombastic style.

Varṇamānanka - biruda - varṇanāpracurojjvalā |
vākyāḍambara - samyuktā sā matā birudāvali ||

Pratāparudriya, Kāvyaprakaraṇa, p. 98 (TRIVEDI's edn.).

VĀMANA'S CONCEPT OF *RĪTI* – IT'S RELEVANCE TO-DAY

By

R. I. NANAVATI, SURAT,

Vāmana has been rather unfortunate in that he preceded Dhvanikāra very closely and before his views could take strong roots in the field of Sanskrit poetics, he was almost completely shadowed by the overwhelming influence of the latter. Dhvanikāra again found powerful supporters in Abhinavagupta and Mammaṭa who put *rasa-dhvani-vāda* on strong footing to the utter – and often unfair – neglect of *rītivāda*. Vāmana's concept of *rīti*, however, can be shown to contain many things that would be acceptable even to-day.

His basic tenets are quite well-known. He begins his work *Kāvyālaṁkāra-sūtra* (*KS*) with the statement that poetry is covetable on account of its poetic beauty which can be achieved by avoiding *doṣas* and accepting *guṇas* and *alaṁkāras*.[1] In other words, *guṇas* and *alaṁkāras* are the elements that beautify poetry. But then, Vāmana, for the first time, makes distinction between *guṇas* and *alaṁkāras*. *Guṇas*, he says, can create poetic beauty, *alaṁkāras* cannot. They can only add to it if it is there.[2] Daṇḍin had not made this distinction. For him, *guṇas* also were a type of *alaṁkāra*, the *mārga-bhedaka* type.[3] But Vāmana saw that some cases of *svabhāvokti* were very poetic in spite of having no *alaṁkāras*. There was, therefore, an essential difference between *guṇas* and *alaṁkāras*. *Alaṁkāras* were merely external figures of speech and were not essential to the poetry, whereas *guṇas* were more inherent and inevitable to it.[4] The *guṇas* were thus found to be *ātma-sthānīya*, and as a logical deduction from it, Vāmana arrived at the theory that *rīti* – the poet's peculiar manner of presentation which contains these inevitable qualities and is characterised by them – is the most essential element in poetry. As his famous dictum – *rītir ātmā kāvyasya* – shows through a simile,[5] the importance of *rīti* in poetry is as great as that of soul in body.

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[1] *KS.* I. i. 1–3 : काव्यं ग्राह्यमलङ्कारात् । सौन्दर्यमलङ्कारः । स दोषगुणालङ्कारहानादानाभ्याम् ।

[2] *KS.* III. i. 1–2 : काव्यशोभायाः कर्तारो धर्मा गुणाः । तदतिशयहेतवस्त्वलङ्काराः ।

[3] *Kāvyādarśa*, II. 3 : काश्चिन्मार्गविभागार्थमुक्ताः प्रागप्यलङ्क्रियाः ।

[4] *KS.* III. i. 3. vṛtti : पूर्वे गुणाः नित्याः । तैर्विना काव्यशोभानुपपत्तेः ।

[5] *KS.* I. ii. 6 and vṛtti : रीतिर्नामेयमात्मा काव्यस्य शरीरस्येवेति ।

The most common understanding of literature is that in literature, the manner is more important than the matter. Even a trite thing might be put by the poet in such a beautiful manner that it would become poetic. Obviously, therefore, it is not the thing, but the manner of presenting it that is most important in poetry and Vāmana is justified in calling it the soul of poetry.

Apparently, two more terms from Sanskrit rhetorics – Daṇḍin's *mārga* and Kuntaka's *vakrokti* – would seem to mean the same thing. If *rīti* is the poet's peculiar *manner* of presenting things, then *mārga* is the poet's peculiar *way* of putting things and *vakrokti* is the peculiar *turn* given by the poet to his utterance. But there is an essential difference. If we assign the poetic charm to the poet's peculiar manner of presentation, then the individual peculiarities of the poet's nature which are bound to affect his manner of presentation will have to be recognised. And obviously the term nearest to the idea of individual peculiarity of the poet is *rīti*. The common denotation of the word *mārga* is too broad and loud to allow much of individual peculiarities. The denotation of the word *vakra* – in *vakrokti* also is too strong to include many examples of simple utterances coming straight from the heart, charged deeply with emotions and very poetic but devoid of any obvious turns of speech – any *ukti-vakratā*. The term *rīti*, on the other hand, is etymologically almost a synonym of *mārga*,[6] and also has a more subtle denotation with overtones of individual peculiarity which Kuntaka really intended to convey by *vakratā*. Again while Daṇḍin clearly speaks of *prati-kavi* differences being innumerable,[7] and Kuntaka grounds his *vakrokti*-theory in the poet's individual nature,[8] Vāmana merely leaves it to be suggested by the overtones of the term *rīti* itself and does not emphasize or even explicitly mention the individual differences. This is quite in line with our tradition which has never given much importance to individual nature, *puruṣa-mati-vairūpyāt*.[9] The minds of men are manifold, and in following them there is no steadiness of *śāstra* or *siddhānta*.

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[6] Vide Bhoja's *Sarasvatī–kaṇṭhābharaṇa* II. 27

वैदर्भादिकृतः पन्थाः काव्ये मार्ग इति स्मृतः ।
रीङ्गताविति धातोः सा व्युत्पत्त्या रीतिरिष्यते ॥

[7] *Kāvyādarśa* I. 101, तद्भेदास्तु न शक्यन्ते वक्तुं प्रतिकवि स्थिताः ।

[8] *Vakroktijīvita* I. 11 and vṛtti, वक्रोक्तिरेव वैदग्ध्यभङ्गीभणितिरुच्यते । वैदग्ध्यम् कविकर्मकौशलम् । also vṛtti on I. 24, under the topic of *Mārga* यद्यपि कविस्वभावभेदनिबन्धनत्वादनन्तभेदभिन्नत्वमनिवार्यम्…etc.

[9] *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* on *Brahma–sūtra*. II. i. 11.

So Vāmana first chooses the term *rīti* and then he defines it as a peculiar arrangement of words, but the peculiarity of arrangement consists in certain literary qualities.[10] Clearly, it is not *any* word-arrangement that is poetic, but only *such* as having certain literary qualities. So the emphasis is on the qualitative peculiarity and not on the arrangement of words. He would as well have said : this peculiarity is *rīti*. But loosely, it would mean that the poetic beauty resides in certain qualitative peculiarities of the arrangement of words. But since the peculiarity cannot exist by itself apart from the arrangement of words, Vāmana includes both this arrangement as well as its qualitative peculiarity in his definition of *rīti*. So *rīti* is both the word arrangement or the body or the outer form of a poem as well as its more subtle qualitative peculiarity or the inner principle of the form. When Vāmana calls this *rīti* to be the soul of poetry it would amount to saying that the body is the soul ! We can call Vāmana *dehātmavādin* and denounce him on metaphysical grounds but actually he shows an astonishing insight into the nature of poetic form. No analogy can lead us all the way in understanding the nature of poetry and when one analogy cannot take us further we should be prepared to give it up in favour of another as Vāmana does. His analogy of soul shows in a way only the degree of the importance of *rīti* in poetry. To show the nature of its importance he takes up another simile when, after giving the definitions and expositions of the three *rītis*, he says : the poetry resides in these three *rītis* as a painting resides in its lines,[11] *Etāsu tisṛṣu rītiṣu rekhāsviva citram kāvyam pratiṣṭhitam iti.* Just as a pianting cannot exist apart from its lines, or in other words, just as there is a relation of inseparable existence between a painting and its lines, so also poetry cannot exist apart from the *rītis*, and there is a relation of inseparable existence between the poem and its *rīti*. The metaphysical soul does have an existence apart from the body in which it resides, not so in the case of a painting or a poem. Once the poetic charm is enshrined in the body of a poem or rather is created in the form of a poem, the two – the charm and the form – will always shine indivisibly together.

It will be seen that this concept of *rīti* is identical with Aristotle's concept of form. Aristotle has shown that form is not simply shape but that which shapes, not structure or character simply but the principle of structure, which gives character. Form in a work of art is not structure (in a narrow sense) alone, but all that determines its specific character.[12] In other words, *rīti* in a poem is not its outer word-structure alone, but all the qualities that determine its peculiar poetic character.

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[10] *KS* I, ii. 7–8. विशिष्टा पदरचना रीतिः। विशेषो गुणात्मा।

[11] *KS* I, ii. 13. vṛtti.

[12] *Dictionary of World Literature* : Ed. Joseph T. Shipley, p. 250.

Very recently, again, Mark SCHÖRER has said : " Modern criticism, through its exacting scrutiny of literary texts, has demonstrated with finality that in art, beauty and truth are indivisible and one. The Keatsian overtones of these terms are mitigated and an old dilemma solved if for beauty we substitute form, and for truth, content. We may, without risk of loss, narrow them even more and speak of technique and subject-matter."[13]

He further shows that " when we speak of technique, then, we speak of nearly everything. For technique is the means by which the writer's experience, which is his subject-matter, compels him to attend to it,"[13] because, " Technique alone objectifies the materials of art."[14] As SCHÖRER, therefore, shows, in art, technique is form and form is beauty. On the other hand, the subject-matter of poetry is its poetic content which is its truth. Vāmana also – through an exacting scrutiny of literary texts before him, if we may say so – reaches upto the conclusion, that, in art, beauty and truth – beauty of the poetic form and truth of the poetic content – are one. It is again with an insight into overall importance of manner-technique over subject-matter that he speaks mainly about the technique in the form of avoidance of blemishes and acceptance of poetic qualities and figures of speech.

Vāmana's elaboration of the twofold scheme of the traditional ten *guṇas* also reveals this understanding on account of its wide comprehensiveness. His so-called *śabdaguṇas* are really speaking the qualities of *śabbabandha* or sound-structure.[15] *Ojas*[16] and *Prasāda*[17] are respectively compactness and laxity of word-structure which coming side by side nullify the excess of each other and maintain a sort of balance in the sound-structure. *Samādhi*[18] also is a sort of symmetry of the heightening and softening tonal effects of the letters. Smooth coalescence of words is *śleṣa*.[19] Homogeneity of the manner of construction is *samatā*.[20] Lack of long compounds is

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[13] *Forms of modern fiction* : Ed. W. VAN O'CONNER. University of Minnesota Press, U.S.A. p. 9.

[14] *Ibid.* p. 15 and p. 27.

[15] *KS.* III. i. 4. (शब्दगुणनिरूपणार्थमाह –) ओजः-प्रसाद-श्लेष-समता-समाधि-माधुर्य-सौकुमार्य-उदारताऽर्थव्यक्ति-कान्तयो बन्धगुणाः । बन्धः पदरचना ।

[16] *KS.* III. i. 5. गाढबन्धत्वमोजः ।

[17] *KS.* III. i. 6. शैथिल्यं प्रसादः ।

[18] *KS.* III. i. 13 आरोहावरोहक्रमः समाधिः ।

[19] *KS.* III. i. 11. मसृणत्वं श्लेषः । यस्मिन् सति बहून्यपि पदान्येकवद्भासन्ते ।

[20] *KS.* III. i. 12. मार्गाभेदः समता ।

mādhurya[21] and lack of harshness is *saukumārya.*[22] Dancing liveliness and an everfresh brilliance of word-structure are called *udāratā*[23] and *kānti.*[24] In *arthavyakti*[25] or clear comprehension of meaning the sense is brought in relation to the sound-structure. In other words, the diction of a poem should be varied, balanced, soothing, pleasing, fresh and clear. Among *àrthaguṇas* or the qualities of sense *Ojas*[26] is smartness in the presentation of ideas. *Prasāda*[27] is perspicuity on account of accepting only whatever (in the form of words, ideas or actions) is necessary in a poem. The emphasis here is on the propriety or *aucitya* of everything in a poem to the avoidance of all superfluity.[28] *Śleṣa*[29] is a smooth coalescence of many actions suggesting a smart idea. Śūdraka's mention in this connection suggests that Vāmana seems to think here of something like the skill in plot-construction. Maintaining a proper sequence of ideas is *samatā.*[30] *Samādhi*[31] is an insight into the import - central idea of a composition through the concentration of mind. This central idea can be, from a poet's point of view, either original or borrowed.[32] From a connoisseur's point of view, it can be apparent or subtle. The subtle idea again can be grasped quickly (*bhāvya*) or with a greater concentration of the mind (*vāsanīya*)[33] and is nothing else but the *agūḍha* and *gūḍha* type of *dhvani*. Strikingness of expression is *mādhurya.*[34] Absence of disagreeable or inauspicious ideas is *saukumārya*[35] and that of vulgarity is *udāratā*.[36] Clear delineation of the distinctive qualities of things is *arthavyakti*.[37] And a beautifying glow of the *rasas* is *kānti*.[38]

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[21] *KS*. III. i. 21. पृथक्पदत्वं माधुर्यम् ।

[22] *KS*- III. i. 22. अजरठत्वं सौकुमार्यम् ।

[23] *KS*- III- i. 23. विकटत्वमुदारता । यस्मिन्सति नृत्यन्तीव पदानीति जनस्य वर्णभावना भवति ।

[24] *KS*- III- i. 25. औज्ज्वल्यं कान्तिः । यदभावे पुराणच्छायेत्युच्यते ।

[25] *KS*- III- i. 24. अर्थव्यक्तिहेतुत्वमर्थव्यक्तिः ।

[26] *KS*- III- ii. 2 & vṛtti अर्थस्य प्रौढिरोजः ।

पदार्थे वाक्यवचनं वाक्यार्थे च पदाभिधा ।
प्रौढिर्व्याससमासौ च साभिप्रायत्वमेव च ॥

[27] *KS*. III- ii- 3- अर्थवैमल्यं प्रसादः ।

[28] *Ibid*.. vṛtti. प्रयोजकमात्रपरिग्रहः प्रसादः । Also *Abhhinavabhāratī* GOS. II. P. 335 अनुपयोगिपरिवर्जनात् ।

[29] *KS*. III. ii. 4. घटना श्लेषः । vṛtti. क्रम–कौटिल्य–अनुल्बणत्व–उपपत्ति–योगो घटना ।

[30] *KS*. III. ii. 5. vṛtti. अवैषम्यं प्रक्रमाभेदः समता ।

[31] *KS*. III. ii. 7. & vṛtti. अर्थदृष्टिः समाधिः । समाधिकारणत्वात् समाधिः । अवहितं हि चित्तमर्थान् पश्यतीति ।

[32] *KS*. III. ii. 8. अर्थो द्विविधोऽयोनिरन्यच्छायायोनिर्वा ।

[33] *KS*. III. ii. 9–10 & vṛtti. अर्थो व्यक्तः सूक्ष्मश्च । सूक्ष्मो भाव्यो वासनीयः । शीघ्रनिरूपणागम्यो भाव्यः । एकाग्रताप्रकर्षगम्यो वासनीयः ।

[34] *KS*. III. ii. 11. उक्तिवैचित्र्यम् माधुर्यम् ।

[35] *KS*. III. ii. 12. अपारुष्यम् सौकुमार्यम् ।

That this aspect of Vāmana's concept of *rīti* – an objective analysis of the qualities of a literary composition – has a relevance even in the most modern times can be seen from the fact that recent authors like George LEVIS[39] or STEVENSON[39] or F. L. LUCAS[40] also speak of the qualities of style like economy, simplicity, sequence, climax, variety, clarity, urbanity, vitality, rhythm of the phrase etc. which can very well be equated with Vāmana's *prasāda*, *arthavyakti*, *śleṣa*, *samādhi*, *mādhurya*, *udāratā*, *ojas*, various *śabdaguṇas* and so on.

Taking a second look at the *guṇas* we can see that they cover a very wide variety of the aspects of poetry. For example, in *śabdaguṇas* like *ojas*, *prasāda*, *samādhi*, *śleṣa*, Vāmana seems to consider the aspects of the diction being well-knit and balanced, in *samātā* he is considering the uniformity of its structure, in *saukumārya* and *udāratā* he seems to think of its auditory effects, in *mādhurya* and *arthavyakti* he is thinking of the relation of sound and sense, in *kānti* he speaks of the ever-fresh brilliance of composition. Among *arthaguṇas*, in *śleṣa* he seems to think of something like ideal structure or plot-construction, in *prasāda* he seems to be considering the propriety of the various elements, in the *bhāvya-vāsanīya* types of the import of *samādhi* he is looking at poetry from the connoisseur's point of view, while in *ayoni-anyacchāyāyoni* types of the import of *samādhi* as well as in qualities like *ojas*, *prasāda*, *samatā* and *arthavyakti*, he seems to consider particularly the poet's craft. The emotional aspect of the poem is considered in *kānti* and its qualities like freshness, tenderness, urbanity etc. are considered in *mādhurya*, *saukumārya*, *udāratā*, etc. In a way of course, this entire *rīti*-theory is a deliberation on the craft of the poet – his technique – *kavikarma*.

It is clear that these *guṇas* have a very wide range. They cover almost everything from the rhythmic and tonal impressions of the diction or the outermost form of the word-structure to the most subtle qualities like plot-construction, *aucitya*, *rasa* and *dhvani*. Later writers like Kṣemendra, Viśvanātha, Dhvanikāra or Kuntaka try to evolve new systems of poetic elements by putting one of these aspects like *aucitya*, *rasa*, *dhvani*, *vakrokti* etc. in the centre and arranging other elements around it. But none of them has been universally acceptable. In each system, some examples of poetry cannot be given full justice. For example, complete *aucitya.* of all the poetic elements is an almost impossible ideal. *Rasa* or *dhvani* cnnnot properly justify some of Bāṇa's luxuriant descriptions. *Vakrokti* has no place for examples of *svabhāvokti.* It was natural, perhaps, for Jagannātha to turn once again to the idea of *ramaṇīyatā*[41] which is but Vāmana's *saundarya.*[42] Vāmana, therefore, is right in taking each one of these *guṇas* as a *rīti* – a manner of beautifying poetry. That is to say, *kānti* would characterise a *rasapūrvikā rīti*, *samādhi* would indicate a suggestive manner, *prasāda* an appropriate one, *mādhurya* or *saukumārya* or *ojas* a striking or tender or impressive manner and so on.

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[36] *KS.* III. ii. 13. अग्राम्यत्वमुदारता ।

[37] *KS.* III. ii. 14. वस्तुस्वभावस्फुटत्वमर्थव्यक्तिः ।

[38] *KS.* III. ii. 15. दीप्तरसत्वं कान्तिः ।

[39] *Dictionary Of World Literature*: Ed. Joseph T. SHIPLEY, pp. 556–57.

[40] *Style*: by F. L. LUCAS, pub. Cassell & Co. Ltd. 1955.

So all these *guṇas* characterise the *rīti* or word-arrangement. Primarily they are the qualities of arrangement. But secondarily they can also be said to belong to the words.[43] Now words consist of sounds and ideas. So the qualities also can be called those of sounds – *śabdaguṇas* – and those of sense – *arthaguṇas.*[44] But again, let us not forget, secondarily, Primarily, we can only call them qualities of sound-arrangement and qualities of the arrangement of ideas.

It will be a mistake, again, to think that this two-fold system of *guṇas* doubles the number. Really speaking, they are nothing more than two points of viewing how a particular *guṇa* characterises the composition. You may find a poem impressive i. e. containing the quality of *ojas*, and then you may try to analyse whether its impressive quality is due to its particular arrangement of sounds or of ideas, but the quality of impressiveness is the general effect of the entire word-structure and as such it belongs to the word-structure or the composition itself, not to the sounds or ideas. Mostly, the double definitions of these qualities do reveal an inherent similarity. *Śleṣa*[45] for example, is smooth coalescence, either of letters or of ideas. *Samatā*[46] is maintaining the homogeneity, either of word-structure or of the sequence of ideas. *Arthavyakti*[47] is clarity of meaning from words, or of import from ideas. *Saukumārya*[48] is tenderness either in arranging letters or in presenting ideas. *Ojas*[49] is impressiveness either due to the compactness of word-structure or due to the smartness in the presentation of ideas. *Kānti*[50] is the ever-fresh brilliance either of the composition or of the emotions. It will be instructive to note that the cause-effect relationship existing between the *rasas* and the ever-fresh brilliance of composition is accepted even by Dhvanikāra who says that, by accepting *rasas* in poerty, even stale objects would shine like new ones, like trees in spring-time.[51]

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[41] *Rasagaṅgādhara* Ed. R. B. ATHAVALE (Marāthī) p. 7. रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकः शब्दः काव्यम् । रमणीयता च लोकोत्तराह्लादजनकज्ञानगोचरता । लोकोत्तरत्वं चाह्लादगतश्चमत्कारत्वापरपर्यायो ऽनुभवसाक्षिको जातिविशेषः ।

[42] see fn. 1 (p. 234)

[43] *Kāmadhenu* commentary on *KS*, Benares Ed. p. 69. गुणा वस्तुतो रीतिनिष्ठा अप्युपचाराच्छब्दधर्मा इत्युक्तम् ।

[44] *KS.* III. ii. 1. vṛtti. शब्दार्थगुणानां वाच्यवाचकद्वारेण भेदं दर्शयति ।

[45] See fns. 19 & 29.

[46] See fns. 20 & 30,

When we keep in mind how many different aspects of poetry are covered by Vāmana under the broad term *guṇas* all of which must belong to and characterise the *rīti,* we shall have to grant that they can do so only on the maxim of *pānaka-rasa.* None of them is exclusive of any other. Even extremely opposite *guṇas* like *ojas* and *prasāda* must be supposed to remain side by side in order to nullify any excess of each other. This will show that Vāmana's definitions of the three types of *rītis* are not meant to be exclusive but only indicative of their tendencies. *Gauḍīyā,*[52] defined as containing *ojas* and *kānti,* indicates a tendency towards bombast in the delineation of *rasas,* while *Pāñcālī,*[53] defined to be characterised by *mādhurya* and *saukumārya,* reveals an excessive liking for tenderness and striking expressions. It is *Vaidarbhī,*[54] defined as containing all the qualities, which avoids such over-adherence to some *guṇas* and achieves a perfectly harmonious balance of all the qualities. We may as well call it a " balanced style ".

It is this ideal of a perfect " blending "[55] (not " combination "[56]) of all the qualities that is revealed in the concept of *pāka* mentioned by Vāmana very appropriately at the end of his exposition of *guṇas.* When all the qualities are in such a perfect harmony that the change of even a word or its order would break it, when the word-arrangement is so balanced that it cannot allow the slightest change, it is called *Śabdapāka*[57] or *kāvyapāka*, comparable only to the ripeness of mango-fruit.[58]

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[47] See fns. 25 & 37.

[48] See fns. 22 & 35.

[49] See fns. 16 & 26.

[50] See fns. 24 & 38.

[51] *Dhvanikārikā* IV. 4. दृष्टपूर्वा अपि ह्यर्थाः काव्ये रसपरिग्रहात् ।
सर्वे नवा इवाभान्ति मधुमासा इव द्रुमाः ।

[52] *KS.* I. ii. 12. ओजः कान्तिमती गौडीया ।

[53] *KS.* I. ii. 13. माधुर्यसौकुमार्योपपन्ना पाञ्चाली ।

[54] *KS.* I. ii. 11. समग्रगुणा वैदर्भी ।

[55] *Indian Aesthetics* : Dr. K. C. PANDEY, p. 278.

[56] *Sanskrit Poetics* Vol. II. : S. K. DE, p. 92.

Mammaṭa is a logician *per excellence* and in the eighth chapter of his *Kāvyaprakāśa*, he deals what would seem to be a severe blow upon the *rīti*–theory on strictly logical grounds. He poses a question: "Should a composition, in order to be called poetry, contain all the *guṇas*? or only some?" and then very systematically proceeds to demolish the entire *rīti*–theory. If it be said that all the *guṇas* are necessary to make poetry of a composition, then *Gauḍīyā* and *Pāñcālī* which contain only some of the qualities cannot be called the soul of poetry. If only some of the qualities are said to suffice for poetry, then examples like

> *adrāvatra prajjvalatyagnir ucchaiḥ*
> *prājyaḥ prodyannullasatyeṣa dhūmaḥ* /

will have to be accepted as poetry since they contain qualities like *ojas* etc. On the other hand, in some examples like

> *svarga-prāptir anena' iva dehena varavarṇinī* /
> *asyā radacchada-raso nyakkarotitarāṁ sudhām* //

the figures of speech like *viśeṣokti–vyatireka* would make them poetic independently of *guṇas*.[59]

It is not difficult to refute Mammaṭa's arguments on a little deliberation. It is the *rīti*, not the *guṇas*, that is the soul of poetry. Whether it is characterised by all the qualities or only by some does not alter this basic position. Again, once we accept that the *guṇas* characterise the *rīti* on the maxim of *pānaka–rasa*,[60] it is ponitless to raise the question of all or some merely on logical grounds. The question would seem pointless also from the point of view that the definitions of *rītis* are merely indicative of the tendencies and not exclusive. But even if we suppose that they are exclusive and *Gauḍīyā* and *Pāñcālī* are characterised only by two qualities each –

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[57] *KS*. I. iii. 15. vṛtti यत्पदानि त्यजन्त्येव परिवृत्तिसहिष्णुताम् ।
तं शब्दन्यासनिष्णाताः शब्दपाकं प्रचक्षते ॥

[58] *KS*. III. ii. 15. vṛtti. गुणस्फुटत्वसाकल्यं काव्यपाकं प्रचक्षते ।
चूतस्य परिणामेन स चायमुपमीयते ॥

[59] *Kāvyapraśuśa*, ch. VIII. : Ed. JHALAKIKAR, pp. 471–2. किं समस्तैर्गुणैः काव्यव्यवहारः, उत कतिपयैः । यदि समस्तैः, तत्कथमसमस्तगुणा गौडी पाञ्चाली च रीतिः काव्यस्यात्मा । अथ कतिपयैः, ततः–' अद्रावत्र प्रज्ज्वलत्यग्निरुच्चैः प्राज्यः प्रोद्यन्नुल्लसत्येष धूमः ।' इत्यादिषु ओजःप्रभृतिषु गुणेषु सत्सु काव्यव्यवहारप्राप्तिः । 'स्वर्गप्राप्तिरनेनैव देहेन वरवर्णिनी । अस्याः रदच्छदरसो न्यक्करोतितराम् सुधाम् ॥' इत्यादौ विशेषोक्तिव्यतिरेकौ गुणनिरपेक्षौ काव्यव्यवहारस्य प्रवर्तकौ ।

[60] As Dr. PANDEY puts it (see fn. 55 above) "an harmonious blending of literary excellences."

Gauḍīyā by *ojas* and *kānti*, *Pāñcālī* by *mādhurya* and *saukumārya* -, the illustrations given by Mammaṭa himself will show that Vāmana's position is unshakable. The first illustration *adrāvatra* etc. admittedly contains *ojas*, but there is no *kānti*. So it cannot be admitted as a piece of *Gauḍīyā rīti*. The second illustration *svargaprāptir* etc. does contain both *ojas* and *kānti* and can very well be admitted as an instance of *Gauḍīyā*. What Mammaṭa attributes to the figures of speech like *Viśeṣokti* and *Vyatireka* is nothing but a heightened, rather exaggerated expression so much liked by the Gauḍas as is already noted by Daṇḍin.[61]

But what is of greater importance, and for which we should thank Mammaṭa is the fact that this discussion throws a new light on the acumen and insight revealed by Vāmana in his definitions of *rīti*. We have seen just now that both the illustrations of Mammaṭa have the quality of *ojas*. But *kānti* is present only in the second, which is poetic. By *anvaya-vyatireka*, therefore, we can say that it is the quality of *kānti*, which, in the presence of *ojas*, becomes the decisive factor in the matter of the poeticity or otherwise of a given piece of composition. In other words, *ojas* without emotions as in the illustration *adrāvatra* etc. would end in being an empty bombast and be ridiculous, but when accompanied by emotions, it would result in a heightened expression of sentiments and become poetic. Vāmana, therefore, brackets *kānti* with *ojas* in the definition of *Gauḍīyā rīti*.

But he omits it from the definition of *Pāñcālī* which is characterised by *mādhurya* and *saukumārya* or by the qualities of strikingness and tenderness of expression. It implies, therefore, that if the manner of presentation is tender and striking i. e. imaginative, that manner by itself would be poetic independently of any emotions. In other words, the mere strikingness of expression itself can be charming if it is tender. But if this strikingness is coupled with empty bombast it will soon become tiresome rather than poetic.

Now, the whole thing boils down to this: In poetry, a well-balanced expression is the best. The two extremist tendencies are the bombastic and the tender. The latter can be charming by itself, but the former, in order to be poetic, must have *rasas*. In other words: even if the theme is not charming in a poem, a striking tenderness of expression by itself also can be charming. Vāmana calls it *Pāñcālī rīti*; Mammaṭa would call it *Citrakāvya*,[62] the lowest kind of poetry. But if the expression is heightened or has a bombast either of words or of ideas or even of the figures of speech, then, the presence of *rasa* in the composition is a must. The characteristic of the expression being heightened would naturally be more prominent than the *rasa*, and though Vāmana calls it *Gauḍīyā rīti*, it could as well be called *guṇībhūta-rasa*, like Mammaṭa's *guṇībhūtavyaṅgya* or *madhyama*.[63] The ideal poetry, of course, would be that in which there is a perfect harmony between the idea and its expression, between the theme and its form, between the *rasas* and their delineation, in which a beautiful theme has got an "adequate expression", in which a perfect form of the theme is achieved. Vāmana calls it *kāvya-pāka* or *Vaidarbhī rīti*, the best of the three.

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[61] *Kāvyādarśa*. I. 89. लोकातीत इवात्यर्थमध्यारोप्य विवक्षितः ।
योऽर्थस्तेनातितुष्यन्ति विदग्धा नेतरे यथा ॥
I. 92 ab इदमत्युक्तिरित्युक्तमेतद्गौडोपलालितम् ।

[62] *Kāvyaprakāśa* I. 5. cd. शब्दचित्रं वाच्यचित्रमव्यङ्ग्यमपरं स्मृतम् ।

We can now show Vāmana's understanding of the poetic beauty in this way. A mere beauty of expression can be charming, but it is not enough. It constitutes rather the lowest type of poetry. For higher types of poetry *rasas* are inevitable. Even when the *rasas* are present, they might find either a heightened or an harmonious expression. In the former case, however, the prominence of expression would give us only a medium type of poetry. It is only when the *rasas* and the expression are harmoniously balanced, when the theme and the form are perfectly matched, when the inner and the outer coincide completely, that the manner of presentation attains its highest beauty and gives us the best type of poetry.

It will be clear that *rasas* occupy the most prominent position even in Vāmana's concept of *rīti*. We need not be afraid of reading too much between the lines in our consideration of Vāmana's *rītivāda*, for this prominence of *rasas* stands corroborated at many places in his system. The ten-fold drama, he says, is the best type of poetry,[64] and *rasas* are the *summum bonum* of drama ! *Rasas*, again, are included in two higher types of poetry. In the *Vaidarbhī* their presence along with other qualities is taken for granted, but in *Gauḍīyā* where only some of the qualities would be prominent, *kānti* – the quality of *rasas* – is mentioned specifically. It is this *kānti*, again, that is given the final position in all the qualities. We have seen above that the ideal and the verbal aspects of *kānti-guṇa* stand in a cause-effect relation with each other. *Rasas* bring in a composition an ever-fresh brilliance which is the essential characteristic of beauty. Rather this ever-fresh brilliance itself is beauty. And beauty makes poetry covetable, makes it what it is.

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[63] *Ibid* I. 5. ab. एतादृशि गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यम् व्यङ्ग्ये तु मध्यमम् ।

[64] *KS.* I. ii 30. सन्दर्भेषु दशरूपकं श्रेयः । also cf. काव्येषु नाटकं रम्यम् and नाटकान्तम् कवित्वम् ।

We have seen above in the quotation of Mark SCHÖRER that the modern criticism has come to the conclusion that in art, beauty of form and truth of content, or technique and subject-matter are indivisible and one. Vāmana also has reached this conclusion. His concept of *rīti* elaborates upon technique and considers the importance of subject–matter also. It also reveals the concept of an indivisible identity of form and content. Still Dhvanikāra believed that the essence of poetry was only indistinctly revealed in the *rītivāda*.[65] It remains to be seen whether Vāmana's concept of 'adequate expression' would be more acceptable to future criticism or Dhvanikāra's concept of the superiority of the suggested over the expressed.[66] At this stage, at least, this much is certain that, whatever the future position may be, Vāmana is very much in agreement with modern critical concepts.

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[65] *Dhvanikārikā* III. 47. अस्फुटस्फुरितं काव्यतत्त्वमेतद्यथोदितम् ।
अशक्नुवद्भिर्व्याकर्तुं रीतयः सम्प्रवर्तिताः ॥

[66] *Dhvanikārikā* I. 13. यत्रार्थः शब्दो वा तमर्थमुपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थौ ।
व्यक्तः काव्यविशेषः स ध्वनिरिति सूरिभिः कथितः ॥
and *Kāvyaprakāśa* I. 4. cd. इदमुत्तममतिशयिनि व्यङ्ग्ये वाच्याद्ध्वनिर्बुधैः कथितः ॥

A NEW APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF VYABHICĀRIBHĀVAS

By

BASANT JAITLY, JAIPUR

The word 'emotion' has been differently described and explained by different psychologists, but all agree that it is a complex state of organism. The Sanskrit synonym for emotion, *Bhāva*, too has a similar characteristic. It indicates a 'happening' of a prolonged character, changing from one state to another. This gives us enough ground to point out that we may study and probably understand *Bhāva* in a better way if we resort to the discoveries of modern psychology. While we analyse and evaluate *Vyabhicārins* on the said line, we come to the conclusion that they are nothing but transitory emotions. Here it must be pointed out that an emotion never occurs singly in the mind. Every permanent or basic emotion is always accompanied by a group of other transitories which pave its way to the peak. For instance take anger. If a person boiling with anger does not get to the object of his anger, he is often seen to suffer from depression; if he succeeds in achieving his object then he derives pleasure, and if he notices too many obstacles in the attainment of his goal, he is seen to waver between hope and despair. This explains well that no emotion can maintain its perfect independent existence.

The problem of classifying emotions has kept aestheticians, philosophers and psychologists occupied, both in the east and the west, since Bharata and Descartes. But no satisfactory classification has yet been made. We must mention here that the attempts made by our Sanskrit poeticians are definitely praise-worthy as they are more akin to modern psychology in comparison to the attempts made by others in this field. Their concept of transitory emotion is scientific and the list of these transitories is capable of incorporating all the probable mental attitudes in its fold. But it still needs a further classification in order to become more scientific and this classification may, at first, be based on the quality of the feelings, i. e. their being pleasant, unpleasant, indifferent or two-fold in nature. It should also be noted here that these *Vyabhicārins* may be differentiated from each other on the basis of the intensity of feeling, but it will be the subject of our discussion in some other paper. Let us scan the list of the *Vyabhicārins* at present and attempt a classification on the accepted line.

Vyabhicārins

Pleasant	Unpleasant or painful	Indifferent	Two-fold
Garva, Harṣa, Mada, Dhṛti, and Autsukya.	Vṛīḍā, Asūyā, Amarṣa, Avahitthā, Śaṅkā, Cintā, Ugratā, Moha, Ālasya, Unmāda, Glāni, Apasmāra, Maraṇa and Vyādhi.	Vitarka, Mati, Nidrā, Vibodha, Supta, and Nirveda.	Āvega, Smṛti, Dainya, Jaḍatā, Capalatā and Śrama.

Now on the basis of the above chart, we may safely assert that of the thirty-one *Vyabhicārins*, accepted by Sanskrit poeticians, five are pleasant, fourteen are unpleasant, six are indifferent and six are two-fold in nature. It is a well-known fact that in the process of aesthetic experience, pleasant and unpleasant basic emotions are strictly accompanied by the same sort of *Vyabhicārins*. However, the two-fold *Vyabhicārins* may appear with both the pleasant and unpleasant basic emotions, according to the context. The question, as to the role of indifferent *Vyabhicārins* in the process of aesthetic experience, automatically arises here. The indifferent *Vyabhicārins*, as the name suggests, do not possess any definite nature. The certainty of feelings, which is associated with the pleasant, unpleasant and two-fold *Vyabhicārins*, is missing with the indifferent ones. They are emotions because they do have the power of moving forth their object, but this moving may or may not be pleasurable or painful. While these indifferent *Vyabhicārins* emerge with some basic emotion, in the process of aesthetic experience, they acquire the character of the basic emotion. In other words we may say that they are weaker in nature in comparison to the two-fold *Vyabhicārins*, as they fail to preserve their character and easily lose their entity in other *Bhāvas*.

The list of the thirty-three *Vyabhicārins*, given in the works on Sanskrit poetics and dramaturgy, indicates very clearly that their scope is quite comprehensive. All the mental dispositions, conscious attitudes of mind, mental affections and what apparently seem to be certain bodily situations are included in the list. This gives us enough solid ground to attempt another classification of the *Vyabhicārins* and to study them from a new angle. The classification may be attempted on the following lines.

Potent Emotions	Mental Dispositions	Conscious attitudes of mind	Mental Affections	Bodily Situations
1. Garva	1. Āvega	1. Saṅkā	1. Dainya	1. Śrama
2. Lajjā or Vrīḍā	2. Amarṣa	2. Smṛti	2. Mada	2. Apasmāra
	3. Avahitthā	3. Mati	3. Ugratā	3. Maraṇa
	4. Autsukya	4. Cintā	4. Jaḍatā	4. Nidrā
3. Asūyā	5. Trāsa	5. Vitarka	5. Moha	5. Vibodha
	6. Harṣa	6. Dhṛti	6. Svapna	6. Vyādhi
	7. Viṣāda		7. Ālasya	7. Supta
			8. Capalatā	
			9. Unmāda	
			10. Glāni	

POTENT EMOTIONS

We are well aware of the fact that the *Vyabhicārins* do not always appear as subordinates to the basic or permanent emotion. Some of them are capable of emerging independently also. *Garva, Lajjā* and *Asūyā* are the only three *Vyabhicārins* which possess the potentiality of emerging independently. They do not necessarily wait for any basic or permanent emotion for their evocation. This should not, however, be taken to mean that they always emerge independently. They too, like other *Vyabhicārins*, accompany a basic or permanent emotion and pave its way in the process of aesthetic experience. They are considered to be more significant because of their being stronger in comparison to other *Vyabhicārins*. For instance, if we do or plan to harm a person, we mostly find ourselves in a tight corner when our device is discovered and when we are brought face to face with that person. *Lajjā* plays a dominant role in all such cases. Similarly our minds may remain overcast with *Asūyā* because of the wealth or some other qualities of a person. The person here loses his importance and his wealth or qualities play an important role in evoking *Asūyā*. Furthermore, *Garva* may emerge because of our being egocentric or being too conscious of our own abilities. Here again no emotion takes part in the evocation of *Garva* as it emerges in all such cases in the form of self-love.

On the basis of the above analysis we may safely assert that *Garva, Lajjā* and *Asūyā* are real potent emotions in the whole list of the *Vyabhicārins*. Probably due to their independent nature, some of the western psychologists like McDougal have even gone to the extent of regarding *Garva* and *Lajjā* as primary emotions and we may succeed in establishing *Asūyā* on the same platform without much difficulty. But these emotions cannot be called basic or primary as they do not remain in our consciousness for long. Like all other *Vyabhicārins*, they appear for a short time and then disappear. They may only be considered as more potent or independent emotions in comparison to the others mentioned in the list.

MENTAL DISPOSITIONS

The word 'disposition', in psychology, stands generally for 'arrangement'. It may be employed, technically, to denote any arrangement of oraganic, neural or mental elements or both of them taken together as psycho-physical dispositions, either innate or appearing as a result of some experience. This very well describes the nature of the *Vyabhicārins* classified as mental dispositions.

These *Vyabhicārins* are incapable of appearing by themselves. They emerge out of certain basic or permanent emotion and submerge in its folds. For example, *Krodha* may give birth to *Amarṣa*, *Bhaya* or *Śoka* may evoke *Āvega*, *Autsukya* may be produced by *Rati* and so on. In other words these *Vyabhicāribhāvas* stand very clearly in cause and effect relation to their respective *Sthāyins*. The ensuants of these *Vyabhicārins* too indicate the same fact. In *Amarṣa*, the reddening of the eyes, curving of the eyebrows etc., in *Trāsa* the trembling of the body etc. correspond to the fact that they are nothing but the effects of *Krodha*, *Bhaya*, *Rati* and *Śoka*.

Before concluding this short discussion we may cite another important point, in support of what we have said above, from modern psychology. McDougal has accepted *Harṣa* and *Viṣāda* as derived emotions in clear cut terms as they occur with the attainment of the desired object and the failure in some work. The same derived aspect is associated with *Trāsa*, *Amarṣa*, *Āvega* and *Autsukya*, hence they may safely be classified under the mentioned head. The term given by McDougal is not accepted and is substituted by "mental disposition". The reason for this is, that the term 'derived emotion' was at one time given by McDougal to Shand's prospective emotions of desire, but to modern psychology the term is not willingly acceptable. Avoiding the controversy, therefore, we shall use a comparatively new but well accepted term.

CONSCIOUS ATTITUDES OF MIND

Smṛti, *Mati*, *Cintā*, *Vitarka* etc., cannot generally be called emotions or even mental dispositions. They are nothing but the conscious attitudes of mind. Not having anything in common with the emotions, the reason for their inclusion in the list of *Vyabhicārins*, can only be found after scanning these *Vyabhicārins* minutely. In doing so we come to the conclusion that they are not the same as they apparently seem to be. They remain pure conscious attitudes of mind in all circumstances of our lives, except when they stand in connection with some *Sthāyibhāva* or when they become *Vyabhicārins*. For instance, the *Smṛti* evoked by *Rati* and *Cintā* brought into existence by *Bhaya* etc., would only be taken as *Vyabhicārins*, while in all other circumstances they would simply exist as the conscious attitudes of mind.

Most of the actions in our routine life are guided, directly or indirectly, by one or the other emotion: Emotions play a dominant role in our lives, irrespective of our attaching importance to them or not.

The personality of an individual is made not only of many selves, which are the dispositions of his emotions and sentiments, but also of 'one self' which reflects on and arbitrates between the conflicting many selves. This 'one self' is undoubtedly the central fact of our personality but it is not taken into account by psychology while studying the character of an individual. Psychology cannot help considering that the study of an individual is necessarily the study of his emotic self and certainly not of his 'one self'. This is the reason which forces every psychologist to deal with the system of impulses, emotions and sentiments out of which all the intellectual and voluntary activities arise.

MENTAL AFFECTIONS

The term 'affection' in modern psychology stands for the feeling aspect of experience. The *Vyabhicārins* classified under mental affections denote very clearly that they are the affected states of consciousness. Though on the psychic side, every emotion is an affected state of mind, these *Vyabhicārins* stand apart as they are able to show more clearly that the corresponding mental conditions to which they refer are nothing but the affected states of our consciousness.

These *Vyabhicārins* too are weak in character like mental dispositions and conscious attitudes of our mind. They are evoked by some basic emotion and submerge in it. Because of their direct relation to one or the other emotion, they are accelerated and activate the consciousness. For instance, the feeling of *Dainya*, evoked by *Bhaya*, is found to be so powerful that it is able to dominate or kill the faculty of discretion and makes us indifferent to the idea of regard and disregard, which are of considerable importance in our day-to-day life. The following example will make the fact more convincing. *Unmāda*, another powerful mental affection evoked by *Rati*, is often noticed to drive the person concerned mad for quite a long span of time. Under the impact of *Rati*, the person is unable to conceal his emotions and is driven abnormal. *Śoka*, *Bhaya* and *Krodha* are also capable of evoking *Unmāda* with the same results. The basic emotion of disgust too can create this situation and drive a person crazy. Shakespear's *Hamlet* is a lucid and convincing example of such a state of mind. The disgust and dejection of Hamlet, caused by the shameful acts of his mother and his uncle Claudius, derange him mentally. However, no such parallel example is available in Sanskrit literature to the best of our knowledge and belief.

To conclude, we may say that the *Vyabhicārins* mentioned under this particular head are powerful mental affections. They, in collaboration with the basic emotion, have the potentiality of activating the object thoroughly and sometimes taking him to a disastrous level.

BODILY SITUATIONS

The *Vyabhicārins* mentioned under this head are bodily situations and as such seem not to be emotions at all. Yet they cannot be treated as mere bodily situations as the emotive aspect is attached to them, making them pure *Vyabhicārins*, which may be experienced with other emotions. Their unemotional aspect is only outward or apparent. For instance, the *Śrama* or exhaustion produced by the basic emotion of *Rati*, etc., would only be treated as a *Vyabhicārin*, while in all other cases it would remain a simple bodily situation. The difference between the two kinds of *Śrama* is that, while the latter denotes a state of physical exhaustion, the former denotes mental relaxation bringing the tensed body to ease after the emotion has subsided. The case of all other *Vyabhicārins* too, viz. *Nidrā*, *Vibodha*, *Maraṇa*, *Apasmāra* etc. is the same and should be understood in the given context only so as to avoid any further confusion.

Having thus classified and examined the nature of the thirty-three *Vyabhicārins*, we come to the conclusion that they are nothing but transitory emotions if seen in connection with their respective bodily and visceral changes that accompany them. They are important constituents of *Rasa*, standing closely in conjunction with the basic emotion. They have their psychic side also like all other emotions and moreover, they are sometimes viewed to emerge separately. In such a situation they may be relished though they are not found to be as pleasurable as *Rasa*.

ISLAMIC STUDIES SECTION

SYED SHAH MD, BADRUDDIN KUADRI AN EMINENT THEOLOGIAN OF BIHAR

By

S. A. HAIDER NAIYER, PATNA.

S. Shah Md. Badruddin Quadri S/o. Shah Sharfuddin was born on Sunday, the 27th Jamadi-ul ukhra, 1268 A. H. He completed his studies with his father and Shah Md. Ali Habib, Nasr. He became disciple (Murīd) of Nasr in sufistic lines on the 10th Rabi-ul Awwāl, 1283 A. H. and after completion of his courses of sufistic lines, he was authorised by his Sheikh to initiate others to be his disciples in all the lines of Mojibia and Junaidia. He got wide recognition from the reputed theologians of India and abroad, such as, Ali Ahmad Mohaddith Mahajir Madni, Sheikh Abdullah Saleh Sonnari, S. Md. Amin and Sheikh Abdur Rahman Abu Khuzair Madni of Harmain Sharifain. Besides, he received 'Sanades (Certificate of recognition) for Dalailul Khairat from Abdul Haque Mahajir Makki, S. Md. Amin bin Ahmad bin Rizwan, S. Mohd Ali Hariri and S. Md. Sayeed bin Syed Md. Maghrabi. He also got authority 'Ijāzat' for 'Hizb-ul Bahr' from Haji Shah Imdadullah Sabri Mahajir Makki. After return from Hāj Pilgrimage, he got sanction and certificate (Ijāzat-wa Sanad) through correspondence from Sheikh Abdul Jalil bin Abdus Salam Borada, Sheikh Md. Faleh Zabiri, Sheikh Abdul Hai Kelāni, and Sheikh Sulaiman Hasbullah. The Sheikh's of Harmain, Egypt, Syria and Beruit.

He was honoured with the pontificate of Junaidia and Mojibia by his uncle Shah Fadlullāh, the then Pontiff who had no male issue, after due consultation from Hazrat Nasr on 2nd Zil Hijja 1289 A. H.

When Shah Ainul Haque S/o. Hazrat Naṣr adopted the creed of Ahl–i–Hadith after being Head of Sajjadh Junaidia for twenty years in the year 1309 A. H. all attached to him, diverted towards Shah Md. Badruddin Quadri, who became their spiritual guide. He was duly elected pontiff of Sajjada Mojibia on the 7th Zil Hijja 1309 A. H. and served it for full 33 years. During his pontificate, a number of constructions and reconstructions were carried out.

His profound scholarship and saintly personality attracted the people of the country and abroad. The Sufistic school of Mojibia expanded up to

Syria, Iraque, Arab, Euthopia and Afganistan. This School developed to its Zenith during his age. Till the last days of his life, it was his usual routine to give commentary of Holy *Qurān* on Sunday and interpretation of *Maktubati-sadi*, a valuable work of Hazrat Makḥdoom-ul-Mulk Sḥeikh Sḥarfuddin Ahmad Yehya Maneri on Friday.

In recognition of his profound scholarship, the Government of India conferred upon him the title of Sḥamsul Ulema which he returned with thanks, to express his resentment and indignation over the treaty between the Britishers and the Turks which the Turks were made to sign under duress.

Sḥah Badruddin was a reputed man of letters. His scholarship was recognised and established. His profound knowledge of Islamic Theology specially Islamic Jurisprudence attracted scholars of Islamic theology from all over India. He used to solve diffçrnt theological problems through correspondence, which has been compiled under the name *Lamāt-i-Badria*. These letters are precious store of knoweldege which exhibit his foresight in solving knotty and complicated theological problems. S. Sḥah Md. Shoib, the compiler of *Ayāni Watan*, compiled these letters which spread over 1200 pages in five parts. Four parts have already been printed. Besides, a major portion of *Lamāti Badria* excluding the aforesaid five parts are unprinted.

Besides, he also wrote a number of treatises which are unpublished. These treatises deal with different problems connected with sufism, jurisprudence and politics even. This shows his grip over different branches of knowledge and his wider outlook of different problems.

Sḥah Md. Badruddin Quadri died in the night of Tuesday on the 16th Safar 1343 A. H. at the age of 75 and buried in the tomb of Kḥanqah Mojibia near the tomb of Hazrat Nasr, his spiritual guide. He left behind late Syed Sḥah Md. Mohiuddin and two daughters from his first wife and late Sḥah Md. Qamruddin S. Sḥah Md. Nizamuddin and S. Shah Md. Sḥahabuddin from his second wife.

It is evident from the outgoing statement that Sḥah Badruddin Quadri was a man of rare talents. His valuable contributions are sufficient to keep him immortal. In the end, it should be noted that he was also a poet and composed poems in Urdu, Persian and Arabic. He was not basically a poet, but he had got poetic faculty which got expression of his Sufistic thoughts. Dr. Kḥwaja Afḍal Imām has quoted a few of his Persian verses in the preface of *Diwan-i-Faiz, Phulwarvi* which he has edited. His poesy is the exposition of his mystic experiences.

It can be said without reservation that Syed Sḥah Md. Badruddin Quadri was not only a saint, but also a renowned scholar, a reputed theologian and a notable man of letters of Bihar.

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SECTION

CHACH - NAMA

by

NABI HADI, ALIGARH

Ali Bin Hamid of Kufa, an Arab immigrant who settled in Sind, made a significant addition to the historical intelligence of this period by focussing light on the Arab conquest of north-western India that had taken place before the close of the first century Hijra (H. 93/711 A. D.). The Arabs sailed towards the coast of Sind in their small ships, defeated Raja Dahar whose empire extended over Sind and Panjab, established their administrative control from Dibel (modern Karachi) to Multan, and made preparation to attack Qannauj - the capital of another great empire in the heart of Indo-Gangetic valley, when they were deprived by their dashing leader, Muhammad bin Qasim. None the less their grip was not altogether lost. The territory that had been swept by their first wave of conquest was spotted by the colonies of Kharjites as their movement weakened outside India. And again, it provided refuge to Ismaili fugitives whose Indian strongholds finally went out of existence when Sultan Mahmud attempted to maintain uniform orthodoxy.

The book, which accidentally won for Ali bin Hamid a dignified place among the historians, was the work of an unknown Arab scholar preserved in the library of a noble family living in Bakkhar. The magistrate of that city, as evident by his appellation of Qazi, was a certain Shaikh Ismail of Arab descent and learned background, who rewarded the curious search of Ali bin Hamid by showing him a book that dealt with the expedition of Muhammad bin Qasim and also revealed at length the dynastic account of his adversary, Raja Dahar. There is no doubt that the writer was a man of historical insight and mature training who deemed it natural to trace the origin of the local ruling family with whom the Arabs had to encounter. He devoted about half the work to a faithful description of the position and power that Raja Chach and his successors commanded over the vast region between the Arabian Sea and the mountains of Kashmir. In fact his implicit object was to present a magnified view of the military fact performed by the people of his race in a distant country. Despite the careful arrangement of facts and valuable details recorded in clear style it is unfortunate that this book could not attain the appropriate and deserving popularity in the Arabic-speaking world. No copies of it seemed to be extant abroad when Ibn-Nadim of Baghdad prepared his great catalogue of books in H. 377/987 A. D. Nor did the latter authorities show their familiarity with the work or its author. It was in the house of the Qazi of Bakkha that the book remained safe for many generations and passed from father to son until Ali bin Hamid approached to render it into Persian. That solitary copy of Arabic was also lost and only the Persian translation made in H. 613/1216 A. D., has ultimately survived under the arbitrary but popular title of *Chach-Nama.*[1]

In translating the book Ali bin Hamid betrayed his own notions of history. The immense change, taking place before his eyes and overrunning that land of immutable antiquity, had its origins five centuries back in the emergence of the Arabs. They started the process of which the Turks were a logical culmination. His eagerness to discover the oblivious record of his countrymen and preserve it in its proper setting was not based on mere chauvinistic and racial sentiments. It was time indeed to remind the story of an apparently long forgotten adventure and restore the missing link. Obviously, it had the double advantage of inspiration as well as instruction to the Turks who had recently pushed themselves into India. If they needed a parallel example for practical purpose, it was readily available.

Being the earliest model derived from Arab historiography the *Chach-Nama* cast a long shadow over the historical literature produced in India. The translator further embellished its broad plan by adding an introduction. In it he mentions the two monarchs, Nasiruddin Qabacha and Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam Ghuri, in whose period his work was accomplished. Next, there are autobiographical details; and then, in a note of dedication he dwells to acknowledge the kind treatment of Ainul-Mulk, the minister of Qabacha, who was a liberal patron of scholars.

An outstanding feature of *Chach-Nama* is that the historian has depicted women as performing the key-role in the rise and fall of political personalities. The book opens as well as closes by showing the dramatic instances of female guiles and treachery.

In the begining of the narrative the figure of a queen appears on the scene. Her husband, Rai Sahsi, was the representative of a long line of Rajput rulers who held their sway over Sind and the adjoining territories. She fell in love with a young Brahman, named Chach, serving secretary to the King's minister. After the old and childless King's death the resourceful queen succeeded to raise Chach to the throne and became his wife. The result of this marriage were two sons - Dahar and Dharsiya, and a daughter - Maiyn. The reign of Chach lasted for a long time. He proved himself a wise and active ruler, the kingdom grew in size, and so the prosperity of the people. The account of the government of Chach covers a lengthy space and his personality has been presented in favourable colours.

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[1] Dr. Daudpota, (Ed) Hyderabad.

An interesting light is shed over the social complexion of the region and the strains experienced by different sections of the people. The historian distinctly uses two words. Brahman and Samman, the latter simply means idolater. The attitude of the Brahmans is throughout militant and hostile. But the Sammans are conciliatory, co-operative and friendly towards the Arabs. It hardly needs argument to say that the "Sammans" were the Buddhists.

Interposed between the account of Chach is the history of the Caliphs showing their policy towards Sind. In this section the historian has intelligently traced the development of events that took place since the days of the second orthodox Caliph down to the final show by Muhammad bin Qasim (H. 15–93). We are informed that the Caliph 'Umar, appointed 'Uthman bin al–'As as governor of Behrain whose brother, Mughira, undertook to control the Sea between the Gulf and the Indian shore, obviously, for the purpose of trade, for, "Arab mercantile activity had never been political." [2] With a small contingent the Arab admiral landed at Dibel and fought the first unsuccessfull battle. In the days of the third Caliph a secret agent was despatched to make a detailed survey of the conditions obtaining in India. On his report the programme of naval invasion was temporarily dropped. But the Caliph Ali in his regime permitted Harith bin Marrah to exert pressure through Makram and the attempt was successful. The Umayyads strengthened their navy in the Arabian Sea to save their commerce that extended to the farthest China. Sind for its coastal base had a vital importance. They sent three expeditions in succession; all of them were repulsed and their commanders lost their lives. These events have been brought to light by quoting original authorities. Thanks to the author of *Chach-Nama*, we possess material extracted from some of the earliest sources that perished with time.

He has a keen eye to pick up the real situation out of the crowd of events.' The affairs of the ships carrying merchandise and pilgrims from Ceylon and the nearby islands that were captured by the pirates of Sind, the protest of Hajjaj bin Yusuf - the powerful governor of eastern region of the Caliphate, and the evasive reply by Raja Dahar, have been treated at full length. That sudden incitement was in fact a turning point in the course of Indian history. Similarly, his version relating to the choice of the army general bears a testimony to his literary skill as a narrator of facts.

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[2] K. M. PANIKAR : *Asia and Western Dominance* p. 35

But his commanding ability as a historian displays itself when he describes a battle scene. With great imagination and confidence he has used his information to compose an integrated picture of events. Between Dibel and Multan Muhammad bin Qasim captured about fifteen fortresses and fought more than equal number of battles. We have a full record of every encounter between the Arabs and the followers of Dahar. The historian deserves credit for giving a very impartial statement. He shows without reservation that his countrymen faced a tough resistance and their foe was by no means despicable. Every battle was a challenge to their energy and skill. Only their superior technique - the use of *manjaniq* and naptha - saved the situation. On the Indian side the astrologer and the elephant did the rest of the damaging work. Moreover, his evidence inclines to affirm that there was a fair recognition among the Arabs of the fighting capacity of Indians. Unlike the histories of Turkish campaigns, which sometime overflow with exaggeration, the language of *Chach-Nama* is completely free from boasting or bias.

> " When Hajjaj received the trophies of war and the letter of Muhammad bin Qasim giving details of victory over Raja Dahar, he laughingly addressed the emissary: 'Where were you on the battl-efield?' The reply was : ' My lord : I command the left wing '. Said Hajjaj : ' But your name does not occur in the list '. The noble swallowed his tongue. After a while Hajjaj enquired : ' How did my cousin acquit himself as a general ? ' This was the noble's turn : ' Your cousin fainted in the heat of battle and cried for water. "

Except for the written works of al-Madaini, which the author seems to have consulted, the material of this book has been accumulated by means of oral authorities. The chain of transmission, always systematically mentioned, usually comes down through two or three persons. Perhaps, due to close link of his informants with those who were the eye-witnesses, the historian became unnecessarily credulous and did not exercise his critical judgment. That is why a few unauthentic and absurd reports have crept into his work which confound its historical dignity.

Invariably, the female factor gave rise to legends that must be absolutely rejected. As a striking example we may examine the report about Muhammad bin Qasim, who has been represented as the victim of malicious revenge taken by the two daughters of Raja Dahar. Although reliable authorities confirm that Muhammad bin Qasim and many other nobles of the first rank fell in the conflict of accession that arose after the death of the Umaiyid Caliph, Walid. Also the anecdote of marriage between the real sister and brother - Maiyn and Dahar - at the superstitious indication of the astrologer, is highly doubtful. There is little proof that the practice of incestuous marriages, like ancient Egypt and Sasanid Persia, ever existed among the Hindus. Again, in one story Abdullah ibn Abbas, cousin of the Prophet and progenitor of the Abbasids, appears as accepting the hand of a princess of Dahar's family. In fact Abdullah ibn Abbas died (H. 68) almost a quarter of a century before the event. Similarly, the account of the last days of Ladi, the favourite queen of Dahar, has three versions that contradict each other.[3] Another instance of conflicting and dubious versions may be marked in case of Muhammad bin Harith ʿAlafit an Arab fugitine living in the court of Dahar.[4]

It is discernible that the book has suffered distortion and interpolation at the hands of scribes. Most of the dates were carelessly written and the fallacy came to stay in the printed text. At one point the reference of Baghdad occurs together with the Caliph.[5] That city was founded (H. 146) fifty-four years after the conquest of Sind. Thanks to the modern archaeological researches in Pakistan, the places mentioned in the book have been correctly identified. But the names of many Hindu nobles and princes described as playing active role in the affairs would never recover their accurate pronunciations.

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[3] pp. 185, 206, 222.

[4] pp. 161, 202.

[5] p. 243.

PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION

BUDDHIST EDUCATION

By

ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE, CALCUTTA

The introduction, expansion and proper management of the educational system are one of the main functions of a modern state. In ancient times the Christian missionaries in Europe and the various religious orders in India planned out their own educational methods. They also received the active support and patronage of the ruling powers and the nobility of the time in this regard. Among them the Brahmanical system of education is the most ancient. It has been in vogue even today since the Vedic age. The tradition of the system of education with which we are concerned here relate to the Buddhist system of education only. It differs from the Brahmanical system in some respects. The Buddhist monasteries were the centres of learning and teaching was imparted to a collective body of pupils. Both religious and secular subjects were taught by the monks therein. It was the monks who carried on all the educational activities in those days. In fact, they were really the only custodians and torch-bearers of learning. There were practically no well-organised educational institutions wherein education was regularly imparted excepting the Buddhist monasteries in the Buddhist world in those olden times. The history of Buddhist system of education is really the history of the Buddhist Saṅgha. The rules that we find in the Buddhist education " are not the invention of the Buddha but modelled upon those of numerous other monastic orders professing other faiths and also of Brahmanism itself, the common source from which all such sects arose."[1] It may be pointed out here that the Brahmanical education was individualistic. It was based on an individual teacher. It was imparted in the preceptor's residence and was confined to the Brahmins and peoples of upper castes. The considerations of castes were thus the main criterion of admission of students. The subjects of study were also few and very limited.

The Pali *Mahāvagga* records that there were two ceremonies prescribed for admission into the Saṅgha. The first, called the Pabbajjā, admits one as a novice into the Saṅgha, while the other known as the Upasampadā makes one a regular member of the Saṅgha, a Bhikkhu (monk). In the Buddhist text one who has received the Pabbajjā is called the sāmaṇera. The Pabbajjā thus marks the beginning of the period of the noviciate and no one below the age of fifteen was given the same. After the period of the noviciate Upasampadā was given and it was not conferred on a person below the age of twenty. Admission to the Saṅgha was opened to all irrespective of castes and creed, but a certain class of people was, however, denied the privilege of receiving Pabbajjā and Upasampadā. Elsewhere in the *Mahāvagga* it is found that when the monks settled down in the monastery, they behaved improperly without proper exhortation and instruction. People often spoke ill of them at such improper behaviour of the monks. The matter was brought to the notice of the Buddha who rebuked the monks and asked to place themselves under the guidance of spiritual teachers – upajjhāyas and ācariyas – for their proper training.

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[1] Ṛadha Kumud MOOKERJI, *Ancient Indian Education*, London, 1947, p. 394.

An upajjhāya used to teach the novice on the moral rules of conduct, while an ācariya used to look after his spiritual life and progress. According to the great Pali commentator Buddhaghoṣa an ācariya is a sikkhāguru (teacher) while an upajjhāya is a dikkhāguru (spiritual guide). In the Buddhist text an ācariya is also called a kammācariya. In the Brahmanical literature an ācariya is considered superior to an upajjhāya. A pupil attached to an upajjhāya is known as the Saddhivihārika while that to an ācariya is called the Antevāsika. An upajjhāya should treat a Saddhivihārika as a son while a Saddhivihārika should regard an upajjhāya as a father. Similarly an ācariya should treat an Antevāsika as a son while an Antevāsika should regard an ācariya as a father. Because of this relation a life in the Saṅgha became very charming and delightful. In the Buddhist text this method is technically known as the Nissayasampatti, i. e., complete dependence of the pupil on the preceptor concerned. The period of dependence generally lasts for ten years. But the period could be relaxed in case of an experienced, competent monk who had to live five years only in dependence; but an unlearned one all his life.[2] An experienced and competent monk of ten years or of more than ten years standing was competent to give guidance to the monks.[3] We also know that Nissaya to an upajjhāya ceased due to five reasons while to an ācariya for six reasons. They have been dealt in detail in the Pali *Mahāvagga*. In short, the preceptors were mainly responsible for the education and moral conduct of the novices in the Saṅgha. A young novice had to select his own upajjhāya and ācariya from amongst the experienced and competent monks.

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[2] *Mahāvagga*, chap. I. 53. 4.

[3] *Ibid.* ch. I. 35. 2.

He should choose them thus:— placing his upper robe over one shoulder he should salute the feet of the upajjhāya and ācariya and squatting on the ground pray unto them with folded hands thrice to be his upajjhāya and ācariya upon which both the upajjhāya and ācariya would declare their intention either by the gesture of the body or by speech.

The Buddhist system of education, like the, Brahmanical one prescribed the service of his pupils to their preceptors as a part of their education. We have seen before that there were two kinds of preceptors viz., upajjhāya and ācariya and to them were attached the Saddhivihārika and Antevāsika. Their duties to their respective preceptors have been discussed in details in the *Mahāvagga*. We propose to describe here the duties and services of a Saddhivihārika to his upajjhāya. A saddhivihārika should rise early in the morning, leave aside his sandals, put his upper robe over one shoulder and offer the tooth-wood and water for rinsing his mouth. He should next prepare a seat and give him rice-gruel in a pot. When he had taken the rice gruel he should wash the pot with water and keep it in a proper place. When the upajjhāya had got up the seat should be removed and the place, if soiled, be swept. If the upajjhāya wanted to go to a village for alms the Saddhivihārika should give him his robe, girdle and begging bowl. If he liked the Saddhivihārika to go along with him he should then dress himself properly and follow him. There were further no servants in the Saṅgha. The novices had to do all sorts of menial works like servants. If the dwelling place of the upajjhāya became soiled a Saddhivihārika should cleanse it. Before cleaning the place he should take out the bowls, robes, mattresses and the like and keep them to one side and afterwards they should be duly put back to their original places. The cell (*pariveṇa*), store room (*koṭṭhaka*), prayer hall (*upaṭṭhānaśālā*), fire room (*aggisālā*) and even the privy (*vaccakuṭhi*) were also to be cleaned by the Saddhivihārika when required. The *Cullavagga* gives us a detailed account of the services of the novices. An upajjhāya should conduct himself properly towards his Saddhivihārika. He should treat the Saddhivihārika with kind care and attention. He should always keep watch on all his works. An upajjhāya should always be solicitor for the well-being of the Saddhivihārika as a father is for his son. If a Saddhivihārika fell ill and was not fit to carry on his duty to serve him, an upajjhāya should nurse him till he would become fit. The remaining duties of an upajjhāya are similar to those of a Saddhivihārika.

The duties and obligations of an Antevāsika towards his ācariya and vice versa agree closely with those of a Saddhivihārika towards upajjhāya and vice versa. We do not, therefore, reiterate them herein.

Monks usually spent most of the time in meditation in the monastery. The little time that remained was devoted to the well-being of the country, and the Saṅgha. They were further to teach the young novice the rules of etiquette and monastic discipline and help him in his intellectual and spirtiual progress. Apart from the teaching work of the novices, many people, living close to the monastery, used to come there to hear religious discourses from the monks. The Buddhist monasteries became thus the centres of learning and were organised on the ideal of a residential University. The members of monastery were the residential students while those coming from outside were taught in the day time. Thus the monastery appeared as the day school for them. Monks who were highly educated and experienced were selected as the teachers. In other words, well-known and distinguished monks were selected for the teaching work. The system of education in the olden days were different from that we have in the modern time. Education was then carried on orally and handed down from the teacher to the taught. The Pali *Vinaya Piṭaka* records that the same was the condition in the Buddhist age too. We do not find mention either of any manuscript or any writing material among the daily requisites of a monk. Apart from short stone or copper plate inscriptions for official use, writing of books was probably quite unknown in the first century of the Christian era. A defaced sculpture preserved in the Museum at Mathura points out how the preceptors took their classes in small groups in the Buddhist age. The preceptor is seen here with a parasol over his head and his left hand holding its handle. Many novices squatting on the ground in front of him are listening to his discourses attentively in various postures.

The discourses given by the preceptor mainly 'related to the monkish learning of the age, the monastic regula (*Vinaya*), the holy legends (the making of which seems to have been a continuous literary industry in the convents over several centuries), the Buddhist moral fables (*Jātakas*), hymnology and fundamental doctrines.'[4] The main objective was to make the novices ideal monks of the Saṅgha. The monasteries indeed created the spiritual and cultural atmosphere and produced ideal monks and nuns. It was through them only that Buddhism was propagated in India and abroad. In fact, the life of Buddhism depended on the existence of monasteries. Buddhism lasted so long the monasteries maintained their ideals.

The study of *Dhamma* (doctrine) and *Vinaya* (monastic rules) were much emphasized upon in the monasteries. Apart from it there were other subjects which were taught therein. From the *Jātaka* we also learn that the monks know the art of war. We are told that king Pasenajit, being defeated by king Ajātasatthu in war, approached the monks in the monastery to learn the better technique of war. Subsequently he defeated the king Ajātasatthu and made him a prisoner.[5] The *Milindapañha*[6] records that the Navakamma (knowledge of making repairs or in building) was also one of the subjects taught in the monastery. Engineering is also referred to in later works.

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[4] P. V. Bapat, *2500 years of Buddhism*, p. 179.

As already observed the monasteries were the residential centres of the learners. They came into existence first for spiritual training of the monks. But they gradually changed into great centres of learning. Later on they turned into big universities to which flocked students from far and near to gather knowledge on different subjects. Many distinguished scholars from distant foreign countries used to come here to get the benefit of instruction and to remove their doubts on points of religious matters. The doors of these institutions were always wide opened. There were no restrictions for admission. From the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims we learn that admission to them was thrown open not only to monks but also to other laymen who desired to receive education therefrom. Education was imparted to all learners with great care.

Righteousness, generosity and alms-giving are peculiar to the Indian people. Charity to noble causes is indeed a meritorious deed. History furnishes us with ample instances of such gifts to the noble causes by the pepole of the then India. Kings, nobles and the like used to meet the cost of running these Universities. It is said that kings sometimes assigned the revenue of a whole village or a group of villages for the maintenance of the Universities. Rich merchants also contributed largely for the upkeep of the Universities. Students, thus, in no way felt any inconvenience to prosecute their studies there. Teaching of various subjects was on uninterruptedly from morning to evening. 'The Buddhist monasteries of the times became the seats and centres of both sacred and secular learning, and being freely resorted to by both Buddhist monks and laymen, and even by non-Buddhists, materially aided in the diffusion of learning and culture in the country'. Of them the University of Nālandā to which flocked students from far off countries attracts our attention most. It accommodated ten thousand pupils and one hundred scholars to teach them. The noted Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang himself studied in this University for five years. Śilabhadra, the distinguished Bengali philosopher was the head of this institution. By virtue of their character and erudition the teachers of Nālandā became the ideal teachers in those days. During this period there were other Universities like

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[5] Vaddhaki Sukaka Jātaka, No. 283.

[6] p. 263.

Vallabhi, Vikramaśila, Jagadatal, Odantapurī and the like which deserve mention here. This shows the vastness of cultural activity carried on in the domain of education by the monks of the monasteries.

Lastly, it will not be out of place to mention here that Kaviguru Rabindranath TAGORE who was noted for his great love for Buddhism built up his Viśva-Bhāratī on the model of the Buddhist monasteries which were great centres of learning in those days.

THE CONCEPTION OF NIRVĀṆA IN EARLY BUDDHISM

By

VISHWANATH PANDEY, BOMBAY

Let me tell you at the very outset of my talk that it may look pedantic on my part to have chosen the subject *what is Nirvāṇa?* For this is a subject which evades all speculations. According to the Buddhist tradition Nirvāṇa is a state attainable only by the Buddhas, the enlightened ones, and it is they alone, no body else, who have the knowledge of what Nirvāṇa is. There is an old saying in India that the nature of the ultimate is profound and one who knows does not speak and he who speaks does not know. This is exactly the case when I talk about Nirvāṇa.

What I shall, therefore, try to do in the present paper is to put before you only opinions about, and a conceptual analysis of the problem. And if I am able to stimulate some discussion on the subject, my purpose would be served.

Further, the Buddha was born in India and taught on the Indian soil but Buddhism flourished all over Asia. Therefore, the message of the master echoed differently against the manifold cultural backgrounds of different people. It came to assume, in due course, many shades influenced by the local beliefs and practices which gave rise to many schools of Buddhism. It would be neither feasible nor within my competence to explicate the notion of Nirvāṇa as conceived by these schools. I shall, therefore, restrict myself to Theravāda or Sthaviravāda conception of Nirvāṇa as advocated in the Pali Tripiṭakas, taking for granted, of course, that the Pali Tripiṭakas contain faithfully the original gospel of the master, Gotama, the Buddha.

The dynamic personality of the Buddha, his extreme humanitarian approach towards life and pragmatic teachings attracted the attention of many western thinkers who have been making notable contributions to Buddhist Philosophy and Religion for about last hundred years, and it would be worthwhile to refer to the attitudes and opinions of some of these thinkers regarding Buddhist view of Nirvāṇa before we deal with the problem ourselves.

H. T. COLEBROOKE, a scholar of early nineteenth century who presented, perhaps, for the first time in the West a scientific study of Buddhism, conceived Nirvāṇa as a psychological state, a state of mind. Commenting on Nirvāṇa, he writes—" It is a condition of unmixed tranquil happiness or ecstasy (ānanda)..A happy state of imperturbable apathy is the ultimate bliss to which the Indian aspires; in this the Jain, as well as the Buddha, concurs with the orthodox Vedāntin."[1] In COLEBROOKE's treatment of the subject, psychological considerations overshadow the ontological considerations.

BURNOUF a famous French Indologist who made his contributions, in the middle of the nineteenth century, has however, a different view to offer. According to him the nature of Nirvāṇa is negative, that is, it refers to a state of 'extinction' or 'annihilation'. While translating a *Śloka* from *Avadānaśataka* which describes the ultimate status of a Buddha, he writes— " Until finally Vipasyin, the completely perfect Buddha, after having performed the totality of obligations of a Buddha, was like a fire of which the fuel is consumed, entirely annihilated in the element of Nirvāṇa in which nothing remains of that which constitutes existence ".

BURNOUF is not alone in maintaining this position. Many more scholars followed him in the West. F. MAX MÜLLER, who attended BURNOUF's lectures in Paris was influenced by BURNOUF's line of thought and presents the same view of Nirvāṇa. He says that millions who embraced Buddhism did not understand the implication and gravity of Buddha's teaching. They only knew that the Buddha's path would lead them to salvation from the sufferings of life. But, MAX MÜLLER asserts that this is not the final conclusion of Buddha's teachings. The Buddha, while denying the existence of God and soul, struck at the very root of existence which, according to MAX MÜLLER, cannot be termed anything else except absolute nothingness. He concludes :

> " Buddhism, therefore, cannot unite. the human soul, which it does not even mention, with a God, whom it does not know better. Nothing remained but to annihilate the soul; and in order to be quite sure that the soul may not reappear under some new form in this world, which has been cursed as the abode of illusion and misery. Buddhism destroys its very elements, and never gets tired of glorying in this achievement. What more is wanted? If this not the absolute nothing, what is Nirvāṇa ? "

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James D'ALWIS, STCHERBATSKY and a host of other scholars also subscribe to this view of Nirvāṇa.

But this is only one side of the story. There are many other Indologists who have an altogether different picture to present. OLDENBERG, Professor T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, his wife Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS in her later works, La VALLEE POUSSIN and several others vehemently oppose the nihilistic or negative interpretation of Nirvāṇa. Thus argues OLDENBERG : "If the Buddhist faith really makes that Saint's state of being disembody itself into nothingness..still entry into nothingness for nothingness sake is not at all the object of aspiration". He continues "In the religious life, in the tone which prevailed in the ancient Buddhist order, the thought of annihilation has had no influence".[1]

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, the founder of Pali Text Society, London, and a profound scholar of Pali and Buddhist History and culture also discourages the negativistic interpretation of Nirvāṇa. This, he thinks, is a mistaken notion. Nirvāṇa, according to him, is a psycho-ethical state of serenity. He sums up the problem of Nirvāṇa as : "Nirvāṇa is therefore a moral condition, a pure, calm, clear state of mind, and if translated at all, may best be rendered Holiness - holiness that is, in the Buddhist sense - perfect peace, goodness and wisdom".[2]

For Professor RHYS DAVIDS the concept of Nirvāṇa is positive, ethical, psychological or empirical than ontological or transcendental. He writes : "Nirvāṇa is purely and solely an ethical state, to be reached in this birth by ethical practices, contemplation and insight. It is, therefore, not transcendental".

Mrs. Caroline RHYS DAVIDS changed her conception regarding the Buddhist view of Self and Nirvāṇa drastically in her later works. She has attempted to show in those works that the 'original Gospel' of Sakyamuni was different from the Buddhism now available to us in the Buddhistic canons, the major part of which, according to her, is 'monkish gibberish'. The original gospel of the Buddha, Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS reminds us, was in continuation with, and an elaboration of the Upaniṣadic idea of Self-evolving man 'Bhūyas' whose transcendental nature is, she thinks, beyond question.

La VALLEE POUSSIN also argues in the same vein. He says "the doctrine of annihilation was not the original purpose; it was a result..Sakyamuni (or the church) did not start with such an idea of deliverance; the idea has been forced upon him (or upon them) because he has been rash enough to deny the existence of a soul".[3]

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[1] *The Buddha*, p. 265.

[2] "On Nirvāṇa", in *the Contemporary Review*, Jan. 1877, p. 263 of. Buddism, 111–12.

[3] *ERE*, p. 377a cf. *The Way*, p. 124.

While A. B. KEITH interpreting Buddhism in the light of Upaniṣadic thought sounds a note of agnosticism, that probably the Buddha himself was not sure as to what is the ultimate end of the Saint, Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, the Indian Philosopher, professes to remove all confusions and controversies by positively asserting that the task which the Buddha took was to restate the ancient faith. For him *nirvāṇa* is another name for *Mokṣa* which the Buddha taught by the method of 'silence' – the method, Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN argues, is so ancient and appropriate for explaining the nature of ultimate reality, such as *Ātman* or *Nirvāṇa*.

These are the lines of thought on the most controversial problem of Buddhist Philosophy, namely the problem of Nirvāṇa. The thinkers have been oscillating in their views between utter negativism to absolute positivism, between nothingness and celestial abode. Under the circumstances, therefore, we face a number of questions such as: What is that which has contributed to the ambiguity of the subject? What are the factors responsible for generating endless controversies as regards the problem of Nirvāṇa? And lastly, what is the nature of Nirvāṇa? I shall take up the first two questions first leaving the third to follow them.

There are, to my mind, at least three important reasons for the endless controversy which has ensued on the nature of Nirvāṇa. These are: 1) unrestricted use of language, specially epithets and similes describing Nirvāṇa; 2) the silence of the Buddha, and 3) the confusion arising from not properly distinguishing between Nirvāṇa attainable in the life-time and Parinirvāṇa, i. e. Nirvāṇa after the death of the saint.

The free and fluid use of language in the Pali *Tripiṭaka*, particularly the epithets, anecdotes and analogies describing the nature of Nirvāṇa have contributed to the ambiguity of Nirvāṇa and have, thus, spurred a lot of controversy on the subject. We find epithets such as: happiness (*paramasukham*), immortal state (*amata dhātu*), safe island (*dīpam*), calm (*śāntam*), permanent (*dhruvam*), pure state (*virajapadam*), and even Mokṣa or Brahmahood of Vedānta.

We come accross epithets such as cooling down (*śītibhūta*), cessation (*nirodha*) describing Nirvāṇa as a negative state. The literal meaning of the word 'Nirvāṇa' itself is 'blowing out'. And, perhaps, the word Nirvāṇa was always used in this sense in the pre-Buddhistic literature. For examples, 'blowing out in the case of air' (*Nirvāṇo avāte*)', 'blowing out in the case of fire' (*Nirvāṇaḥ agniḥ*). Besides, the analogies used to explain Nirvāṇa such as 'lamp' of which the fuel has exhausted, a bunch of ripe mangoes which fall to the ground leaving nothing in the bunch, a 'palm-tree' which has been completely uprooted, give the idea that Nirvāṇa is a negative state.

We also come across epithets describing the transcendental nature of Nirvāṇa. These epithets are : unborn (*ajātam*), uncreated (*abhūtam*), beyond logic or thinking (*atakkāvacaram*) and so on.

These mutually irreconcilable descriptions of Nirvāṇa push one into a state of extreme confusion. But there are reasons for such inconsistencies. First, early Buddhism was not a system of Philosophy and, therefore, consistency was not the ideal for their speculative activity. Second, the Buddha and his disciples explained Nirvāṇa to different people in different ways taking into consideration the intellectual calibre of the persons to whom such explanations were offered. Third, the Pali *Tripiṭaka* includes the descriptions of Nirvāṇa given by not only the Buddha and his learned disciples but also the descriptions of Nirvāṇa given by simple folk, by shepherds, laymen, brethren and sisters, for whom Nirvāṇa generally meant nothing short of heaven. And therefore, even if such descriptions of Nirvāṇa are computed and classified, nothing important would be discovered which could decide once for all the real nature of Nirvāṇa.

The silence of Buddha over some metaphysical questions has been another source of this controversy. The Buddha usually maintained silence on the questions such as : What happens to a Buddha after death ? Is there soul or not ? When asked by the wayfarers. This led some scholars to suppose that the Buddha was an agnostic and to some others that he followed the ancient path and believed in the transcendental *ātman*. There is no doubt that the Buddha's ten inexpressibles (*avyaktāni*) have provided a ground for the divergence of opinions on the problem of Nirvāṇa and Self but, sometimes these inexpressibles are construed by some scholars to yeild wishful conclusions.

Then there is the third source of this endless controversy. And that is the lack of proper distinction between the two states of Nirvāṇa – the Nirvāṇa attainable in–this–life and the Nirvāṇa attainable after the psycho-physical dissolution of the saint. The demarcation of this distinction is so important for the correct understanding of Nirvāṇa that any lapse in this regard is bound to accelerate the quantum of confusion. However, before I elaborate this point further I would like to place before you those considerations which, I think, should always be taken while interpreting the nature of Nirvāṇa. These are : (a) general temper of Buddhist Philosophy, (b) Buddha's own comment interpreted in proper context and (c) opinions of the later Buddhist thinkers on the problem of Nirvāṇa.

If we consider the general temper of early Buddhism we find it was obsessionistic, analytic and anti-ontological. It regarded mind or consciousness to be the cause of the world. And further the consciousness was regarded as a composite (*Saṅkhata*) reality completely devoid of Self (*ātman*) or any–thing–like–Self (*attā hi attaniya vā*). Early Buddhism held that whatever exists is caused or conditioned. According to it the very definition of 'being' or 'existence' is that which is conditioned. The Buddhist conception of conditioning is that one thing is conditioned by many factors and those factors are, in their turn, conditioned by other factors. Thus all existence is interdependent or functional. The consciousness or mind is no exception to this universal law. It rolls on from one stage to another. Like the stream of a river it goes on flowing till the entire flow is arrested or rather dried up in Nirvāṇa. The existence, here, is not 'being' but 'becoming'. It is not reality (in ontological sense) but a process. The soul or *ātman* is foreign to this world of becoming.

I do not wish to present here an exhaustive account of non-soul theory of early Buddhism nor do I want to refute the arguments of those who, inspite of general anti–ontological temper of early Buddhism, maintain that the Buddha did believe in the existence of Self. But I shall be failing in my duty if I do not mention those grounds on which, I believe, the early Buddhism dismissed the notion of Self quipping it as a childish talk (*ayam bhikkhave paripuro bāla dhammo*). For the notion of soul or non–soul (as is the case with Buddha) is very relevant for the proper understanding of Nirvāṇa. The first ground, on which Buddhism rejects the existence of Self is its theory of universal causation. This theory strikes at the root of anything believed to be 'causa sui' or 'sui generis' or anything having poetic characteristics. The second ground for rejecting the existence of self is, that the idea of Self goes against the spirit of Buddhist Philosophy, namely against its doctrine of impermanence (*Sabbam aniccam*). The third ground lies in the difficulty of verifiability of Self. The fourth ground on which Buddhism rejects the existence of Self is its theory of analysis (*vibhajjavāda*). It is argued in the canonical discourses that if one peeps into human personality he stumbles upon any one of the five aggregates (*skandhas*) and not on Self or soul. And these aggregates (*skandhas*) are empty of Self like a village deserted by the people (*suñña gāmo*). And lastly, the fifth ground for rejecting the notion of Self is that the notion of Self (*sakkāya diṭṭhi*) is a great hindrance in the way of Nirvāṇa. It is stated that the renunciation of this notion is a precondition to the realization of Nirvāṇa. When we take into account the notion of Self as conceived by the Buddha, his learned disciples and the subsequent Buddhist Philosophers, we find that with the exception of Vatsiputriyas, all are one in rejecting the notion of Self.

Now, the question naturally arises as to what would be the nature of Nirvāṇa in the absence of a persisting reality-*ātman* or self-if it is not absolute nothingness, a state where the stream of becoming is completely arrested and the entire existence is done away with. This is the logical corollary which follows necessarily from the rejection of Self.

This logical or philosophical conclusion is also corroborated by the Buddhist psycho-ethical approach to Nirvāṇa. According to Buddhist ethical psychology a man's mind is like a stream of river which becomes gradually muddy by the impurities (*asavas*) thrown into it during the course of his innumerable lives. But these impurities can be destroyed by constant meditation. As a result of meditation, consciousness becomes pure and pure and reaches a state where even the pure consciousness and feelings can be completely obliterated. This stage of meditation or these moments of vacuity in the stream of consciousness are described as 'cessation of consciousness and feeling' (*saññā-vedayita nirodha samāpatti*). It is described in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutta* that the Buddha, before leaping into the ineffable state called Nirvāṇa, passed through the state of cessation of consciousness and feelings. This, rather anaesthetic state produced by a type of autohypnosis constituting the fore-state of Nirvāṇa gives us an inkling as to what would be the ultimate nature of Nirvāṇa.

This conclusion is further supported by the Buddhist conception of life. In Buddhism volition (*Saṁknāra* or *cetanā*) or consciousness (*viññāṇa*) is treated as the substratum which sustains the Karmic energy or life-force. And the Karmic force in its turn, maintains the continuity of volition or consciousness. And once the Karmic forces are destroyed by living a virtuous life and the practice of contemplation, there comes an end to the chain of becoming (*bhava*) like a lamp which blows out when the fuel is exhausted. *Sutta Nipāta*, an early Buddhist text, elaborates the lamp analogy as :

> "As flame blown out by wind is lost to cognizance e'en so the sage, released from whilom qualities has disappeared from Ken".

This is what Nirvāṇa is. But many enquirers may like to press still further and ask whether it is a positive state or a negative state or a transcendental state. To them I can answer no better than to quote Buddha's own words :

Buddha to Vacchagotta, the wanderer : "What think you, Vaccha ?–
If there were a fire blazing in front of you, would you know it?

Vacchagotta : Yes.

Buddha : If you were asked what made that fire blaze, could you give an answer ?

Vacchagotta :	I should answer that what made it blaze was the fuel consisting of bracken and sticks.
Buddha :	If the fire went out, would you know it had gone out ?
Vacchagotta :	Yes.
Buddha :	If now you were asked in what direction the fire had gone, whether to east, west, north or south, could you give an answer ?
Vacchagotta :	The question does not apply. Since the fire was kept alight by bracken and sticks, and since it has consumed its supply of fuel to sustain it.
Buddha :	Just in the same way, Vaccha, all things material, all feelings, all perception, all plastic forces, all consciousness – everything by which the truth-finder might be denoted, has passed away for him, grubbed and stubbed, leaving only the bare cleared site where once a palm-tree towered – a thing that once has been and now can be no more. "

This dialogue of the Buddha should be an eye-opener to those who always speculate over the problem and ask the question, whether Nirvāṇa is a positive state or negative – or a transcendental state. From the above dialogue it is very clear that Nirvāṇa is not self-realization or salvation in the Vedāntic sense. For, in Buddhism there is no Self which is sought to be realized through religious practices. In fact, there is nothing to be realized in the strict sense of the term. Whatever exists is to be blown out. If at all the word 'realization' is to be used in Buddhistic context, it would mean the realization of the end which is nothing short of blowing out. The epithet 'transcendental state' with regard to Nirvāṇa also conveys a specific meaning. It does not mean that Nirvāṇa is a sort of 'existence' beyond description as it is held by some scholars. It is transcendental in the sense that any description to this state is meaningless just as it is meaningless to ask 'where does the extinguished fire go ?'

If at all Nirvāṇa is to be described, it can be described as the Great Blowing out *parinirvāṇa* or Absolute Nothingness (*śūnyatā*) in the sense in which the early Buddhists conceived it. But to call it Absolute Nothingness is not to undermine its supremacy. For the Buddhists it is the Highest Value the *summum bonum* of life. It is that Nothing where there is no suffering; because there is no coming into being therefrom. It is great, it is profound and nothing further can be said about it.

Now this description of Nirvāṇa may agitate our mind. We may burst with a volley of questions such as : Is it then for merging into nothingness that a Buddha strives so hard? Is it the end of gnosis? If it is so, what was the state of Buddha after he attained Nirvāṇa at the age of thirty-five? How can we account for the various descriptions of Nirvāṇa such as: Nirvāṇa is the state of supreme bliss; it is a happy island; it is the state of absolute mental freedom from which lust, hatred and delusion have completely disappeared; and so on?

These queries, doubts and agitations arise from non-distinction between the two states of Nirvāṇa, that is, the Nirvāṇa attainable while living (*sopādhiśeṣa nirvāṇa*) and the Nirvāṇa attainable after the psycho-physical dissolution or death of the saint. The later is called '*uttar-nirvāṇa*' (*parinirvāṇa*) or nirvāṇa without remnants (*nirupādhiśeṣa nirvāṇa*).

The Nirvāṇa attainable while living – the Nirvāṇa which the Buddha attains after the completion of his religious life, is the state marked with perfect mental freedom (*Ceto-Vimutti*). All the impurities (*asava*) are destroyed at this state as a result of living pious life and meditation. That is why it is said that destruction of lust, hatred and delusion is Nirvāṇa (*lobha khayo, dosa khayo, moha khayo nibbanam*).

The Buddhist discipline of mental culture is directed towards twofold purposes. First, it aims at the destruction of obsession (*papañca khaya*) and secondly, it aims at the cultivation of psychic powers (*balāni* and *bojhāngas*) and intuitive insight (*paññā*). These two missions of spiritual life are inseparable and complementary to each other in which the fulfilment of the first, namely the cessation of obsession leads necessarily to the attainment of psychic powers and intuitive insight. Nirvāṇa-while-living or Nirvāṇa as a fact of consciousness is, therefore, a state of gnosis (*paññā, añña* or *bodhi*), the chief characteristic of which is freedom (*Ceto-Vimukti* or *analaya*). The other characteristics are: peace (*śānti*), cool (*sītibūta*), empty (*suñña*), signleness (*aninitta*) and unhankered after (*apaṇihita*).

The saint at this stage of attainment sees things as they are (*yathā bhūtañāṇa*). He knows that he has done what is worth doing and that there is nothing else to be done. Further, he knows that since he has broken the chain of becoming (*bhava*) he will be born no more.

This state of Nirvāṇa is a positive state. It is the state of realization of the highest bliss (*param sukkham*) in this life. In the language of ethics it is the state of passionlessness (*taṇhā khaya*). In psychological terminology it is the mind de-conditioned or a state of No-Mind as a Zen Buddhist would like to conceive it. And in metaphysical and religious language it is the state of gnosis (*paññā*) or enlightenment (*bodhi*).

Thus far the picture of Nirvāṇa is very clear and presents no difficulty. But the question of Nirvāṇa-after-death of the saint or *parinirvāṇa* as it is called presents before us a lot of difficulties in understanding as to what would be the ultimate state of existence after the psycho-physical dissolution of a Buddha. This problem has to be answered in the light of the general temper of the Buddhist philosophy. Accessing this problem strictly on the metaphysical grounds of early Buddhism, Nirvāṇa-after-death would be, in absence of soul or any immutable entity, a state of absolute Emptiness (*Sunna*) as has been earlier explained. But in all probability the Buddha was engrossed so much with the practical problem of how to destroy the immediate sufferings of life that he hardly considered it worthwhile to entangle himself with the problems of hereafter.

PRAKRIT AND JAINISM SECTION

SOME MORE KANNADA WORDS IN DEŚĪ STOCK

By

B. K. KHADABADI, DHARWAR

Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā* occupies a distinct place in the field of the Deśī element in Middle Indo-Aryan. Of the several intriguing problems connected with the Deśī words collected in this work, the one of the sources of such words is of considerable importance. It has been an established fact that Kannada, an important member of the Dravidian family, with its favourable geographical, historic, linguistic and literary back-ground in early days, has served as one of the sources of several loan words listed in the *Deśīnāmamālā* and found in other depositories of Deśī vocables. A fairly good work has been already done in this branch of study. Dr. A. N. UPADHYE's pioneering work in this direction is quite note-worthy.[1] Then I continued the same work which spread over some four papers.[2] In the last of this series, I had taken note of some of the cautions struck and tests laid down by linguisticians for scientifically better lines of investigation of the Deśya vocables that are loans from the Dravidian in general and Kannada in particular. But Dr. H. C. BHAYANI'S *Studies in Hemacandra's Deśīnāmamālā*[3], which also represents some note-worthy aspects of investigation of loan words in the Deśī stock, had not come to light by that time.

In his introduction to the book the author presents his observations on the nature of and the problems connected with the *Deśīnāmamālā* and, then lays for scholars in this field the scheme of further research on the work, the epitome of which is found in the following words : " Actually the further research work on the *Deśīnāmamālā* has to proceed in two closely related directions : Ascertainment of the correct form and meaning of the listed item and ascertainment of its currency and derivation ".[4] Then the *Studies* are divided in three sections in which are listed in all 597 Deśī vocables with the following aspects of their study :

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[1] " Kanarese Words in Deśī Lexicons ", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XII.

[2] i) " Kannada Words in Hemacandra's Deśīnāmamālā ", *Journal of the Karnatak University* (Hum.), Vol. VII, (ii) Kannada Words in Deśī Stock, *Ibid.* Vol. XIII, (iii) Kannada Element in Dhātvādeśas, *Ibid.* Vol. IX. (iv) The Deśī Element in Middle Indo-Aryan and Kannada, *Ibid.* Vol. X, 1966.

[3] P. V. Research Institute, Benares Hindu University, Varanasi, 1966.

I. Formal Variation in the Deśya items of the *Deśīnāmamālā* :
1) Graphic Variation, 2) Phonological Variation.

II. Correction of Erroneous Interpretations.

III. Some Deśya Items from Svayambhū's *Paumacariya* (I–XX) :
1) Items common with the *Deśīnāmamālā*, 2) Items not recorded in the *Deśīnāmamālā*.

I was actually induced by some aspects of these *Studies*, especially by 1 and 2, in Section I and 2 in Section III, and had a close search for Kannada loans in the listed stock of Deśya vocables and, thus, could pick up a few items.[5]

The following words appear to have been borrowed from Kannada :

Pusa (*DNM* 6. 53)- *mṛja,* to wipe. Cf. Kannada (K.) *pūsu.* Cf. also Telugu (Te.) *pūsu*, Tamil (T.) *pūju*. The *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (Dh.) also includes it. The Kannada meaning is to smear, besmear etc. Hence the borrowal appears to have been with a semantic change. *puṁsa–* with nasalisation, *phusa–* with aspiration and *puṁccha–* with *sa/ccha* variation, appear to be later developments.

Ubbaro (*DNM* 1. 126) – *Viṣamonnatapradeśaḥ*, an uneven raised place. From K. *ubbu* – to swell, increase etc. Cf. Te. and T. *uppu*. Kannada also possesses *ubbara* – the state of being swollen, risen etc. Cf. also Te. and T. *ubbara*, and not *ubbūro*, seems to be the correct form. In addition to the correct interpretation given by the author, the other meaning viz., unevenly raised, also might have been in vogue. Or the word might have had the other shade of meaning too.

Kurulo (*DNM* 2. 63) – *kuṭilakeśaḥ*. Cf. K. *kuruḷ* – curly hair. Cf. also Te. and T. *kurul*. The author's interpretation of the word, in the context of Hemacandra's illustrated verse, may be another shade of its meaning.

Khollo (occurring many times in the *Paumacariya* of Svayambhū and the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta (*MP*) – hollow, a hollow chasm, deep cavity. Cf. K. *koḷḷa* – depth, a deep place, a clift of a rock etc. Aspiration of stops is normal not only in borrowal but also in the same language in different times and places. Words like *kholla, misiya* (*MP*)[6] etc., which are not listed in Deśī lexicons, are indeed very interesting for they do induce us to search other Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa works for many a loans of this kind.

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[4] *Ibid* p. 8.

[5] It may be noted that several other Deśī vocables have been already indicated to be such loans in papers listed in fn. 2 above.

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[6] Noted by Dr. Mrs. SHRIYAN, " Some Foreign Loan Words in Puṣpadanta's Apabhraṁśa ", *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. XXV. pp. 26–37.

EPITHETS OF LORD MAHĀVĪRA IN EARLY JAINA CANONS

By

DALSUKH MALVANIA, AHMEDABAD

There were many groups of the Śramaṇas, each of them having a leader. This fact is proved sufficiently by the Pāli *Piṭakas.* All such leaders are given the following common epithets in the Pāli canon.

> "सङ्घी चेव, गणी च, गणाचरियो च, ञातो, यसस्सी, तित्थकरो, साधुसम्मतो वहुजनस्स, रत्तञ्ञू, चिरपव्वजितो, अद्धगतो, वयोअनुप्पत्तो" –दीघ सामञ्ञफलसुत्त।

In addition to these common epithets in Pāli canon Lord Māhavīra, the leader of the group of Nigganthas, was further given such epithets as; "निगण्ठो, आवुसो नाटपुत्तो सव्वञ्ञ सव्वदस्सावी, अपरिसेसं ञाणदस्सनं पटिजानाति, चरतो च मे तिट्ठतो च सुत्तस्स च जागरस्स च सत्वतं समितं ञाणदस्सनं पच्चुपट्ठितं ति"–मज्झिमनिकाय, देवदहसुत्तं.

In this paper I want to discuss the epithets of Lord Mahāvīra found in some of the texts of the Jain canonical literature. As these texts are not of the same time, I shall take them one by one according to their chronological order. This procedure will help us to know as to how a cluster of epithets was developed in the course of time, as to how the final one was arrived at, and as to how some of the common epithets became the property of a particular group-leader. The discussion will also make it clear that the epithets given to Lord Mahāvīra in the Pāli *Piṭakas* do not belong to the early period of time. Again it will prove the *Ācārāṅga* part I to be earlier than the Pāli *Piṭakas.* It will also be clear from the discussion that as time passed on, some of these epithets acquired the status of names having lost their status of adjectives.

The epithets, viz. Arihanta, Arhat, Buddha Jina, Vīra, Mahāvīra and Tathāgata were not the sole property of a leader of a particular sect whether Brahmin or Śramaṇa. But it seems that they became popular amongst the Śramaṇic sects especially for Mahāvīra, Gosāla and Buddha with the result that they were dropped by the Brahmin sects for their leaders. Similarly, the term Buddha (139, 177, 882, 204) was used for an intelligent person but after Gautama it became the sole property of Buddhism and became the special name of Gautama. The term Buddha, though used as an epithet in early days for Māhavīra, does not denote him in later period. The terms, Vīra and

Mahāvīra were common for a heroic person, but we see that they have become the real names of Lord Vardhamāna; thus in course of time the original name Vardhamāna was thrown in background giving place to the terms Vīra and Mahāvīra. The terms Jina, and Arhat were common for all the leaders of Śramaṇas and we see that the word Jaina was not the property of the followers of Lord Mahāvīra alone. It should be noted that the followers of Buddha were known for a long time as Jainas, but now the case is not so and only the followers of Mahāvīra are denoted by the word. Same is the case with the term Tathāgata, and we now see that only lord Buddha is denoted by it.

In this way the denotation of these words, though broad in early days, has become limited in course of time. In this context I shall try here to collect the various epithets given to Lord Mahāvīra in the earlier canonical literature of the Jainas.

Ācārāṅga, Part I

The first part of the *Ācārāṅga* can be sub-divided in two sections. The chapters in the beinning giving the gist of the preaching is the first section and the last chapter, depicting the ascetic life of Lord Mahāvīra, is the second section. Let us now see the epithets used in them for Lord Mahāvīra.

In his mendicant life Mahāvīra calls himself a 'Bhikkhu' (9. 2. 12.). He is also called 'Nāyaputta' (9. 1. 10.) and Nāyasuya indicating his clan, but both of these terms have become his names also.

He is sometimes given an epithet 'Muni' which is generally used for an ordinary ascetic or monk.

That even the Śramaṇas were using the term 'Māhaṇa' (Brāhmaṇa) for their respected persons is well-known from the *Dhammapada* of the Pali canon as well as from the *Uttarādhyayana* of the Jaina canon. So it is but natural that Māhaṇa be used as one of the epithets of Mahāvīra (9. 1. 23; 9. 2. 16; 9. 3. 14; 9. 4. 17; 9. 2. 10; 9. 4. 3). He is also called Nāṇī (9. 1. 10) and Mehāvī (9. 1. 16) which fact indicates that he was not only a person of good character but was endowed with knowledge also. He is again and again given the epithet 'Mahāvīra' (9. 1. 13; 9. 3. 8; 9. 4. 14; 9. 2. 1; 9. 3. 13) for his valour shown with regard to his ascetic life. And we see that it has become his real name. He is respectfully called Samaṇa Bhagavaṁ (9. 1. 1.) and the terms Bhagavaṁ, Bhagavonte, Bhagavayā occur so often that we can easily surmise that during the period he had become a highly venerable person amongst many such ascetics (9. 1. 4, 15; 9. 2. 5, 6, 15; 9. 3. 12, 16. 9. 4. 1, 3, 5; 9. 3. 7; 9. 4. 12; 9. 1. 23; 9. 2. 6.

Though he was not omniscient (*Choumatthe vi* 9. 4. 15) he was *akasāi*– without any defilement and was also *vigayagehī*–without any longing (9. 4. 15).

It is clear that though he is given an epithet like Bhagavaṁ, he is not called here in this portion Tīrthaṅkara. And as regards Bhagavaṁ we should note here that even in the later portion of the canon even the ordinary Śramaṇas and Sthaviras are called Bhagavanta (II. 71, 162). In fact, there was a rule that an ascetic should address even an ordinary woman as 'Bhagavati' (II. 134). This indicates that the term 'Bhagavam' was not used for a leader or the head of a sect, and though a term for showing respect it did not had the meaning of an exalted person.

As a preacher and head of a sect

Now we turn to the preaching portion contained in the first eight chapters of the *Ācārāṅga* part I. Here in many places the terms 'Vīra' and 'Maharīra' are used but it should be noted that they do not refer to Lord Mahāvīra but to other persons who have shown valour in their ascetic life. (1. 172; 1. 185, 188; 1. 140). We should also note that though while describing Mahāvīra's ascetic life he is called 'Vīra' as well as 'Mahāvīra', as we have seen, we must conclude that there is the tendency towards the fact that Mahāvīra should become his name. This also is clearly established by the fact that the Pali *Piṭakas* mention Mahāvīra as Nigaṇṭha Naṭaputta and not as Mahāvīra. So we can conclude that Lord Mahāvīra became famous by that name after the time of Pali *Piṭaka*.

In this part Lord Mahāvīra is referred to as 'Nayapeetta' (8. 8. 12), 'Mahanana maimaya' (200, 206), भगवया (1, 10, 15, 16, 23, 45, 52, 58, 90, 185, 214, 216, 220). Once he is referred to as भगव्या पवेइयं आसुपन्नेणं जाणया, पासया (200). Here we see that he is called Asuprajna and also having नाण and दंसण. At other place he is called 'Kausala' (166). But nowhere he is referred to as Tīrthaṅkara. In *Dīghanikāya* etc. though he is given the epithet Tīrthaṅkara, it is significant that in *Ācārāṅga* part I nowhere he is referred to as such. This may signify that this portion of the *Acārāṅga* is anterior to *Dīghanikāya*.

Lord Mahāvīra in this part is called 'Muni' (153, 159) being ranked with other such 'munis'.

Here we find the use of 'Arahanta Bhagavanta' (126) and Jina (5. 5) which shows that there were many such persons who were called Arihanta or Jina and Lord Mahāvīra was one of them.

The epithet 'Arahā' was also used for the Buddha and the use of this term was not absent in the Vedic literature. But when this word was used frequently for their leaders by the Śramaṇas the word was dropped by the Vedic writers.

Like Māhaṇa the term 'Veyavī' was also in vogue in ancient days for the learned and so it is used in such sense in the *Ācārāṅga* (139). Such is also the case with the terms Aria (146, 207, 187) 'Mahesi' (160) and Medhāvī (191). The term 'Jina' though used (162) in *Ācārāṅga* part I it is surprising that it is not used with reference to Lord Mahāvīra.

Sattha (188), though used only once for Mahāvīra, is frequently used for Buddha.

To conclude, we can say that here the terms Muni, Māhaṇa, Nayaputta, Vīra, Māhavīra and Bhagavan were main epithets for Lord Mahāvīra. But we must bear in mind that here also the epithet Tīrthaṅkara is not used.

In Pāli *Piṭaka*, as we have seen, Lord Mahāvīra is referred to again and again by the terms Savvaññū and Savvadassi, but in *Acārāṅga* we do not come across such terms; instead, we find the terms such as – अहिन्नाणदंसणे (9. 1. 11), आययचक्खू लोगविपस्सी (93), परमचक्खू (150), अविज्ज (3. 2. 9), सव्वसमन्नागयपन्नाण (155), Anelisamani (9. 1, 116). Some of these terms may convey the meaning of omniscience, but it is significant that the proper term Savvaṇṇu is not used. We will see that this term is frequent in later Jaina literature so we may not be wrong if we conclude that this term is introduced in the period later than the time of the *Ācārāṅga* part I and this will show that the *Ācārāṅga* part I is earlier than the portions of Pāli–*Piṭakas* in which this term occurs.

Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Part I

In *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* part I we see further development. Here we can have the common epithets like Samana and Māhaṇa, but many more are added, and some of the early epithets have become names in this part of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*. In *Ācārāṅga* Vīra and Mahāvīra were simple epithets but in *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* they have become the names (1. 1. 1; 1. 1. 27; 14. 2. 22; 1. 9. 24; 1. 14. 11.). For the first time Mahāvīra is given an epithet of 'Nigganṭha' (1. 14. 11) which appears in Pali–*Piṭakas* as Niganṭha, Nāṭaputta. Nāya, Nāyaputte and Nāyasuye are also used in *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (1. 1. 27; 2. 3. 32; 2 3. 31; 6. 26. 14, 23; 6. 21, 24). Like Mahāvīra now he is 'Mahāmuṇi' (1. 9. 24; 2. 2. 15; 2. 1. 14). In *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* Kāsave indicating his *gotra* is added (2. 2. 7; 2. 2. 25; 2. 3. 20; 3. 3. 2. 3. 4. 21; 11. 5, 32; 15, 21; 5. 12; 6. 7). Showing his relation to Vaiśālī he is also known as Vesalic (2. 3. 22). The previous tradition of Jina and Araha and Bhagava is also continued (2. 3. 19; 2. 3. 22; 6. 26; 6. 29; 2. 3. 22; 16. 1; 2. 3. 14). In *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* it is quite clear that there was an order or religion known as Jiṇasāsaṇa (3. 4. 9) or Jiṇāṇa Dhammaṁ (6. 7) or Bhagavānusāsaṇa (2. 3. 14); and we find the mention of Jinavajana (14. 13) and Jinahiya (9. 6). The terms Buddha and Tathāgata are also not absent (11. 25; 11. 36; 12. 16; 12. 18; 15. 18; 13. 2; 15. 20) but as mentioned above later on they indicated only the Buddha and not Mahāvīra. Here also as in *Ācārāṅga* the term Savvannū is absent, but we find न नायपुत्ता परमत्थि नाणी, (6. 24), Aṇantacakkhū (6. 6; 6. 25), Savvadamise abhibhūya ṇāṇī (2. 5), daṁsaṇa–nāṇasīlo (6. 14); Aṇantaṇāṇadaṁsī (9. 24) and evaṁ se udāhu aṇuttaraṇāṇi aṇuttaradaṁsī anuttaranāṇadamsaṇadhare arahā-Nāyaputte bhagavaṁ Vesālie (2. 3. 22), Tilogadaṁsī (14. 16) and Jagasavvadaṁsiṇā (2. 331).

A technical term for an omniscient person is used here for the first time. – पुच्छिसह केवलिभं महेसी-५. १. १, एवं केवलिणो मयं ११. ३८, केवलियं समाहि १४. १५.

The following *gāthā* is curious because there is no mention of Jñāna varaṇa:

जमईयं पडुप्पन्नं लागमिस्सं च नाधओ सव्वं मन्नइ तं ताई दंसणावरणंतए। १५. १

The following traditional terms are also present in *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* :– Nigganṭha (9. 24); Māhaṇa (11. 1; 9. 1), Mahesī (6. 26), परममहेसी (6. 17); Muṇi (6. 7), पभू (6. 28), समंणं (6. 14, 23). But it should be noted that the term तित्थयर is not used.

Ācārāṅga, Part II

In the second part of *Ācārāṅga* the life of Mahāvīra as a householder is given (2. 175). It should be noted that nothing of the kind is found in the *Ācārāṅga* part I and also in *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*. Here he is depicted as Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra (2 175). The original name Kumara Vardhamāṇa given by his parents is mentioned (2. 176).

The tradition that the epithet 'Mahāvīra' was given by the gods seems to have been established here for the first time (2. 1. 177). Here the whole varnaka for Mahāvīra is thus : *Samaṇe Bhagavaṁ Mahāvīre Nae Nayaputte Nayakalanivvatte Videhe Videhadinne Videhajacce Videhasumale* (2. 179). Here we can see the tendency of depicting him with the epithets derived from his parental names. We are sure that his mother was called Videhadinnā (2. 177). The epithets which were well established such as Jiṇa (2. 179), Jiṇavara, Vīra (2. 179) etc. are also found here. But here for the first time the element of mythology enters into the field in the form that the gods performed the Titthayarābhisea (2. 176) and also that he was requested by the gods that: *titthaṁ pavattehi* (2. 179), which can be compared with such a request to the Buddha by the Brahma.

For the first time he is called here the Titthayara (2. 179), and also Savvannū, the epithet by which he is known in Pali *Piṭaka* as *Bhagavaṁ Arahaṁ Jiṇe Kevalī Savvannū Savvabhā-vadarisī* (2. 179). And here we find 'Kevalipannatta dhamma' (2. 179) and again and again 'Kevalī buya' (2. 13, 17, 26, 36, 48, 115, 116, 146, 152, 179) which shows that due to his being an omniscient person his preachings were to be accepted.

Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Part II

On the authority of the Niryukti (6) on *Ācā.* we are sure that the second part of *Ācārāṅga* was added in later times. But such is not the case with the second part of *Sūtrakṛtāṅga.* Yet we can say that the second part of *Sū.* is later, because even the epithets for Mahāvīra establish this fact. We can prove that it is not ealier than even the second part of *Ācā.* There is no mention of 'twelve aṅgas' in the *Ācā.* but the *Sū.* mentions the *Ganipiṭaka* (2. 1. 11). In *Sū.* we find the mention of Dhammatittha (2. 1. 8) and Titthayara (2. 7. 11). The mention of *Coyae pannavagam evamvayāsī* (2, 3. 2) and 'Ācarya āha' (2. 4. 2, 4) definitely goes to prove its later date. The traditional epithets such as Samaṇa (2. 6. 1), Māhaṇa (2. 6. 4), Samaṇe Ṇāyaputte (2. 6. 19), Ṇāyaputta (2. 6. 40) are found. And we also find the Buddha (2. 6. 42), Muni (2. 6. 42) etc. which are of the same type. Here even the pupil of Mahāvīra, is called Bhagavaṁ (2. 7. 4). The knowledge of the Lord is called *Kevalena puṇṇeṇa ṇāṇeṇa* (2. 6. 50). The teaching of Lord Mahavira is described as Nigganṭha Dhamma (2. 6. 42) and Nigganthepavayana (2. 2. 23; 2. 7. 2.) the epithet which is found in Pali *Piṭaka* also. Here for the first time we have the mention of three Jewels viz. Jñāna, Darśana and Cāritra (2. 7. 14). We are further told that the followers of Pārśva were known as Nigganthas and they were specified as 'pāsāvaccijja' (2. 7. 4.)

In other Aṅgas and non-Aṅgas

In the Aṅgas which are later than *Ācārāṅga* and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* generally we find Samaṇe Bhagavaṁ Mahāvīre. But we must take note of a Varnaka which was well established during canonical period – समणे भगवं महावीरे [1] आइगरे तित्थयरे सहसंबुद्धे पुरिसुत्तमे [2] पुरिससीहे पुरिसवरपुण्डरीए पुरिसवरगन्धहत्थीह [3] लोगुत्तमे लोगनाहे लोगोप्पदीव लोगपज्जोयकरे अभयदए चक्खुदए मगग्दए सरणदए [4] धम्मदेसए धम्मसारहा धम्मवरचाउरन्त-चक्कवट्टी अप्पडिहयवरनाणदंसणधरे वियट्टछाउमे जिणे जवए बुद्धे वोहए मुत्ते मोयए सव्वणू सव्वदरिसी। भगवती सू० ५

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[1] In *Mahāvyutpatti* one of the name of the Buddha is Vīra.

[2] In the *Mahāo* Buddha is called Narottama and Sakyasimha.

[3] Bodhisattva is called – Gandhahasti – *Mahāo* 704.

[4] In *Mahāo Saranya* and *Sarana.*

Here we may remember the improtance of Puruṣa since the *Ṛgveda.* In various names of Viṣṇu we find Puruṣottama, Puruṣapuṇḍarīka and Puruṣavara. Gandhahasti is an epithet of the powerful elephant and Gandhagaja is found in *Caraka.* Lokanātha is also used for Viṣṇu, etc. Lokapradīpa is used for the Buddha in *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa.

with this Varṇaka we may compare the well-known Varṇaka of the Buddha which is explained in *Visuddhimagga* (p. 133)– 'सो भगवा अरहं सम्यासंवुद्धे विज्जाचरणसंपन्नो सुगतो लोकविदू अनुत्तरो पुरिसदम्मसारथी सत्था देवमनुस्सानं बुद्धो भगवा'–अंगुत्तर ३. २८५

SOME OBSCURE EXPRESSIONS IN THE MṚCCHAKAṬIKA

By

R. P. PODDAR, VAISHALI

The *Mṛcchakaṭika* has some obscure expressions and in spite of attempts made by annotators and translaters the obscurity in a number of cases has not been finally dispelled. So efforts in this direction have to be kept up. It is in this spirit that a few such expressions have been taken up here for consideration.

In the first act Śakāra sends a message through Vidūṣaka to Cārudatta that the latter should return Vasantasenā to him, failing which he will bear him an endless enmity. He recites a verse[1] and then says to Vidūṣaka :

'शोश्तकं भणेशि । लश्तकं भणेशि ।'

It has generally been translated as, 'you shall say this well, shall say this craftily[2]' (शोभनं भणिष्यसि । सकपटं भणिष्यसि ।). Etymologically the word शोश्तकं seems to be स + स्तवकं meaning 'with praise or with the hymn in praise'. By स्तवक Śakāra probably means his own verse and wants Vidūṣaka to recite the same before Cārudatta in an artful manner (लश्तकं < √लश् = to apply an art) as done by himself.

In the second act the terms कट, त्रेता and पावर[3] denote lucky throws at the game of dice. Pṛthvīdhara explains these as पूरा, तीआ and दूआ, having respectively four, three and two points. कट is a Prakritization of कृत and पावर in all probability has come down from द्वापर[4] through assimilation (*वापर) and

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1. कश्चालुका गोछडलित्तवेण्टा शाके अ शुक्खे तलिदे हु मंशे ।
   भत्ते अ हेमंतिअलत्तिशिद्धे लीणे अ वेले ण हु होदि पूदी ॥ ५१ ॥

2. KALE : speak well and speak craftily.
   KARMARKAR : You shall say (this) well, shall say craftily.
   PARANJAPE : say it well, say it quick.
   RYDER : Tell it to him prettily, tell it to him craftily.

3. त्रदर्दुरक : त्रेताहृतसर्वस्वः पावरपतनाच्चशोषितशरीरः ।
   नर्दितदर्शितमार्गः कटेनविनिपातितो यामि ॥ ९ ॥

4. कृत and द्वापर have been used in the *Mahābhārata* also in the sense of throws at the game of dice.
   cf. नाक्षान्क्षिपति गाण्डीवं न कृतं द्वापरं न च ।
   ज़्वलतां निशितान्वाणांस्तीक्ष्णान्क्षिपति गाण्डिवम् ॥ २३ ॥
   विराट ४५

metathesis (पावर)[5]. But these, namely कट and पावर became current in Sanskrit, as is evident from the context like कितव which is a popular derivation from कृतविद् = well-versed in obtaining कृत[6], the highest throw at dice (even deceitfully). Against the lucky or the winning scores कृत, त्रेता and द्वापर there is the unlucky or the losing score termed कलि[7]. In this way the names of the four *yugas* in order seem to have been adopted to indicate various throws at the game of dice. These respectively denoted four, three, two and one points. Dice marked with numbers one to four on the four faces are common archaeological finds on ancient Indian sites.

There is one word वीहत्थं[8] in Act II verse 17. Saṁvāhaka, who has been disgraced as a gambler, decides to become a Buddhist monk. After having made this resolution he reads out the following verse :

जूदेण तं कदं मे जं वीहत्थं जणश्श शव्वश्श ।
एह्वि पाअडशीशे णलिंदमग्गेण विहलिश्शं ॥ १७ ॥

Both Prof. KALE and Prof. KARMARKAR render वीहत्थं as विहस्तं. The former translates the expression 'वीहत्थं जणश्श शव्वश्श' as 'beyond the power of all people'. By way of elucidation he adds, द्यूतेन मे तत् दशान्तरं कृतं (referring to his resolve of becoming a Buddhist mendicant) यत् सर्वस्य जनस्य विहस्तं (विगतः हस्तः यस्मिन्) in which no man can lay his hands on me, no man will get me into his clutches, for gambling has led me to renounce the world.' Prof. KARMARKAR translates the expression as 'helpless (or incapacitated) in the whole world (or among all people)'. By way of elucidation he adds, 'Sam-

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5. The word continues its journey further since the Hindi phrase पौबारह पड़ना seems to have been derived from this by popular etymology. The phrase denotes some lucky achievement and is related with some lucky throw at the game of dice as is evident from पड़ना meaning throws.

6. At *Jātaka* VI-228 the connection with कट (कृत) is evident, cf. 'कटञ्‍ अलातो गण्हाति किटवा सिक्खितो यथा'.

7. cf. विधुरजातक (91-92).
ते पाविसुं अक्खमदेन मत्ता राजा कुरूनं पुण्णको चापि यक्खो ।
राजा कलिं विच्चिनं अग्गहेसि कटमग्गही पुण्णको नाम यक्खो ॥
ते तत्थ जूते उभयो समागते रञ्‍ञं सकासे सखीनञ्च मज्झे ।
अजेसि यक्खो नरवीयसेट्ठं तत्थप्पनादो तुमुलो बभूव ॥

8. a) PARANJAPE connects it with √हस् and renders वीहत्थं as 'ridiculous.'
   b) Dr. RYDER prefers the reading वीहच्छं (वीभत्सं).
   c) Mr. Lalla DIKSHIT explains the word as meaning 'fearless.'
   d) According to Pṛthvīdhara the explanation is 'gambling has reduced me to a state in which one is to fear all'. (द्यूतेन तत्कृतं मम सर्वस्माज्जनाद्बिभ्यते यत्). To this Prof. KALE adds, 'but we do not know what Pṛithvidhara's reading was'.
   e) Sri Jivananda Vidyasagar : विहस्तं व्याकुलं व्याकुलीकरणमित्यर्थः । अवमाननमिति यावत् ।

vāhaka finds himself in high spirits at his resolve of becoming an ascetic. He contrasts his former state of a gambler with the new state of an ascetic. The first line refers to the gambler's state. As a gambler he was always perplexed (विगतः हस्तः यस्य स विहस्तः विहस्तं व्याकुलत्वम्) and afraid of people, he had to move about furtively in lanes and by-lanes, in order that people may not see him or catch him unaware; now as an ascetic holding his head high up, he could roam about boldly on king's highway'. He rejects unceremoniously all other interpretations which do not maintain that two different states are described – one in each line. This explanation is convincing no doubt, but the problem here, as in the previous one too, is about the transition from विहस्त to वीहत्थ; ordinarily one gets विहत्थ < विहस्त. So there is room for adding one to the already existing numerous explanations of the word which have been sagaciously considered by both Prof. KALE and Prof. KARMARKAR. It is possible to connect the word with विश्वस्त. Of the latter the Pali form is विस्सत्थ obtained through assimilation of श्व and स्त. A further developed form is वीसत्थ in which the conjunct स्स is simplified as स and the previous vowel is consequently lengthened. Now, in Māgadhī स sometimes changes to ह. With this change of स > ह one arrives at वीहत्थ < वीसत्थ. This change is more frequent in Apabhraṁśa and in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* the language of the gamblers has some traits of Apabhraṁśa. Thus the whole verse my be translated as 'gambling has done to me that (referring to his resolution of becoming an ascetic) which makes me trustful to all, now I shall, with my head aloft, walk on the high-ways'. It may be noted that his particular disgrace was that he had lost the trust of people. He promised to pay back the debt of the gambler and the president of the gambling house but they would not take him at his words. He offered to teach Vasantasenā's maid his shampooers art. But she declined. He doubts that it was because she could not trust her maid into a gambler's hand – he gives his reaction in a soliloquy. Naturally what he coveted most was the trust of people which, as he had anticipated, was achieved by him through asceticism – as an ascetic he could lead Vasantasenā to a monastery and could walk with her on the highway with confidence, without the fear of incurring any censure.

In the 4th Act Vidūṣaka ridicules Vasantasenā's mother on account of her being extremely plump. Finding her seated in the middle of a particular apartment he remarks, 'Is it that the door of the house was constructed after having first put her inside, like the idol of Mahādeva?'[9] This remark has a particular bearing upon the ancient practice of cutting a door into a room after the walls have been erected specially in *kacca* structures. The door generally had to be arched so as to balance the weight of the super-incumbent mass. In case the idol which was to be put inside happened to be too big for the planned door, it had to be put inside before the construction of the wall. And then the wall having been erected, the door of the appropriate size was cut into it.

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[9] किं एदं पवेसिअ महादेवं विअ दुआरसोहा इह घरे णिम्मिदा ।

Lastly we come to a word हुलुमुलि in the 8th Act. Śakāra intending to kill Vasantasenā sends Viṭa away under the pretence of wooing her in private. But he suspects, as actually happens to be the case, that Viṭa might close to conceal himself behind some tree to see what he really intended to do. He says :

> भोदु । मालइश्शं । अघवा कवडक्कावडिके एशे वह्मणं वुड्ढखोडे
> कदावि ओवालिदशलीले गडिअ शिआले भविअ हुलुमुलिंकलेदि ।

Here the word हुलुमुलि has generally been translated as 'cheating or playing a trick '[10]. This word both morphologically and orthographically is very close to 'हुलुकमुलुक' used in the present eastern dialects of Bihar, denoting peeping in a deceptive manner. Initially the word might have been हुडमुलि denoting the deception usually practised by हुड, a hyena. The usual practice of this animal is to run away a little distance and then to conceal itself and cast stealthy glances at the hunter.

These are but a few of the obscure words and phrases found in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, a complete list of which is appended[11]. While some of these have been explained away by scholars, others yet require careful consideration.

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[10] The expression 'कदाविहुलुमलिंकलेदि' has been translated by Karmarkar as '(he) might play false', by Kale as '(he) might cheat' by Mr. Paranjape as '(he) might play me a trick', by Dr. Ryder as '(he) might raise a howl'.

[11] Some of the obscure expressions used in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* are either missing or modified to become more comprehensible in the corresponding contexts in the Cārudatta. This fact further strengthens the opinion that the Cārudatta is a later stage version of the first five acts of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

परिशिष्ट

अंक– १ वरण्डलम्वुअ णववहुकेसहत्थं, शोश्तकं, लश्तकं.

अंक– २ गद्दही, शती, कता, त्रेता, पावर, नर्दित, कट, पेदडा, गोह, गोसाविआ, वीहत्थं, वामचलण, गण्ड, रायवत्थहारी.

अंक– ३ कनकशक्ति, ब्रह्मण्यदेव, देवव्रत, भास्करनन्दी, रअणसट्ठि.

अंक– ४ ओवग्गिदा गवक्खेसु वादं गेण्हदि सलिलगगारीओ, एदं पवेसिअ–दुआरसोहा णिम्मिदा, पादुअन्तरप्पविट्ठा विअ लेट्ठुआ, कवट्ठ डाइणी.

अंक– ५ आखण्डल.

अंक– ६ खस, खत्ति, खड, खडट्टोविलअ, कण्ण, पावरणअ, चीण, वर्वर, खेर, खाण, मुख, मद्दुघाद.

अंक– ७ शलावके कोश्टके कोम्भकाले वा, हुलुमुलि, पतोलिआ, लुद्देलाआ, शुवन्धू, किलागदश्श, णाणक, कहावण, वोडिअ, गण्ठी, जूलक, वाला, कुन्तल.

अंक– ९ श्वेतकाक, द्वार्भाव, पिण्डारक.

अंक– १० आहीन्ता, तत्तिल्ल, शज्झवासिणि, हुड, शामित्र ।

BAPPA BHAṬṬI AND HIS TĀRĀGAṆA

By

A. N. UPADHYE, MYSORE

Bappa Bhaṭṭi is one of those few authors about whom we get a good deal of information in different Prabandhas, mostly from Gujarat and belonging to different periods later than 1200 A. D. In their present form, they are all composed nearly five hundred years after Bappa Bhaṭṭi. The most important of them may be listed here:

i) There is the *Bappa-Bhaṭṭi-sūri-carita* in Sanskrit, interspersed with Prakrit quotations. It is assigned to 13th – 14th century A. D.[1]

ii) The *Prabhāvaka-carita* of Prabhācandra or Candraprabha was revised by Pradyumnasūri in A. D. 1277. It contains a life-story of Bappa Bhaṭṭi among its biographies of twenty-two Jaina teachers, poets and authors.[2]

iii) The *Prabandha-kośa* of Rājaśekhara (A. D. 1349) has a *prabandha* dealing with the career of Bappa Bhaṭṭi. This gives more details and additional facts, and has much common, even in expressions, with the sources under Nos. i and ii, noted above. The story about Bappa Bhaṭṭi is almost identical in these three.[3]

iv) The *Tīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabha (*c.* 1331 A. D.) also gives a few details about Bappa Bhaṭṭi.

v–vii) The *Vicārasāra-prakaraṇa* of Pradyumnasūri (*c.* 1278 A. D.), The *Gāthāsahasrī* of Samayasundara (*c.* 1630) and the *Paṭṭāvali* of Ravivardhanagaṇi (*c.* 1683 A. D.) have also to say a few things about Bappa Bhaṭṭi, especially his dates of birth, death etc. after the date of Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra.

It is quite probable that the details recorded in the above sources are based on oral traditions which have suffered additions and modifications in course of transmission. The dates given have no agreement; his date of birth, for instance, varies between A. D. 744 to 774. They can be taken as tentative to be confirmed by authentic epigraphical and literary evidence.

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[1] S. P. PANDIT and N. B. UTAGIKAR : *Gaüḍavaho*, Introduction, pp. 125 ff., Poona 1927.

[2] For the detailed account and for its prose digest in Sanskrit see S. K. AIYANGAR : 'The Bappa Bhaṭṭi Carita and the Early History of the Gurjara Empire', *Journal of the BB of the R.A.S.* New Series, III, Nos. 1–2, pp. 101 ff., and 313 ff., Bombay 1928.

[3] H. R. KAPADIA : *Caturviṁśatikā*, Agamodaya Samiti ed., Appendix Kha, pp. 187 ff., Bombay 1926,

Bappa Bhaṭṭi had his teacher in Siddhasena Sūri who made him a Sūri at the recommendation of king Āma, the son and successor of Yaśovarman of Kanauj whom he converted. Bappa Bhaṭṭi is said to have defeated a Buddhist scholar Vardhana-kuñjara by name in a miraculous manner, with the help of a deity: in this, he was helped by Vākpati whom also he converted etc. Vākpati's conversion is not confirmed by any other sources or from the works of Vākpati. The Prabandhas say that Vākpati composed the *Mahumahavijaya* after the *Gaüḍavaho*; but Vākpati himself tells us that he had written the former long before the latter. The biographic details of Bappa Bhaṭṭi are obviously built up with the object of religious edification: his close association with Āma and his being a contemporary of Vākpati (7th-8th century A. D.) may be accepted as facts of history.

Bappa Bhaṭṭi was a distinguished Ācārya with great influence in the contemporary royal courts; a line of succession of Teachers started from him and to this line belongs Sādhāraṇa, alias Śrī-Siddhasena-sūri, the author of the *Vilāsavaī-kahā* (A. D. 1066). This is clear from the following Gāthās:[4]

रायसहासेहरसिरिवप्पहट्टिसूरिस्स ।
जसभद्दसूरिगच्छे महुरादेसे सिरोहाए ॥
आसि सिरिसंतिसूरी तस्स पए आसि सूरिजसदेवो ।
सिरिसिद्धसेणसूरी तस्स वि सीसो जडमई सो ॥
साहारणो त्ति नामं सुपसिद्धो अत्थि पुव्वनामेणं ॥
थुइयोत्ता वहुभेया जस्स पढिज्जंति देसेसुं ॥

Earlier scholars like S. P. PANDIT,[5] S. Krishnaswami AIYANGAR[6] etc. have studied most of these sources with a view to ascertaining the historical value of the references to contemporary rulers and authors associated with Bappa Bhaṭṭi.

Bappa Bhaṭṭi is well-known as the author of the *Caturviṁśatikā*,[7] a hymn in Sanskrit, containing 96 verses in different metres, addressed to twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. Each Jina is praised in four verses. The style is heavy and embellished with both *śabda*- and *artha*-Alaṁkāras. Naturally some Sanskrit commentaries are written on it: without their aid many verses cannot be easily construed.

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[4] A. N. UPADHYE: 'The Vilāsavaī of Sādhāraṇa, An Introductory Study', *Journal of the Shivaji University*, No. 2, Kolhapur 1970.

[5] See foot-note 1.

[6] See foot-note 2.

[7] See foot-note 3.

The *Sāradā-stotra,* in thirteen Sanskrit verses, quite eloquent in style, is also composed by him. It gives indirectly datails about Sarasvatī as con, ceived in Jainism : her image is projected with reverence and devotion, even tinged with Tāntric halo ; and her favour is sought for poetic gifts and for entertaining royal patrons.

There is a third work of Bappa Bhaṭṭi and tha name of it is *Tārāgaṇa.* It was, so far, known from some references to it :

1) The *Prabhāvaka-carita* of Prabhācandra[8] (*c.* 1277 A. D.) speaks of it thus :

द्वापञ्चाशत्प्रवन्धाश्च कृतास्तारागणादय: ।
श्रीवप्पभट्टिनाथोक्तकविसारस्वतोपमा: ॥

Here Bappa Bhaṭṭi is credited with the composition of fifty-two Prabandhas, the *Tārāgaṇa* etc.

2) Dhanapāla refers to it in his *Tilakamañjarī* (*c.* 970 A. D. Kāvyamālā ed. Bombay 1903.) in this manner :

भद्रकीर्तेर्भ्रमत्याशा: कीर्तिस्तारागणाध्वना ।
प्रभा ताराधिपस्येव श्वेताम्बरशिरोमणे: ॥

The commentator takes *Bhadrakīrtiḥ = Bappa Bhaṭṭācāryaḥ* and *tārāgaṇādhvanā* (which has a double meaning) = *Tārāgaṇābhidhāna - kāvyamārgeṇa* or *tārāgaṇādhvanā = ākāśena.*

3) Lastly, Vādijaṅghāla (who refers to the *Daśarūpaka, c.* 974–76 A. D.), while commenting on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa,* I. 13 explains the term *kośa* by the following observation : [9]

कोशोऽप्यनेकभिन्नार्थकथाग्रथित: कथाकोश: कृष्णसार: तारागण: इति ।

On this Dr. V. RAGHAVAN remarks thus : ' The Kośa is a string or Collection of stories too, besides ideas, is a new information. The story-kośa is illustrated by a known work called Kathākośa. .The two other names Kṛṣṇasāra and Tārāgaṇa are obscure. All that we gather from them is that they are fancifull names for Collections.' Of course many Kathākośas are well-known. But I am wondering whether there is a defect in the readings of Vādijaṅghāla's reamrk. Are we to read it thus ?

कोशोंऽप्यनेकभिन्नार्थंगाथाग्रथित: गाथाकोश: कृष्णसार: तारागण: इति ।

From these three references, it is seen that the *Tārāgaṇa* is differently described as a Kāvya, Prabandha or Kośa.

Shri Agarachand NAHTA, Bikaner, drew my attention to a Ms. of the *Tārāgaṇa,* accompanied by a Sanskrit commentary. I have now got a photostat copy of it. I am working on an authentic edition of the Prakrit text and the Sanskrit commentary. It has in all twentytwo folios (written on both sides, excepting the first folio, in Nāgarī characters with *paḍimātrā*), but folios Nos. 14-16 are missing. As the last number shows, it has 175 Gāthās in all, but the colophon says that it has only 172 Gāthās:

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[8] Singhi Jain Series No. 13, Bombay.

[9] V. RAGHAVAN : *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa,* p. 629, Madras 1963.

महावादीन्द्र श्रीबप्पभट्टिसूरिकृतस्य सुभाषितकोशस्य द्वासप्तत्यधिकगाथाशतस्य etc.

As three folios are missing, we have lost in them Gāthās 100–125 along with their Sanskrit commentary: this is indeed a deplorable loss, because no other Ms. is known to us so far.

Some extracts[10] from the Ms. are given below:

i) Opening portion:

॥ ६० ॥ अर्हं ॥

नत्वा सर्वविदं विरच्यत इयं टीकेति तारागणः
कोशोऽयं परया प्रदोषविरहेऽप्याभाति कान्त्या यथा ।
अस्माभिः सुविविक्तवाक्यपवनैरुत्सारयद्भिर्महा
मोहोऽम्भोदततीर्जनस्य मनसि व्योम्नीव नीते मृजाम् ॥
नंदउ सच्छंदगई निम्मलपयपूरगारवमहग्घो ।
जलहिपडिरुद्धपसरो सुकईण सरस्सईपहवो ॥ १ ॥

सुकवीनां सरस्वतीप्रवाहो नन्दतु । सरस्वती वाक्तस्याः प्रवह ओघः स नन्दतु । कीदृगसौ । स्वच्छन्दगतिः । सुकवित्वादेव स्वाधीनशब्दार्थतया स्वच्छन्दा अपरायत्ता गतिः प्रवृत्तिर्यस्य स तथा । सह छन्दसा गाथादिरूपेण वर्तते इति स्वच्छन्दा सा तादृग्गतिः प्रवृत्तिर्यस्य स तथेति । पुनः कीदृक् । निर्मलपदपूरगौरवमहार्घः । निर्मलैरप शब्दत्वरहितैः पदैः सुप्तिङन्तैः पूरः पूर्णता तद्गौरवेण महार्घः श्रेष्ठः । पुनः जडधीप्रतिषिद्धप्रसरः । जडधीभिः प्रतिरुद्धो निवारितः प्रसारोऽस्येति । स हि यदि परं जडधियो मूर्खान् प्राप्य प्रस्खलति, यदि वा प्रस्तारस्थापनापेक्षया जलधिनैव प्रतिषिद्धप्रसर इत्येकोऽर्थः । अन्यत्र सरस्वती नाम नदी तस्याः प्रवहस्तेन सह श्लेषोऽयं वाक्प्रवाहस्य । स्वच्छन्दगतिः सोऽप्यत्यर्थश्लेषः । शेषः शब्दश्लेषः । तथाहि–निर्मलस्य पयसो जलस्य पूरगौरवेण महार्घः पूज्यः । पुनःजलधिना प्रतिषिद्धप्रसरः । नद्यो हि समुद्रमवाप्य विरमन्ति । एतदुक्तं भवति । सुकवीनां वाक्प्रवहः सरस्वतीसरित्प्रवह इव नन्दत्विति । अन्तर्भावितोपमश्लेषोऽयमिति ॥२॥

ii) Gathās 6–9:

सद्गुणाहिं नहाहिं विअ तिल्लपरिट्ठियत्थविहवाहिं ।
उच्चेउं गयवइणो गाहाओ तारयाओ व्व ॥ ६ ॥
तेणेस दोसपुण्णो गुणमयसंपुण्णकव्वरसियाण ।
आणाए पडिवद्धा कोसो तारायणो नाम ॥ ७ ॥
जेसिं जाणिहइ जणो सुहेण कोसम्मि संचरंतेहिं ।
ताइं सुभणियनिहिणो कइणो नामाइं वोच्छामि ॥ ८ ॥
जाणिहइ वप्पभट्टिं गुणाणुरायं च भद्दइत्ति च ।
तह गयवइमायरियं च सेयभिक्खुं च वाइं च ॥ ९ ॥

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[10] These extracts are edited and presented here with minor corrections.

शब्दो गुणोऽस्येति शब्दगुणं नभः। वैशेषिकमते गजपतिरपि समहार्द्रैः स्निग्धैर्ज्ञानशीलादिभिर्गुणैर्वर्तत इति। सार्द्रगुणो यदि वा शब्दं व्याकरणं गुणितवानभ्यस्तवानिति शब्दगुणः। तस्मा...नः अन्तर्मध्ये परिष्ठितोऽर्थानां सागरगिरिसरित्प्रभृतीनां विभवो बाहुल्यं यस्य तदन्तः प्रतिष्ठितार्थविभवं नभो, गजपतिरपि अन्तर्मनसि परिष्ठितः स्थिरभूतः अर्थस्य शब्दवाच्यस्य विभवः संपत्तिः यस्य स तथा। तस्माच्छन्दगुणादन्तः परिष्ठितार्थविभवान्नभस इव राजपतेर्वप्पभट्टेः सकाशाद् गाथाः तारका, इवोच्चित्य तेन शङ्कुकनाम्ना तारागणो नाम कोश एष प्रतिबद्धः। शेषं सुगममिति। कविर्वप्पभट्टेर्नामान्याह। जेसिं जाणिहइ –। जाणि-वप्पभट्टि–गाथाद्वयं सुगममिति।

iii) Gātha 175:

गंभीरो अण्णो च्चिय स एस सरसत्तणेण अग्घविओ।
कविकित्तीएसमुद्दो अण्णयगाहाउलो कोसो ॥१७५॥

कइकित्तीएसमुद्दो स एषः कोसो कोशः मुद्दो मुद्दायी। कस्याः। कइ कित्तीए। कवेर्वप्पभट्टेः कीर्तिः तस्याः मुदं विकासं ददातीति मुद्दः। अन्यत्र स एष समुद्रः यस्य कपिभिः सेतुबन्धः कृतः इति कपिकीर्त्या उपलक्षितः समुद्रः। ततः कइकित्तीएसमुद्दो इति प्राकृतशब्दसाम्यात् समुद्रश्लेष इति कोशस्य समुद्रधर्मास्तावत् कथ्यन्ते। कीदृगसावित्याह। गम्भीरो गम्भीरार्थत्वात्। अन्यत्र अगाधजलो गम्भीरः। तथा अणेयगाहाउलो अनेकगाथाभिराकुलः पूर्णः अन्यत्र अनेकग्राहैर्बहुलजलचरैः संकुल इति श्लेषं दर्शयित्वा व्यतिरेकमाह। भवति कोशोऽयमेतावता धर्मसाम्येन समुद्रः। किंतु सरसत्तणेण सरसतया विशिष्टरसयोगेन अग्घविओ पूर्णः। अण्णो च्चिय अन्य एव स समुद्रः। समुद्रो ह्ययं लवणरसोपेतत्वान्नविशिष्टरसयोगी। कोशस्त्वयं गाथानां स्वादुसत्वात् सरसत्वेन परिपूर्ण इति ॥ १७५ ॥

महावादीन्द्रश्रीवप्पभट्टिसूरिकृतस्य सुभाषितकोशस्य द्वासप्तस्यधिकगाथाशतस्य ॥ १ ॥ समाप्ता टीकां (?) तारागणस्येति ॥ छ ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥ ग्रंथाग्रं श्लोक १००० संख्या ॥

These extracts make it abundantly clear that Bappa Bhaṭṭi is the author of the *Tārāgaṇa*. He had various names like Bhadrakīrti, Gajapati etc. Some Śaṅkuka seems to have compiled this *Tārāgaṇa* collecting Gāthās of Bappa Bhaṭṭi, as the commentator suggests. This *Tārāgaṇa* is a Kośa, consisting of Gāthās. There is no doubt that Prabhācandra, Dhanapāla and Vādijaṅghāla are referring to one and the same *Tārāgaṇa*, though they describe it differently as Prabandha, Kāvya and Kośa.

The constitution of the Prakrit text and construction of the Sanskrit commentary present many difficulties. What is urgently needed is any other Ms. of this work.

HISTORY SECTION

THE RIVER KĀVERĪ IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

By

PRANAB KUMAR BHATTACHARYA, DARJEELING

The river Kāverī is one of the most celebrated rivers of South India mentioned in the Purāṇas. Most of the Purāṇas aver that the river emerges from the Sahya mountain (*Sahyapādād-Viniḥsṛtā*). The Sahya is generally identified with the part of the Western Ghats lying to the north of the Travancore hills, and the scholars take Kāverī as Ptolemy's Khaberos rising from the Adeisathron mountain range.[1] It is interesting to note in this connection that in some Purāṇas we find the mention of the Kāverī as issuing out of the Pāriyātra mountain,[2] while in some other from the Ṛkṣa mountain.[3]

Scholars like DR. SIRCAR,[4] S. M. ALI[5] and others[6] identify the Kāvarī of the Purāṇas with the famous river of southernmost part of India. SIRCAR thinks that the Tāpī (or Tāptī) and Kāverī are wrongly grouped together in the *Brahma Purāṇa* as rivers coming out of the Ṛkṣavat.[7]

But it appears, that there are at least two Kāverī rivers of which the other Purāṇas are not altogether unaware. Thus the *Matsya Purāṇa* mentions the river Kāverī of the Sahya mountain along with Purāṇas,[8] while it refers to another Kāverī river issuing from the Pāriyātra range.[9] Similarly, the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*[10] also mentions the river Kāverī twice, of which once together with the Tāpī and others.[11]

Actually, the rivers like Tāpī, Payoṣṇī, Nirvindhyā and Kāverī mentioned in the *Brahma-Purāṇa* flow from the Vindhya and not from the Ṛkṣavat. The names Ṛkṣavat, and Pāriyātra (Pāripātra) were applied to the particular sections of the range that was in a general sense called the Vindhyas. The name Vindhya was loosely applied to the whole chain of hills running from Gujarat to the Gaya region. But the Vindhya when discriminated from the Ṛkṣavat and Pāriyātra stands for the chain lying to the South of the Narmadā.[12] Thus the Kāverī, which may be called northern Kāverī, is to be distinguished from the Kāverī of the southernmost part of India and to be identified with the river of the same name of which FLEET[13] took notice as early as 1910 in the following words "the Indian Atlas shows a 'cavery R.' flowing into the Narbadā from the South about a mile above the place which really is Māhiṣmatī" (i. e. Māndhātā according to PARGITER).[14]

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[1] See DR. SIRCAR, *Studies in Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 1960, p. 52 *n*.

[2] Cf. ..*Kāverī Mahatī tathā | ..Pāriyātrā-śritāḥ || Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 114, vv. 20–32

[3] Cf. ..*Tāpī-Payoṣṇī-Nirvindhyā-Kāverīpramukhā nadīḥ | Ṛkṣa-pādodbhavā hyetāḥ Śrutāḥ pāpaṁ haranti yāḥ || Brahma Purāṇa*, ch. 19, vv. 10–14.

[4] SIRCAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 *n*, 52 and note.

[5] S. Muzafer ALI, *The Geography of the Purāṇsas*, New Delhi, 1966, pp. 113, 122, 172.

[6] See N. L. DEY, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, London, 1927, S. V. Kāverī.

[7] SIRCAR, *op. cit.*, p. 56 *n*.

[8] Cf. ..*Bāhyā Kāverī caiva tu || Dakṣiṇā-patha-nadyā stu Sahyapādād-Viniḥsṛtāḥ || Matsya Purāṇa, loc. cit.*

[9] *Supra*, note 2.

[10] Cf. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, I, ch. 56, vv. 8–10.

[11] *Loc. Cit.* SIRCAR, *op. cit.* p. 57 *n*.

It is possible that the northern Kāverī originally derived its name from the famous river of the same name of South India at a certainperiod of history and in course of time it also became a sacred river and found its place in the Purāṇic list of rivers. The confluence of the Kāverī and Narmadā is well-known as Kāverī-Saṅgama,[15] whose greatness and holiness has highly been exalted in the *Narmadā-māhātmya*[16] as well. It has been suggested not only in the *Narmadā-māhātmya* but also in the *Matsya*[17] and *Padma*[18] *Purāṇas* that one should bathe at this Saṅgama because the Kāverī is very sacred and the Narmadā is a great river, whatever benefit a man may obtain between the Ganges and Yamunā (i. e. at the Prayāga-Saṅgama), the same accrues to him when he bathes at the Kāverī-Saṅgama. The *Kūrma Purāṇa*[19] also notices two Kāverīs and discribes the norhern Kāverī as destroying guilt. It has been suggested that one should bathe and worship Śiva there, and its confluence with the Narmadā has also been exalted.[20]

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[12] The Pāriyātra (Pāripātra) is generally identified with the ranges to the west of Bhopal together with the Aravalli mountains. Regarding the respective position of the Vindhya and Ṛkṣavat, Nīlakaṇṭha explains the passage *Vindhya-Ṛkṣavantā* V= *abhitaḥ* (i. e, 'lying between the Vindhya and the Ṛkṣavat') in the *Harivaṁśa*, II, 38, 7 as *Vindhyasyottarata Ṛkṣavato dakṣiṇata ityarthaḥ* (i. e. 'lying to the north of the Vindhya and to the South of Ṛkṣavat'). See SIRCAR, *op. cit.*, p. 49 *n.*; also cf. H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI, *Studies in Indian Antiquity*, 2nd ed., p. 128.

[13] J. F. FLEET in *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 442, note 7.

[14] F. E. PARGITER in *J. R. A. S. Op. Cit.*, p. 867.

[15] It is mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (Anandāśrama edition, p. 189) and *Padma Purāṇa* (Calcutta edition, p. 188) and its sanctity is supported there with a legend about Kuvera.

[16] F. E. PARGITER, *loc. cit.*

[17] *Supra*, note 15.

[18] *Supra*, note 17.

[19] For the reference to the Southern Kāverī and northern Kāverī see *Kūrma Purāṇa*, II. 37. 16 and 22; and II. 39. 40-1 respectively.

[20] *Kūrma Purāṇa*, II. 39. 40-41. The *Agni Purāṇa* (113. 3) mentions 'the Sacred Kāveri Saṅgama, which according to PARGITER indicates the confluence of the river Kāverī with the Narmadā (PARGITER, *loc. cit.*).

MATVAN PLATES OF THE TRAIKŪṬAKA KING MADHYAMASENA K. 256

By

MRS. SHOBHANA GOKHALE, POONA

In December 1970 the authorities of the University Grants Commission kindly sanctioned a financial assistance to undertake an epigraphical survey in Konkan. In connection with this survey I visited Dapoli, a taluka-place in the Ratnagiri Dist., Maharashtra State. Shri Anna SHIRGAONKAR (Upasabhapati, Panchayat Samiti, Dapoli) gave information regarding the above-mentioned copper-plates. The copper-plates were in the possession of Shri Vishnu Balaji MAHADIK, a villager of Matvan. Matvan is a small village 17 miles from Dapoli. Shri Vishnu Balaji used to worship the plates daily. He generously handed over these interesting plates for study and publication. My thanks are due in this connection to Shri Anna SHIRGAONKAR and Shri Vishnu Balaji MAHADIK. The said plates are now preserved in the Archaeological Museum of the Deccan College.

This is a set of two plates each measuring 25 cm. in length and 13 cm. in height. The edges of the plates are not raised into rims but the letters are in a perfect state of preservation. The plates weigh 915 grams. There is no ring and seal. The plates bear writing on the inner side. The inscription runs into 23 lines, which are evenly distributed on two plates. There are twelve lines on the first plate and the second plate contains eleven lines. The height of each individual letter is 1/2 cm. There are two holes of 1 cm. diameter on the two ends of the 11th and the 14th line.

The characters are of western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Surat plates.[1] Attention may be drawn here to the following additional peculiarities. The medial *ā* which is generally denoted by a horizontal stroke to the right is brought down like a vertical stroke. Distinction is made between the short and long medial *i*. Long *ī* is indicated by two curves. The subscript *tha* is shown by a double curve open on the left i. e. *sthira* and *sthiti*. The sign for *upadhmānīya* occurs in II. 15 and 19.

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[1] *CII* Vol. IV, p. 25.

Language: The language of the record is Sanskrit, except benedictory verse, the whole record is in prose.

Orthography: As regards orthography the following peculiarities though not unusual may be noted. Instead of *Anusvāra*, class-nasals have been used, e. g.

Line 6 *Svavaṅśālaṅkāra*
Line 7 *Sāgaragaṁbhīra*
Line 10 *Viṣayāntargata*
Line 11 *Kauṇḍiṇya.*

The consonant following *r* is doubled in the following word:

Karmmakāra	Line 1
Sarvva	Line 3
Antarggata	Line 10
Ācandrārkkārṇṇava	Line 14
Varjja	Line 15

The date is expressed in numerical symbols in line 23 as fourteen *tithi* of the dark of Kārtika of the year 256. As the other Traikuṭaka plates are dated in the Kalacūri era the present record must be dated in the same era and hence it would correspond to the year 505 A. D. It does not admit of verification. If the year 249 is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 8th October 504 A. D. as the Kalacūri year began on Kārtika Śu Di 1.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Mahārāja Madhyamasena of the Traikūṭakas from the victorious Aniruddhapura. The king is described as the servant of the feet of of Bhagavat (Viṣṇu) and the lord of *Aparānta.* There is no royal title. The only honorific is *Śrī.* He calls himself as *Mātāpitṛ Padānudhyāsta* and *Bhagavat Pādakarmakara.* The same titles were borne by Vyāghrasena.

The charter records a grant of the village Maṇḍikalanī in the Tālikaṭāhāra by Madhyamasena in favour of the Brahmin Śivasvāmi who belonged to Kauṇḍiṇya *gotra* to perform *Bali, Caru Vaiśvadeva* and *Agnihotra.*

The list of privileges enjoyed by the donee included *sarvvadityaviṣṭiparihīṇa* and *Bhūmichhidranyāya.* The grant was made according to the principle governing permanent endowment to last as long as the moon and sun endure.

The present record is interesting in several respects and sheds important light on the history the Traikūṭakas and establishes a new historical link in the history of Western India. Secondly it helps to determine the chronology of the Vākāṭakas. After Vyāghrasena the history of the Traikūṭakas was shrouded in obscurity. The epigraph records entirely a new king of the Traikūṭaka house. Madhyamasena, the donor of the present plates most probably might be the son of Vyāghrasena. The Kānheri plates[2] of the Traikūṭakas which record the construction of a Caitya are dated in the Kalacūri era (k. 295 = 494-495 A. D.). The above inscription does not mention the name of the king. The absence of the name of the ruling king suggests political disturbance. The copper-plates record the name of the king as Madhyamasena, who was so far not known to history. They are dated in K. 256 (A. D. 505) and were issued eleven years after the Kānheri plates. In the inscription in cave number XVI at Ajanta the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa is credited with a victory over Trikūṭa, but so far the name of the king whom Hariṣeṇa defeated was not known. A logical synchronism may be established in all these events. The Traikūṭaka king who received a blow at the hands of Hariṣeṇa might be Madhyamasena who was the successor of Vyāghrasena. This post-dated inscription difinitely suggests that the power of Madhyamasena was temporarily eclipsed by Hariṣeṇa, but was restored by 505 A. D. There is no palaeographical sound evidence to fix the initial date of Hariṣeṇa's reign but the terminal point of the end of Hariṣeṇa's reign may be fixed with the help of these copper-plates of Madhyamasena. This synchronism ultimately indicates the end of the rule of Hariṣeṇa by 500 A. D. and in no case it should be extended in the first decade of the sixth century A. D.

The localities mentioned here are Maṇḍikalanī and Tālikaṭāhāra. The inscription does not mention sufficient geographical details and hence they cannot be identified with certainty. Aparānta is northern Konkan. As suggested by MIRASHI[3] Aniruddhapura might be the capital of the Traikūṭakas. The Surat plates of Vyāghrasena[4] have been issued from the victorious Aniruddhapura. The Bagumra plates of the Sendraka king Allaśakti have been issued from Aniruddhapuri. As suggested by earlier scholars both the places might be identical. So far Aniruddhapura has not been identified, as sufficient data has not come to light.

I edit the inscription from the original as well as from the excellent photograph prepared by Mr. V. G. NAGPURE.

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[2] *CII*, IV, p. 29.

[3] *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 27.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p, 117,

TRAIKŪṬAKA COPPER-PLATES OF MADHYAMASEN, K. 256

Plate I

Line 1 स्वस्ति विजयानिरुद्धपुरात्त्रैकूटकानां मातापितृपादानुध्यास्तो भगवतत्पादकर्म्मकरः ।
Line 2 करगतक्रमागतस्फीतापरान्तादिदेशपतिरपरिमितनृपतिनतचरणकमलः ।
LIne 3 स्वभुजपरिपालनप्रतापाधिगतप्रचुरद्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तसर्व्वदिग्व्यापि
Line 4 शुक्लयशाः शारदरजनिकररुचिरवपुरनद्यकालीनपुरुषविशेषसदृशो—
Line 5 दारचरितः सुचरितनिदर्शनार्थमिवनिर्मितः प्रतिहतसामन्तारातिरन्य
Line 6 नरपतिप्रतिविशिष्टः स्ववंशालङ्कारभूतः प्रभूतप्रवीरसाधनाधिष्ठित
Line 7 दुर्ग्गनगरसागरः सागरगम्भीरगिरिगुरुस्थिरप्रकृतिः प्रकृतिजनम
Line 8 नोहरः प्राज्ञसंश्रितगुरुस्वजनसाधुसाधारणधनोभिजनसदृशयन्त्र
Line 9 णोप गृहीतस्पृहणीय श्रीः श्रीमहाराजमध्यमसेनः तालिकटाहार
Line 10 विषयान्तर्ग्गत मण्डिकलनीग्रामप्रतिवासिनोस्समाजापयतिविदित
Line 11 मस्तु वो यथास्माभिर्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये कौण्डिण्य
Line 12 सगोत्र तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मणशिवस्वामिने बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोतृक्रियो

Plate II

Line 13 त्सर्प्पणार्त्थमयं ग्रामोस्स्चेनसीमापरिच्छेदेनैतभातृण्यंमुखपष्ठेस्वामिनश्च
Line 14 नाङ्गेन सर्व्वदित्य विष्टिपरिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षिति
Line 15 स्थितिसमकालीन७ पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यश्चोरराजापत्थ्यकारिवर्ज्जंभचाट
Line 16 भटाप्रावेश्यो ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या समनुज्ञातस्तदस्मद्वंश्य राजभिरन्यैश्च
Line 17 विभवानभावानुबन्धानायुर्व्वियोगानुगतगुणाश्चदीर्घकालानुगुणा
Line 18 न्विगण य दानं च गुणवतामवदातमपदानमितिप्रमाणीकृत्यशशी
Line 19 करशुचिरुचिराचिराययशाश्चिचीषुभिरयं ग्रामदायोनुमन्तव्य७ पाल
Line 20 यितव्यश्च यस्मादुक्तं भगवता वेदव्यासेन ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि
Line 21 स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदा आच्छेता चानुमता च तान्येव नरके वसेत ॥
Line 22 दूतकश्शार्दूलः लिखितं महाबलाधिकृत महासान्धिविग्राहिक कर्क्केणेति
Line 23 सं २५६ कार्तिक व १० ना

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF UJJAIN

By

S. D. MISRA, UJJAIN

1. *Interdisciplinary Mask* :

To contribute to the understanding of human life in its manifold diversities, and especially its regional diversities, seems to be the task of the human geographer working not timidly behind a barrier, nor in a field hedged round with notices that trespassers will be prosecuted, but interweaving his efforts with those of colleagues in overlapping fields who have approached the problem with a different technique and different perspective.

Geographers by and large, have been happiest when dealing with the relationships between certain aspects of culture on the one hand and the physical environment on the other. They have been less willing to apply their methods to aspects of culture other than economy. The historians also interpret culture. This cannot be done adequately without reference to the physical environment. Therefore, the task is one which calls for co-operation between geographers and historians. This co-operation is difficult to achieve, with the result that works by geographers bear the marks of lack of training in history while the writings of historians indicate similar shortcomings in respect of geography.

A historian cannot pass on to his interpretation of culture of a people without first working out the economy and knowing something of the physical environment. He, therefore, often has to be his own geographer. An obvious weakness of all these works is the lack of information on the physical environment. Since these human and non-human elements are linked, someone must be interested in both if our understanding is to be complete and coherent within the limits of our mental capacity. Hence, the human geographer, concerned with the analysis and synthesis of areal differentiations both human and non-human, can certainly claim that this clearly distinguishes his studies from those of others, say geologists on the one hand and social-scientists on the other. To a large extent the objects of study form a common field; but no other discipline has the same range or approach.

II *Geographical Basis :*

The Aravallis culminate at Delhi - not far from Yamuna; extending eastward 45° below, the Vindhyas culminate in Mirzapur - not far from Ganga; besecting this triangle runs the Grand Trunk Express through the Betwa Trough. ` The eastern part of this triangle is a hotch-potch of varied plateaus - Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Rewa, Sagar-Damoh while the western part has the unity of the Malwa Plateau of which Ujjain is the traditional cultural capital.

The Chambal, once the 'River of Sorrow' is now 'Harbinger of Prosperity' after the completion of the Gandhi Sagar Dam and the Rana Pratap Barrage. This has several affluents of which the Kshipra is one and in its loop is Ujjain with openings along the Maksi Road for a Shree Synthetics and along the Dewas Road for a Martin Burn Pipe Factory.

Located in 23°11′ N/75°47′ E, the town is 1678 ft. above the mean sea - level. The climate is mild with pleasant nights - *Shab-e-Malwa* is proverbial for the *Suba-e-Malwa.* The winter temperatures do not fall below 30°C during the day and 10°C at night, the summer temperatures do not rise above 40°C during the day and 25°C at night; of the total rain of 89.4 cms, 72.24 cms. falls during the rainy season raising the humidity to a maximum of about 87% in July. The local black soil is the same as the Russian *Chernozem*.

These are the factors common to the Malwa plateau as a whole, but Ujjain alone has the unique position in history although the plateau covers 12 districts of western M. P. - no other town shared the vicissitudes as Ujjain. The reasons are not far to seek. The Aravallis extend from Delhi to Cambay dipping at the one end and drowning at the other. There are gaps in these ranges Bharatpur-Agra, Sawai Madhopur-Jaipur, Kota-Bina, Baroda-Surat, pet no gap is so great as the Neemuch - gap connecting Ajmer with Khandwa and Ujjain is on this route. Thus, one route passes through Mandsaur on the top of the triangle of Malwa, Bhopal is on another route - these two towns could at best afford the *Carvan-sarais*; the saga of Indore dates since yesterday when the elephants dragged the machines down the creeks of Mhow for the cotton mills - a town on the traditional vibrant cross roads was only one - Ujjain. The Scindias and the Holkars of yesterday met in Freeganj, today Bombay and Delhi meet at Nagda (the Birlagram houses the Industrial Complex of Gwalior Rayon) within the district of Ujjain.

Water is a problem-child in tropical lands and Ujjain could not be located outside the loop of Kshipra nor southwards because of the Dewas Hills, fit to house only a *Devi's* temple. Uajjain could not be but where it is - at the cross-roads, in the loop with the fertile soil around since an urban nucleus does not produce what it eats. The *site* of the town, the point on which it is located, is the end product of geographical factors - communications, soil fertility and water supply. The *situation* of the town, its location in relation to its surroundings could not be better, one bridge connects it with Barnagar and another with Bombay. Yet the way has been eternally 'a milky way' for the Master Flute Player down the grooves (*Ban*) of *Vrinda* or the Kshiprā, one Kaliadeh or the other - the ecology of the either is not dissimilar.

III. *Historical Analysis* :

History is geography set into motion and this was the stage on which the drama of history was played. *Ozene* of the western classical writers, *Ujeni* of Inscriptional Prakrit, *Ujjeni* of Pali and *Ujjayini* of Sanskrit all connote 'the Victorious' or 'the Conqueror with Glory' while *Avanti* connotes 'Peaceful'. Surely, Ujjain is the dictum in tradition, a saga of war and peace; but Kshiprā flowed eternally - as a moat during the war and the life-giver in peaceful times. If Hwen Tsang said of the area the kingdom of *Avanti* covering as 12,000 sq. miles, surely he did not make any mistake in recognising the 12 districts of Malwa which exist even today. If Fa Hian speaks of Pataliputra and Ujjain in one strain, surely the Narmada - Son Furrow was active, if Ujjain was a mint-town during Akbar's days - the Grand Moghul could not think of a better place away from the troubled Fatehpur Sikri apart from making Ujjain a treasure-spot for the conquest of the south, lay as it still does, on its threshold.

Chronologically speaking, Ujjain does not occur in the Vedas for the Chambal was not crossed then. *Avantis* were a clan in the Mahābhārata war as any regional clan e. g. the *Paharis*, the Gujars and the like. During the Mauryan Period, the Emperor Ashok rightly chose Ujjain for his honeymoon with Asangamitra (a Vidisha girl). The *Malavas* of Punjab descended to *Avanti* and made it *Malva*, as we call it today, for they could not cross the Yamuna without meeting opposition nor could be happy in the aridity of Rajasthan - if so, the Emperor Vikramāditya was a Punjabi with Greek blood since the *Malloi* tribe of Punjab had mixed with the soldiers of Alexander (71 B. C.); further, the Satrapas were the Bactrian Greeks and Candra Gupta II did occupy Ujjain - he is also referred to as Vikramāditya. The Hūṇas are synonymous with the Jats of Harayana, a pastoral tribe, and the history of Ujjain records anarchy for 40 years since 492 A. D. - the arid west explains this situation. The links of Ujjain with Mandor (Jodhpur) during the rule of the Pratihars (600 A. D. - 946 A. D.) were through the Neemuch-Chittorgarh-Maoli axis. The Parmars (946-1305 A. D.) record of Bhoja (1010-1060 A. D.) as the main architect of the clan, while the proximity of Ujjain with Gujarat brought the Cālukyas whose Mahlak Dev became *Mulladeva* when Allauddin Khilji took over Malwa. The Tughlaqs came on the scene after the Khiljis and *Bina Niv Ki Masjid* is what Dilawar Khan Ghori made of a Buddhist monastery not unlike *Adai Din Ka Jhopra* at Ajmer. Nasirud Din built a water place (Kaliadeh) on a 'Sūrya Mandir' in 1501 to kill himself in it under the stupor of mercury. The romantic requirements of Baz Bahadur (1558 A. D.) removed him to the ruggedness of Mandu and that brought the Moghuls into Ujjain. The town was a great store of drugs (opium) in 1585 A. D. during the days of Akbar who passed the rainy seasons at Ujjain – an escape from the arid north. The battle of Aurangzeb – Dara was fought on the plains of Fatehabad – Chandravatiganj barely 23 Kms. away from Ujjain. The decline of Moghuls was hastened by the Maratha raids through Ujjain (1697–1732 A. D.). While Ranoji Scindia (founder of the Scindia House) rennovated the Mahākāla temple in 1735 A. D., the capital was shifted to Lashkar in 1810 A. D. due to the constant pestering of the Holkars colse by – thus, the bullock-cart *Kacha* road became a *Kankar* road (Agra-Bombay National Highway). The benevolence of Baji Bai (1847–1856) made a Gopal Mandir in the heart of the town while that of Madav Rao made a Madhav College (1887) on the outskirts of the town as known then. The Jiwaji Rao Vikram University Library commemorates the memory of a ruler (1925–1948) who did something for the Vikram University. It was the genius of Sardar PATEL that made a Madhya Bharat Union on May 28, 1948; the new map of India took shape on Nov. 1, 1956.

Cartographically speaking, Ptolemy's map in 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea' is dated 150 A. D. in which Bay of Bengal is 'Gangeticus Sinus', the Arabian Sea is 'Canthi Sinus', the bay of Baroch is 'Barygazenus Sinus' – *Ozene* has been shown on 'Narmada Fl.' (Aravallis are 'Apacopsi Mons'). This only proves that Europe knew of *Ozene* but not its precise location. To the classical writers *Avanti* with *Oozene* (*Ujjaiyini*) was known along with *Nubia* in Egypt, *Aethiopia* in east Africa, *Gedrosia* in Baluchistan and *Patalene* on the Indus delta - all riverine kingdoms. The ancient trade routes of India included Ujjain – (1) One through the Betwa trough (Bausambi–Bhojpal–Bharukaccha), (2) the other through the Neemuch–gap (Ajayamaru in the northeast to Pratiṣṭhāna in the south), (3) the east route was also through the Neemuch–gap (Ajayamaru–Chanda) to the Wainganga valley. It is remarkable that these routes (2 and 3) diverted beyond Ujjain. The Mauryan Empire extended from *Pāṭaliputra* to *Texila* in the northwest and *Swarnagiri* in the south – Ujjaini was on the route from Pāṭaliputra to Broach, a branch line bifurcated from Ujjain to *Karakala* (Karachi). The Bactirian Greek Empire covered the zone from Narmada–Son axis to Indus and *Ozene* is shown along with *Barygaza* (Broach), Ayodhyā and Pāṭaliputra. During the days of Gupta Empire Ujjain lay on its southern limits – the Narmada–Godavari line. Ujjain lay in the middle of Poona–Agra for the Marathas, for Hiuen Tsang (629–645 A. D.). "On *Molapo* (Malwa), U-She-Yen-Na (*Ujjayini*) lies between *Mo-tu-lo* (Mathura) in the north, *Kiao-Sa-lo* (Koshala) in the east and *An-ta-lo* (Andhra) in the south with *Chu-li-Ye* (Chola) kingdoms beyond". The foreign trade routes of India had one important land-route within the country – Indraprastha-Mathura-Ujjain-Barygaza, geographically the Delhi-Cambay axis again.

IV. *Urban Sprawl*

It is remarkable indeed that the ancients had the unique sense of river currents inasmuch as the northeastern and southwestern loops of Kshiprā have been avoided for any settlements with ingenuity. Not only that but the sites of Bhairavgarh, Bhartṛhari Cave and Kaliadeh avoid the lee-ward currents causing the sand bars. The acute loops always form Ox–bow lakes during centuries and of these there are several examples in the Kshiprā basin. These concepts were so clear to the ancients that even if the old town existed between Kaliadeh and the present sprawl, it cannot go unnoticed. A winding narrow channel could be mischievous and this the ancients knew as is manifested from the old part of the city.

Graphically, the town sprawls from the banks of Kshiprā and the Mahākāla Temple through the winding lanes and the narrow grinding allies to Chatri Chowk (the Central Business District) of which the main artery is the Satigate Road. This indeed is old Ujjain and the balconies overhanging the shops with worn out tiles on the top would give appearance of an antidated *hat* on the stone pavement but for the unwanted modernity of a hair-saloon, a D. C. M. or the like – surely any ultramodern window furnishings are most unwelcome, but these are intruders.

From Kanthal to Dewas Gate is the part of the town that grew between 1891 and 1930. The change along the New Road is wholesome where the ancient and the mediaeval hug together – a temple or a grave often obstructing the passage till one reaches the Station Road.

Crossing the bridge is entering Ujjain of the thirtees where the mediaeval and the modern go together. The street pattern is of chequer-board type, the house types have mixed designs and a whimsical East-West immitation is clear from the Madhav Nagar Clock Tower – the legacy of the British Rāj. The roads are however broader, bottlenecks are fewer but the monotony is sickening.

An escape from it all came after Independence towards a planned modern development with some sense of new housing schemes giving enough scope to open-spaces, sewage, electric light, play grounds, children's parks and this is the Motilal Nehru Nagar.

On the southern most periphery is the fringe development and an arc from the nylon factory to Martin Burn completes it crossing the Industrial Estate, the Chambal Hydel Grid, the Educational sphere from the Girls College to the Engineering College with the Humanities Schools of Studies of Vikram University on the top of the hill. These are the only connurbations at present likely to produce small townships along the arteries of Maksi Road and Dewas Road in about a decade's time at the present rate.

V. *Conclusion*

This brief survey of the growth and development of Ujjain has brought us face to face with the planned development which is already in process. Further planning shall have to take a stock of our resources which are not unlimited particularly of water-supply and power. New sources have to be tapped and Kshiprā may not be dependable for our needs hardly five years after at the present rate. As long as the atomic power from Kota is not available we shall have to depend on the rotating turbines at the Gandhi Sagar Dam. Undoubtedly, the new industries on the horizon of Ujjain would create more avenues of employment but our speed of production inside the house and outside in the University examinations may far excel the demand which may come for the untrained eternal supply line of overwhelming numbers in embarassing proportions. Undoubtedly the possibilities do exist for things like – agriculture faculty at Kaliadeh, astronomical laboratory at Observatory, Medical College along the Agar Road but all these shall create further supplies for demands that are already non-existent. These are our opportunities and yet our challenges too.

Today, as it is, the town affords a study material at each one of its 100 yards – historical, sociological, demographic. A comprehensive survey of the town is the vital need to know exactly what the demands are like. While digging the past out of the town, let the land-use and land-utility surveys be not forgotten because it is the land-capability that shall sustain the town in future, this the planners might take to heart in any "Survey Before Plan".

To sum up, the past was glorious – it was beautiful, the present is arduous – it is not uncomfortable yet; hope we meet our challenges and utilize our opportunities so that the posterity may always say :—

"Bahisht-i-Rui Zamin"
(i. e. the whole earth is Paradise)

SOME ASPECTS OF THE MIXED CASTES DURING THE POST-MAURYA PERIOD OF NORTH INDIA (C. 185 B. C.-319 A. D.)

By

H. C. SATYARTHI, MUZAFFARPUR

The scheme of the origin of the mixed castes mentioned in the sources of ancient Indian history, has been a matter of controversy. The mixed castes are counted among the Śūdras by some sources[1]. They can be divided into three categories, *anuloma*, *pratiloma* and *doubly mixed castes*. Those who were begotten by the twice-born on wives of the next lower castes, or two degrees lower or three degrees lower, have been called *anantara*, *ekāntara* and *dvi-antara* respectively[2]. This process of procreation is called *anuloma* (hypergamy)[3]. On the other hand, when the male is of the lower caste and the female of a higher one, this system is called *pratiloma* (hypogamy)[4]. The *anulomas* and the *pratilomas* again procreated children on the women of the four *varṇas.*[5] There are other mixed castes also.[6]

But Manu himself does not approve of his own scheme of the origin of the mixed castes. He suggests that the mixed castes (*varṇasaṁkaras*) occur not only by adultery and by marriage with women who ought not be married, but also by the neglect of duties and occupations.[7] He further says that the Pauṇḍrakas, Cauṇḍras, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, and Daradas were thrown into

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1. *Pāṇini* II. 4. 10. *Śūdrāṇām aniravasitānāṃ* ; *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, I. 475 ; *Manu*, X. 4. *Nāstitu pañcamaḥ*. cf. V. S. AGRAWAL, *Pāṇini Kālina Bhārata*, p. 94; R. S. SHARMA, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 125.
2. *Manu*. X. 7.
3. *Manu*. X. 7. Cf. *Gaut. Dh. S.*, IV. 14. *Anuloma* castes in Manu; Ambaṣṭha, Niṣāda, Ugra. Yājñavalkya adds three more to this list : Karaṇa, Māhiṣya, Mūrdhābhiṣikta Cf. *Baudh. Dh. S.* I. 7–12, 16; I. 17. 7, 8, 11–14; *Vas. Dh. S.*, XVIII. 19.
4. *Manu*, X. 3o *Pratiloma* castes: Āyogava, caṇḍāla, Kṣatta, Māgadha, Sūta, Vaidehaka.
5. *Manu*, X. 31–39. Manu says that they are fifteen, but in actual list they are thirteen in the *Maṇusmṛit*: Antyāvasāyin, Āhiṇḍaka, Āndhra Dhigvaṇa, Kārāvara, Maitreya, Mārgava (Kaivarta), Meda, Paṇḍusopāka, Sairindhra, Śvapāka, Sovapaka and Vena.
6. *Manu* X. 15-34: Ābhīra, Āvrta, Bhūrjakaṇṭaka (Āvantya, Puspadha, Śaikha, Vāṭadhama(Draviḍa, Jhalla, Karaṇa, Karuṣa, Kukkuṣa, Licchivi, Maitra, Malla, Mārgava (dasa or Kaivarta), Naṭa, Pukkasa, Sātvata, Sudhanvacarya, and Vijanamā.
7. *Manu*. X. 24. cf. *The History and Culture of Indian People*. Vo. II, p. 547.

śūdrahood because they did not observe the Brāhmaṇical ideals[8]. So far as the comparative superiority is concerned, **Hutton**, **P. V. Kane** and **A. L. Basham** on the basis of the original sources hold that the *anuloma* sons were superior to the *pratiloma* ones[9]. **V. N. Jha** approvingly quoting **Hutton** and **Kosambi**, holds that the " impact of patrilineal invaders on an indigenous matrilineal population " was the real cause of their superiority to the *Pratilomas*[10]. But sincerely speaking Manu does not hold good opinion about them.[11] According to him both the *anulomas* and the *pratilomas* were *saṁkīrṇayoni*.[12] Though the so-called prevalent *anuloma* process of procreating sons was not liked by Manu, he himself states that the *anuloma* sons procreated by the *dvija* in the women of the next lower (*anantara*) class are supposed to have enjoyed the same status as their fathers did.[13] This distinction even amongst the *anulomas* is not seen in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* which says that the *anuloma* castes are *sat* (good) and the *pratilomas* *asat* (not good).[14] **P. V. Kane** suggests that Yājñavalkya regards the *anulomas* as *sat* because they were entitled to *saṁskāras*.[15] It is not clear what was the then situation in which Yājñavalkya further contradicted his statement by saying that the corn from the Śūdras was not to be accepted.[16] According to Manu, not only the food offered by a Niṣāda, an *anuloma*, was to be refused,[17] but he was required to live outside the village.[18] These above statements concerning the *anulomas* might raise doubts on the statement of Manu that the Kṣattṛs and Vaidehakas were on the same way touchable as Ambaṣṭhas and the Ugras.[19] The *pratilomas* also, such as, Caṇḍālas Āndhras, Kārāvaras, Medas and Śvapākas, were to live outside the village or town.[20] A *Snātaka* was advised not to sit along with a Caṇḍāla, or with a Pulkasa, Antyaja or Antyāvasāyin.[21] The utensils once used by a Caṇḍāla were never to be used by any other caste.[22] The statement of Yājñavalkya that a Caṇḍāla intentionally touching a twice-born was to be put to death,[23] suggests many things concerning the state of society. Inspite of all these things some so-called *pratilomas* such as Māgadhas and Sūtas, seem to have been always in good position.[24]

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[8] *Manu*. X, 42–44.

[9] J. H. **Hutton**, *Caste in India, Its Nature, Functions and Origins*, 4th edn, pp. 150–151; P. V. **Kane**, *Hist. of Dh.* II, p. 56; A. L. **Basham**, *The Wonder That was India*, p. 147.

[10] " Varṇasamkara in the Dharmasūtras: Theory and Practice." *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. XIII, part III, (1970), p. 275.

[11] *Manu*. X. 7, 10.

[12] *Manu*, X. 25. Cf *Gaut. Dh. S.*, IV. 20 *Pratilomastu dharmahīnah.*

[13] *Manu*, X 6 *Strīṣvanantarajātasu dvijairutpāditān sutān, Sadṛsānava tanāhurmātṛdoṣavigarhitān.*

[14] *Yāj. Smṛti*, I. 95.

[15] *Hist. of Dh.* II, Pt. I. p. 4 fn.

[16] *Yāj.*, I. 162. But *Āp. Dh. S.* (400 B. C.) I. 18. 1 states that corn was to be accepted from the Ugras.

[17] *Manu*. IV. 215.

[18] *Manu*. X. 48–50. A. L. **Basham** suggests that the Niṣādas "seem to have gained their unenviable position through the growth of the sentiment of non-violence ". *The Wonder That was India*, p. 145.

[19] *Manu* X. 13. Cf: *Baudh. Dh. S.*, I. 16. 7–12; I. 17. 7, 8, 11–14; *Vas. Dh. S*,, XVIII. 19. *Manu*, X. 9 Ugras = Kṣatriya father and Śūdra mother. *Gaut. Dh. S.*, IV. 16–18; *Yāj.* I. 91, 95.

Among the *pratilomas*, the first three, Āyogavas, Caṇḍālas and Kṣattṛs, are said to have been inferior to the śūdras, while the latter three, Māgadhas, Sūtas and Vaidehakas are called base-born.[25] Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, a commentator of medieval period, says that the first group meant the *bāhyas* and the latter the *hīnas*.[26]

We have no clear-cut picture of their economic condition. It is mentioned that the Ambaṣṭhas lived by farming,[27] and acting as physicians,[28] the Niṣādas by hunting and fowling[29] and fishing[30]; the Ugras, the Kṣattṛs and the Pukkasas by catching and killing animals living in holes[31], Caṇḍālas, Antyāvasāyins and Śvapākas by executing criminals,[32] Āyogavas by doing carpenters' work,[33] Māgadhas by trade[34], Sūtas by driving the chariots and horses,[35] the Kāravaras and Dhigvaṇas by leather work,[36] the Āndhras and the Medas by slaughtering wild animals,[37] Mārgavas by boatmanship,[38] the Maitreyakas by ringing bell at the appearance of dawn and by continually praising great men, [39] the Pāṇḍusopākas by dealing in cane,[40] the Sairindhras by hunting, by adorning and by attending their masters, [41] and the Veṇa by playing on drums. [42] The Caṇḍālas and the Śvapākas used dead men's clothes, beds and ornaments [43], and their wealth consisted of dogs and asses. [44] Even in this economic situation Manu does not permit any one to have transactions with the Caṇḍālas regarding debt, loan etc.[45] But in actual practice these statements do not seem to be true because many of them were economically well off. In contrast some mixed castes were allowed to accumulate and inherit property. Kauṭilya allows the Sūtas, the Māgadha and the Rathakāra sons to get their share provided they had abundance of paternal property. [46]

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[20] *Manu*, X. 36, 52. cf. *Śat. Brā.* XII. 4. 14; *Chānd. Up.*, V. 10. 7; *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, II. 4. 10; *Āp. Dh. S.*, I. 39, 14–15; II. 1. 28; II. 4. 95: *Gaut. Dh. S.* XV. 25, XVI. 19; *Majjh. Nik.* II. 85; *Vinaya Piṭ.* II. 6; *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 397; *AS.* I. 14. 10; III. 4. 26–28 for Caṇḍālas.

[21] *Manu*, IV. 79. cf. III. 239. His mere sight was undesirable. B. R. AMBEDKAR (*The Untouchables*....pp. 32–33) states that the *antyajas* on account of their living at the end of the village were called *antyajas*. The Aśokan inscriptions and the Allahabad inscriptions state that *Antas* were the independent people living beyond the boundary of the empire. Medhātithi (on *Manu*, IV. 79) holds that *Antya* means a *Mleccha*. BÜHLER (*SBE*. XXV.) takes them as a low caste man. *Manu*, V, 39 (Caṇḍāla father + Niṣāda mother).

[22] *Manu*, X. 52, BÜHLER (*SBE*, XXV) wrongly translates the word *bhinnabhāṇḍa*. The translation should not be "broken vessels" but "separate vessels".

[23] *Yāj.*, II. 234 cf. I. 103.

[24] A. L. BASHAM, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 147.

[25] *Manu* X. 16–17.

[26] on *Manu*, X. 31, *SBE*, XXV, p. 409. The basis on which Kullūka makes distinction between the *Bāhyas* and the *Hīnas* is not clear. Chitra TIVARI, *Śūdras in Manu*, p. 74, wrongly interprets that the *anulomas* were *Bāhyas* and the *pratilomas* were *Hīnas*. Haradatta commenting on *Gaut. Dh. S.*, *S. B. E.* p. 34, fn. 18 explains *Bāhyas* as Ugras and Niṣādas. *Āp. Dh. S.* I. 3.9. 15 states that there was a cessation of Vedic study when a *Bāhya* enters a village.

[27] *Jātaka*, IV, p. 365.

[28] *Manu*, X. 47.

[29] *Jātaka* II, pp. 132, 200.

[30] *Mahābhāṣya* V. 4. 36; *Manu*, X. 48.

[31] *Manu*, X. 49.

[32] *Manu*, X. 39, 56; *Mahāvastu*, II. 73. R. S. SHARMA, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 181, says that they were identical with the Caṇḍālas.

[33] *Manu*, X. 48.

[34] *Manu*, X. 47.

Besides this scheme of the origin of the mixed castes, the history of some of the mixed castes can be traced from the earliest period of the Indian history. An Ambaṣṭha, an *anuloma* caste, [47] is described as a king in the later Vedic literature [48], while in the *Jātaka* literature this group of people has been mentioned as Brāhmaṇas.[49] H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI has identified them with the *Ambastanoi* of Arrian and *Sambastai* of Diodorus.[50] This clearly shows that they lived in the northeast provinces of India. Louis RENOU suggests that on account of their living "in the region somewhat from the 'central country' where the classical dharma prevailed" they were called the mixed castes, [51] by the Brāhmaṇa code-makers.

The Niṣādas mentioned as a mixed caste of the *anuloma* origin, [52] were first mentioned in the Rudrādhyāya of the *Yajurveda*[53]. In describing the physical feature of the Niṣādas the *Mahābhārata* not only states that they were short-limbed, with blood-red eyes and blackish face, but also recites a story, relating to their origin from the pierced thigh of the anti-Brāhmaṇa king Vena.[54] R. S. SHARMA rightly suggests that it was due to the resistance of the Niṣādas against the process of Brāhmaṇization.[55] But the explanation of the word *pañcajanāḥ* as the four *varṇas* and the fifth Niṣādas in the *Nirukta* explicitly shows that the Niṣādas, at least at the time of the composition of *Nirukta*, were in the process of assimilation into the Brāhmaṇical fold.[56] The reference in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* to a sacrificer's necessity of temporarily remaining with the Niṣādas[57] suggests their admission into the Aryan social set-up. R. S. SHARMA on the basis of the reference to the *Niṣāda gotra* in the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini, suggests the existence of the Niṣāda priests in the Brāhmaṇical society.[58] The reference to the Niṣāda kingdom in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman[59] clearly suggest that the materials relating to their mixed origin are fictitious.

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[35] *Manu, Ibid.*

[36] *Manu*, X. 36, 49.

[37] *Manu*, X. 48.

[38] *Manu*, X. 34.

[39] *Manu*, X. 33.

[40] *Manu*, X. 37.

[41] *Manu*, X. 33.

[42] *Manu*, X. 49.

[43] *Manu*, X. 52, 56; *Mahāvastu*, II. 73. Of. *Aṅg. Nik.*, IV. 376.

[44] *Manu*, X. 51–52. Cf. *Majjh. Nik.*, III. 169–170; *Aṅg. Nik.*, II. 85, that the Caṇḍālas, Niṣādas, Veṇas and Pukkasas were leading a life of vagrancy, want and scarcely getting food, drink and clothes.

[45] *Manu*, X. 53.

[46] *AŚ.*, III. 6. 17; III. 7. 39.

[47] *Vas. Dh. S.*, XVIII. 19. (Brā. father + Śūdra mother) *Baudh. Dh. S.*, I. 16–7–12, 16; I. 17. 7. 8; II. 4; *Manu*, X. 8; *Yāj.*, I. 91–95. (Brā. father + Vaiśya mother).

[48] *Ait. Brā.*, VIII. 21.

[49] *Jātaka*, IV. 263.

[50] *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 252.

[51] *The Civilization of Ancient India* (tran. by PHILIP SPRATT), Calcutta, 1954, p. 50.

[52] *Baudh. Dh. S.*, I. 16–7–12, 16; I. 17. 7. 8, 11–14; *Manu.*, X. 8; *Yāj.* I. 91–95 (Brā. father + Śūdra mother), *Manu*, X. 8 calls him *pārāśava*. Gautama & Vasiṣṭha refer to the same parentage.

[53] Quoted by V. N. JHA, *op. cit.* p. 283.

The history of the Ugra people can be traced from the the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* where an Ugra has been mentioned as *rājaputra* or a royal officer.[60] The *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* however states that in times of distress the Brāhmaṇas were allowed to accept gift of corn, fields flesh of deer, hay for oxen, money, etc. from an Ugra and a Śūdra as well.[61] But during the post-Maurya period they seem to have lost their previous position.

The Āyogavas seem to have been known from the Vedic period. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* refers to the word *ayogu*[62] which is understood by V. N. JHA as a profession.[63] In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* Marutta Āvikṣita has been called as an Āyogava king.

The Caṇḍālas have been mentioned from the Vedic period. The only common thing in almost all the sources of ancient Indian history is that they were really despised. In the period, earlier than that of the *Dharmasūtras*, the scheme of their origin by illicit sex unions has nowhere been referred to. The same thing can be seen in the case of the Sūtas, the Māgadhas, and the Vaidehakas. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*.[64] and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*[65] mention the Sūtas as the ratnins at the royal court. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* again shows that they were bard.[66] The Māgadha, according to Pāṇini, seems to be derived from the word 'Magadha' denoting a famous piece of land.[67] The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* connects them with the profession of trade.[68] The Vaidehakas seem to have been related to the 'Videha' tribe.[69] P. V. KANE and D. R. CHANANA observe that the Paulkasas seem to have evolved in the pre-Vedic times.[70] The Rathakāras also had a significant place in the Vedic period. Not only this but the validity of the statement that the Ābhīra, Draviḍa, Jhalla, Malla, Naṭa, Licchivis, Khasas, etc. were among the mixed castes is also open to doubt and criticism.

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[54] 59. 99–101.

[55] *Śūdras in Ancient India*, pp. 129–130.

[56] See *Nirukta*, III. 8. See N. K. DUTT, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*.

[57] See G. S. GHURYE, *Caste, Class and Occupation* (Bombay, 1961), p. 52.

[58] *Op. cit.* p. 130.

[59] *Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, 50. 300ff; D. C. SIRCAR's *Select Inscriptions*, p. 169. See RAM GOPAL, *India of the Vedic Kalpasūtras*, p. 116; N. K. DUTT, *op. cit*, p. 107.

[60] *Tai. Brā.*, III. 8. 5.

[61] *Āp. Dh. S.*, I. 2. 7. 20; I. 6. 18. 1.

[62] *Tai. Brā.*, *SBE* XLIV, p. 397.

[63] *op. cit.*, p. 287.

[64] *Tai. Saṁ.*, I. 8. 9. 1–2.

[65] *Tai. Brā.*, I. 7. 3. 1. cf. N. K. DUTT, *op. cit* Vol. I, p. 107.

Having seen and analysed the available materials relating to this scheme of the mixed castes, many writers have expressed their doubts about their validity. S. CHATTOPADHYAYA as well as other writers[71] believe that this scheme was 'fictitious' and 'imaginary.' Richard FICK and R. S. SHARMA call this scheme " an arbitrary genesis ". They say that these materials seem to have focussed on the state of society [72]. G. S. GHURYE is also doubtful about the practicability of this scheme [73]. V. N. JHA's suggestion that the scheme of the mixed castes seems to have emerged in order to preserve the purity of the Aryan blood[74] can be compared with the statement of Manu thatit is not only by adultery and by marriage with women who ought not to be married, but also by the neglect of duties and occupations that the mixed castes occur[75]. This leads to think that those tribes who could not accept the Brāhmaṇical culture and who resisted for their own were supposed to be hated and to be ousted [76].

All these materials show that even before the advent of this scheme of the origin of the mixed castes, they were holding their significant place in society. This scheme really seems to be 'fictitious', 'imaginary' and 'arbitrary genesis.' Manu himself clearly unveils the intention of his own by stating that not only by adultery and by marriage with women who ought not to be married, but also by the neglect of the duties and occupations that the mixed castes occur.

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[66] *Tai. Brā.*, III. 4. 1.

[67] P. V. KANE, *Hist. of Dh. S.*, Vol. II p. 91. Cf. D. D. KOSAMBI, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, p. 122.

[68] *Tai. Brā.*, III. 4. 1.

[69] See D. D. KOSAMBI, *op. cit.*, 124.

[70] *Hist. of Dh. S.* Vol. II p. 48; *Slavery in Ancient India*, pp. 176–177.

[71] *Social Life in Ancient India*, pp. 18, 21; LAKSHMAN SASTRI JOSHI, *Vaidic Saṁskriti kā Vikās* (Hindi), p. 126; G. S. GHURYE, *Castes and Race in India*, p. 48.

[72] FICK, *Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, p. 9, R. S. SHARMA, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 119. See J. H. HUTTON, *op. cit.* p. 150.

[73] *Caste, Class and Occupation*, p. 51.

[74] V. N. JHA, *op. cit.* p. 282.

[75] See *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, p. 547.

[76] For professions see R. S. SHARMA " Material Background of the Origin of Buddhism ", *Das Capital, Centenary Volume* (a symposium) PPH (1968).

ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION

A SUGGESTED SYNCHRONISM BETWEEN AN INCIDENT FROM THE ṚGVEDA AND THE EARLY PROTOHISTORIC CULTURES OF INDIA

By

ARUNKUMAR, NAGPUR

An appreciable gap between the literary and archaeological history of this land of ours has often been lamented.[1] For this hapless state, however, the fluid dating of the Vedic literature and consequently of the advent of the Aryans into India is mostly responsible. The literature and the events reflected therein have been referred to such extremes as either the 12th century[2] or the 25th century B. C.[3] or even earlier. Thus, the archaeologists, baffled as they are, appear to be almost unanimous in referring to the proto-historic cultures, particularly that of the Harappans, to the pre-Vedic times.[4] A few Indian Vedists have, however, made a few stray and only generalised attempts to assign the authorship of the same either to the Vedic Aryans[5] themselves, or even to their non-Aryan contemporaries.[6] But if a categorized attempt is

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1. Cf. SANKALIA, H. D., in *Indian Prehistory:* 1964, Poona, 1965, pp. 219 ff.
2. Cf. GHOSH, B. K., in *The Vedic Age,* Bombay, 1952, pp. 201–212.
3. WINTERNITZ, M., *History of Indian Literature,* I, Calcutta 1927.
4. In the earlier writings on the subject Indra and his Aryan hoards were held directly responsible for the destruction of the Harappan cities. See, WHEELER, R. E. M., in *Ancient India,* 3, 1947, p. 82; *Early India and Pakistan,* London, 1959, p. 113; PIGGOTT, S., *Prehistoric India,* Middlesex, 1950, pp. 244 ff. In recent times, however, the trend Appears to have changed and Indra has been exonerated of this heinous crime, and his Aryan hoards are supposed to have come on the stage only after the once glorious Harappans had disappeared. See, DALES, G. F., in *Expedition,* 6, no. 3, 1964, pp. 37–43; ALLCHIN, B. and F. R., *The Birth of Indian Civilization,* Middlesex, 1968, pp. 144–156; cf. BURROW, T., in *Journ. Ind. Hist.,* 41, 1963, pp. 159-66.
5. KAKINI, V. M., *15th A.I.O.C.,* Bombay, 1949, pp. 91–93; KANE P. V. *16th I. H. C.,* Waltair, 1955, pp. 1–18; PUSALKAR, A. D., *18th A. I. O. C,* Annamalainagar, 1955, pp. 59–72; *Quarterly review of the Historical Studies,* 4, 1962, pp. 33–43; Cf. SHASTRI, K. N. *New Light on the Indus Civilisation,* II, Delhi, 1965, and BUDDHA PRAKASH, *Ṛgveda and the Indus Civilization,* Hoshiarpur, 1966. Of the last two, while the first finds close parallels between the Harappan culture and the *Atharva Veda,* the latter assigns them to the pre–Vedic, but not pre–Aryan times.
6. ALTEKAR, A. S., *22nd I. H. C.,* Pres. Add., Gauhati, 1959; SINHA, B. P., *23rd I. H. C.* Aligarh, 1960, pp. 58-62; DESHMUKH, P. R., *Sindhu Saṁskṛti, Ṛgveda Va Hindu Saṁskṛti,* (Marathi), Wai, 1966; cf. MALLOWAN, M., in *Antiquity,* 29, 1955, p. 202.

made to see the evidence of the one in the light of the other, we seem to be struck with an hitherto unsuspected correspondence between them, which is strikingly suggestive. While a comprehensive study of the material culture of the Vedic literature vis-a-vis that of the proto-historic archaeology is presently underway[7], here we propose to place on record the synchronism between the conditions of the pre- and post-Dāśarājña Yuddha on the one hand and the pre-Harappan and the Harappan times on the other. It would, however, be worthwhile to mention at the outset that the geographical horizon of the Aryans, which in the *Ṛgveda* is circumscribed to Punjab and its adjacent tracts, appears to show an ever widening tendency.[8] By the time of the *Atharvaveda* and other later *Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* such north-western tribes as the Mūjavantas,[9] Mahāvṛṣas,[10] Gandhāras[11] and the Bālhīkas[12] in and about the Pamir plateau, the Vidarbhas[13] and the Āndhras[14] in the south beyond the river Narmadā[15] and the Videhas,[16] the Magadhas[17] and the Aṅgas in the east had become known. This picture of a progressive Aryan colonization, gleaned from the literary records, seems to substantially agree with the one painted by LAL,[18] on the basis of the archaeological evidences and their objective datings, based on the C-14 determinations.

As we shall presently see, the above inference gains support from the study of the archaeology of the river Sarasvatī in the north-eastern Rajasthan. On its banks many a mighty kings,[19] Pañcajanas[20] and at least a couple of

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7. *The Vedic Age*, pp. 241--50.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 251–261.
9. *A.V.*, V. 22. 5, 7, 8–14; *R.V.*, however, appears to know of them, for in X. 34. 1 *Soma* is called *Maujavata*, which, according to Yāska's *Nirukta*, IX. 8 means – "from mount *Mūjavanta*".
10. *A.V.*, V. 22. 4, 5, 8.
11. *Ibid.*, V. 22. 14; cf. *R. V.*, I. 126. 7.
12. *A.V.*, V. 22.5, 7, 9
13. In the earlier Vedic Literature this name occurs only in the *J. U. B.*, II, 440; cf. *J. A. O. S.*, 19, 1881, pp. 103., n. 3.
14. *A. B.*, VII. 18; however, in the *S. S. S.*, XV. 26, instead of *udāntyaḥ* – byeond the borders, they are called *udañcaḥ* – northerners.
15. Though the river as such is not named in the Vedic literature, WEBER saw an allusion to it made in the *Revottaras*: *S. B.*, XII 8. 1. 17; likewise an allusion to *Anupa* can also be inferred from another proper name *Vadhryaśva Ānūpa* in *P. B.*, XIII. 3. 17.
16. *S. B.*, I. 4. 1. 10; *P. B.* XXV. 10. 17; in *Yajurveda* (*T.S.*. II. 1. 4. 5.; *K.S.*, XIV., 5) "cows of Videha" seem to be referred to. The commentator, however, interprets the term *vaidehī* as "having a splendid body".
17. *A. V.*. V. 22. 14; XV. 2. 14; in Paippalāda recension, however, the Aṅgas are replaced by Kāsis. In *G. B.* II. 9 occurs the compound *Aṅgamagadhāḥ*.
18. LAL, B. B, in *Ancient India*, 18–19. 1962–63, pp. 208–221.
19. *R. V.*, VIII. 21. 18.
20. *Ibid.*, VI. 61. 12.

Bharata[21] princes are said to have flourished. In the *Ṛgveda* it is called as the river *par excellence* of the greatest river–*naditame*,[22] which is reputed to have reached the sea.[23] But by the Brāhmaṇa period it is said to have disappeared and dried up near Vinaśana.[24] This place is said to be at a distance of 49 days' journey from Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa[25] and the middle of the earth is only a span (*prādeśa*) to the north of it.[26] Now it is significant to note that during the explorations along the now dried-up course of this river, A. GHOSH[27] found only pre–Harappan[28] and the Harappan settlements on its banks. The other archaeological assemblage, which can be assigned to pre–Buddha time, brought to light during this expedition, was characterized by the Painted Grey Ware.[29] Its settlements are, however, located right in the river bed,[30] which suggests the drying-up of the once mighty river.[31] It would, therefore, not be only a flight of imagination to assign the pre–Harappan and Harappan assemblages, only which could have flourished during the 'life time' of the river, to the so-called "illusive" Aryans.

Now coming to the specific point of discussion, the stray references in the earliest of the Vedas, i. e., the *Ṛgveda* help us to reconstruct the incidents of the Dāśarājña Yuddha[32] as below :

Sudās, the king of the Tṛtsu–Bharata people, occupying the territory between the river Paruṣṇī i. e. Rāvī[33] in the west and Yamunā in the east had to face a confederacy of various Aryan tribes. Among them are men-

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21. *Ibid.*, III. 23. 4.
22. *Ibid.*, II. 41. 16.
23 *Ibid.*. VI. 61. 2; cf. VII. 96. 2 : *ekā cetatsarasvatī nadīnāṁ śuciryatī giribhya ā samudrāt.*
24. *P. B.*, XXV. 10. 6.
25. *Ibid.*. XXV. 10. 16. 22.
26. *J. U. B.*, VI. 26. 12.
27. GHOSH, A., in *B. N. I. S. I.* I, 1952, pp. 37–42.
28. Originally the Sothi Ware was thought to be a post–Harappan phenomenon (*ibid.*, p. 40). It was, however, only with the excavations at Kalibangan in 1960–62 that its priority to that of the Harappans was finally demonstrated. See *Indian Archaeology*, 1961–62, pp. 40 ff.
29 LAL seems to equate the P. G. Ware people with the incoming Aryans (*Ancient India*, 10–11, 1954–55, pp. 148–151). KOSAMBI, however, more explicitly refers it to the Purus or the Kurus (*J. A. O. S.*, 84, 1964, p. 44). But as the ware available in the Sarasvatī valley appears to belong to an earlier phase than that from the Yamuno–Gangetic doab, it is not improbable that it really belongs to the *Śūdrābhīras*, whose mere look caused the river to disappear (*Śūdrābhīrān prati dveṣādyatra naṣṭā Sarasvatī : Mbh*; IX. 36. 1).
30. GHOSH, A.; *op. cit.*, p. 42.
31. Cf. RAIKES, R. L., in *Antiquity*, 42, 1969, pp. 289–91.
32. Though mentioned in *R. V.*, VII. 33. 3, 5; 83. 8 and *A. V.*, X. 128. 12, the name, however does not occur in the actual battle–hymn *R. V.*, VII. 18.
33. Yāska's *Nirukta*, IX. 26.

tioned the Pakthas, Bhalānasas, Alinas, Viṣāṇins and the Śivas in the north-west, the Anus,[34] Druhyus,[35] Pūrūs,[36] Yadus and the Turvasas in Punjab. In the east their ally king Bheda appears to have opened a new front with the Ajas, Śigrus and the Yakṣus on the river Yamunā. Of these while the location of the Yadu-Turvasa will be dealt with later, the Bhalānasas and the Śivas can easily be identified with the territory around the Bolan pass and the town of Śibi near Quetta. The Pakthas are certainly none other than the present day Pakhtuns of Dera Ghazi and Ismail Khan. The Druhyus, who are often mentioned together with the Anus,[37] must have occupied the apex of the Punjab triangle: in the later period they appear to be connected with the Gāndhāra region.[38]

The confederacy was annihilated in a couple of encounters on the two rivers. It is said that of the westerners, the Anu and the Druhyu (kings) were "drowned in the defeat",[39] while the resultant fate of the rest, though set specified, can, however, be surmised.

These dual resounding victories must necessarily have unified the whole territory, hitherto split up among a multitude of tribal chieftainships, into a vast homogeneous empire presided over by Sudās.

Turning to the archaeological realities brought so far to light, we know for certain that prior to the coming of the Harappans on the archaeological scene of India, the western landscape of the present day provinces of Baluchistan, S. E. Afghanistan, Sind, Punjab and N. E. Rajasthan was dotted by numerous tiny village communities.[40] Though they shared a large number of basic elements, there were a few others which help us to distinguish their separate individualities.

Barring the north-western province and a larger portion of the northern Punjab, which is as yet little served in archaeological matters, the more important among them are Kalibangan[41] on Sarasvatī in N. E. Rajasthan, Kot–Diji[42] and Amri[43] in Sind, Harappa[44] in Punjab, Kulli, Mehi, Nal,[45] Anjira[46] and Togau in Baluchistan, Killi Ghul Mohammad and Damb Sadaat in the Quetta region,[47] and Rana Ghundai,[48] Periano Ghundai and Surjangal in the Zhob Valley.[49] Mention may also be made of Doh Morasi Ghundai[50] and Mundigak[51] in the neighbouring province of Kandahar in Afghanistan.

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[34] From the evidence of *R. V.*, VIII. 74. 15, they appear to have lived on the river Paruṣṇī, perhaps on the opposite i. e. the western bank.

[35] In the *R. V.*, they are located on the river Sarasvatī (VII. 96. 2) and at Śaraṇyāvanta (VIII. 64. 10–11).

[36] They are mentioned twice in the same hymn, once along with the western and then along with the eastern allies. It is therefore not unlikely, that like their later-day counterpart – the *Yakṣas*, they inhabited the Himalayan regions, which is accessible from both the sides.

[37] cf. *R. V.*, I. 108. 8; VII. 18. 14; VIII. 10. 5.

[38] MACDONELL, A., *Vedic Mythology*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 140; PARGITER, F. E., *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 49.

[39] *R. V.*, VII. 18. 12; *apsvanu druhyuṁ ni vṛṇagvajrabāhuḥ.*

[40] ALLCHIN, B. and F. R., *The Birth of Indian Civilization*, Middlesex, 1968, pp. 101–25.

Sometimes in the middle of the 3rd millennium B. C., deriving inspiration from these experiments in a better way of life, arose the Harappan culture in the land watered by the Sindhu and Sarasvatī rivers. In its hey-day it is known to have encompassed a territory extending from Sutkagendor[52] on the river Dasht in the extreme west on Makran coast to Alamgirpur[53] near Delhi, if not Kausambi[54] near Allahabad, in the east, and from Dabarkot[55] in the north-west and Rupar[56] near Ambala in the north to Lothal[57] in the south. At a number of sites its remnants are found overlying the previous deposits, that appear to have come to a violent end, sometimes through the agency of fire.[58]

The culture is famous for the uniform standardisation of its assemblage.[59] But this uniformity is nowhere so much in evidence as in the Sindhu–Sarasvatī valleys. As we go out to the peripheral sites, the spell of this monotonous uniformity seems to have been broken by the presence of

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41. *Indian Archaeology*–A Review, 1961 onwards; cf. Lal, B. B., and Thapar, B. K., in *Cultural Forum*, 9, No. 4, pp. 78–88.
42. Khan, F. A., in *Pakistan Archaeology*, 2, 1965, pp. 11–85.
43. Casal, J. M., *Jouilles d' Amri*, Paris, 1964.
44. Wheeler, R. E. M., in *Ancient India*, 3, 1947, pp. 91–97.
45. Piggot, S., *Prehistoric India*, Middlesex, 1950, pp. 80 ff.
46. de Cardi, in *Pakistan Archaeology*, 2, 1965, pp. 86–182.
47. Fairservis, W. A., in *Excavations in the Quetta Valley*, New York, 1956.
48. Ross, E. J., in *Jour. Near Eastern Studies*, 5, 1946, pp. 291–315.
49. Fairservis, W. A., in *Archaeological Surveys in the Zhob and Loralai Districts*, New York, 1959.
50. Dupree, L., *Deh Morasī Ghundai : A Chalcolithic Site in S. C. Afghanistan*, New York, 1963.
51. Casal, J. M., *Fouilles de Mundigak*, Paris, 1961.
52. Stein, A., *M. A. S. I.*, 43, 1931; Dales, G. F., in *Antiquity*, 36, 1962, pp. 86–92.
53. *Indian Archaeology*, 1958–59, pp. 50–55.
54. Wheeler, R. E. M., *Civilization of the Indus Valley and beyond*, London, 1966, p. 63.
55. Stein, A., *M. A. S. I.*, 37, 1927, pp. 55–64.
56 *Indian Archaeology*, 1954–55, pp. 9–11.
57. *Ibid.*, 1954–55, onwards.
58. e. g., at Kot Diji : *Pakistan Archaeology*, 2, 1965,
59. Wheeler, R. E. M., *The Indus Civilization*, Cambridge, 1962, pp. 2–3.

such variety, which has led the Lothal assemblage to be called as a provincial variant of the standard Harappan culture.[60]

Among these two sets of literary and archaeological evidences, while the pre-Harappan village communities seem to reflect the realities of the political disintegration obtained during the pre-Dāśarājña days, the uniform standardisation of the Harappan culture complex appears to correspond to the Tṛtsu-Bharat empire of the victorious Sudās.

But as this empire could not possibly have included the territory of Saurashtra, the Harappan extension therein would perhaps need an explanation. Here it would suffice to say that on grounds, both of stylistic comparisons as well as the C–14 determinations, the Lothal assemblage is taken to be a slightly later manifestation[61] than that found in the Sindhu–Sarasvatī region. Here the evidence contained in a stray Vedic verse, wherein the Yadu-Turvaśas are said to have come to their present home via sea,[62] comes in handy.[63] This agress admirably well with the archaeological realities in Saurashtra, where the Harappan sites on the coast are known to be earlier than those found in the hinterland[64]. This suggests that the early colonisers had taken a sea route.[65]

As a sea route would necessitate an original access to sea, it seems plausible that the Yadus and their constant allies in-arms the Turvaśas[66] were originally occupying essentially the same area as the one controlled by the two pre-Harappan settlements of Kot-Diji and Amri in Sindḥ. This suggestion appears to be reasonably certain for the two sites are not only to the south of the suggested Tṛtsu-Bharata territory and hence nearer to the seaboard and their land of final retreat, but also are shown to have shared a relatively larger number of stylistic and typological features with the assemblage discovered at Lothal.[67]

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[60] RAO, S. R., *Lothal and the Indus Civilization*, (to be published shortly).

[61] RAO, S. R., *op. cit.*; WHEELER, R. E. M., *Civilization of the Indus Valley and beyond*, London, 1966, pp. 67–72.

[62] *R. V.* VI. 20. 12 : *pra Yatsmudramati Śūra parṣi pāraya turvaśaṁ yadum svasti.*

[63] That it is not an inherently improbable proposition is proved by such allusion in the *Ṛgveda*, as to the treasures of the ocean, including the gains of trade (I. 47. 6: 56. 2; IV. 55. 6; IX. 97. 44), to the eagerness of the people to take to sea for profit (I. 48. 3), to the sea-worthy ships having hundred oars (*Śatāritṛaṁ nāvaṁ* : 116. 5) and lastly to the pleasures of the voyage (VII. 8. 3–4). See also BASHAM, A. L., in *Arts and Letters*, 23, no. 2, 1949, pp. 60–71.

[64] RAO, S. R., in *Ancient India*, 18–19, 1962–63, pp. 178–190.

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 191–92; JOSHI, J. P.'s contention, based on the explorations in Kutch, that the Harappans had adopted a land-route can, at the most, be only partially true. Though a chain of early Harappan sites has been found in Kutch, their continuity, a necessary precondition for a land route theory, seems to break beyond Surkotda in the east, just on the little runs. Across it, on the main land, only late settlements have so far been reported. See, JOSHI, J. P., in *Jour. Or. Inst.*, 16, no. 1, 1966, pp. 62–79; cf. *Indian Archaeology*, 1964–65, pp. 11–12 and 1967–68, p. 14.

[66] In the *Ṛgveda* the usual form of occurrence is *Turvaśa Yadu* or *Yadu Turvaśa* (V. 31. 8), *Turvaśā Yadu* (IV. 30. 17) or *Yadu Turvaśca* (X. 62. 10); cf. however the following : I. 108. 8; 174. 9; VI. 20. 12; and VII. 19. 8.

The Yadus, coming as they did via sea route, took considerably less time to reach and establish themselves in Saurashtra. But their other confederates in the Dāśarājña, perhaps the Pūrus from the lower reaches of the river Sarasvatī, were not so fortunate, as they had to traverse through vast land-stretch of unknown potentiality. But they certainly appear to have reached upto Kayatha near Ujjain in Central India, where the earliest culture shows striking similarities with the mixed assemblage of Kalibangan.[68] It were they in their turn who, being once watered down by both the space and time, gave rise to what we know as the Central Indian Chalcolithic or the Malwa Culture.[69]

It seems certain that some of the fugitives must have also taken the north-western routes in their flight to safty. As noted above, the later records connect the Druhyus with the Gāndhāra region.[70] And the recent discoveries of some of the essential Harappan-Indus-features in the Turkmenia by about the 20th to 17th centuries B. C.,[71] lend credence to this view. This region is midway to the land of the Hittites in the Asia Minor, where were discovered the famous Boghazkoy tablets of about the 14th century B. C., that mention indubitably the Vedic gods and terms.[72] Thus, according to the model proposed here, the evidence of these tablets, which has hitherto been taken to represent a stage in the eastward movement of the Aryans,[73] becomes understandable as only a land-mark in their reverse-westward march.

In the foregoing account we have tried to equate the so-called 'illusive' Vedic Aryans with the pre-Harappan and Harappan and post-Harappan Chalcolithic cultures. To make it, however, as complete and convincing as is possible within so short a space, we would like to place a few of our observations regarding the *urheimtat* and the subsequent spread therefrom of the Aryans.

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[67] CASAL, J. M., "Evolution of the Indus Civilization pottery", *Int. Conf. Asian Archaeology*, New Delhi, 1961, p. 30.

[68] *Indian Archaeology*, 1963–64, p. 18 and 1967–68, pp. 24–26; cf. SANKALIA, H. D.; in *Jour. Ind. Hist.*, 45, no. 1, 1967, p. 107.

[69] ARUNKUMAR, *Post-Harappan Chalcolithic Cultures of western India*, Ph. D. Thesis, Nagpur University, 1970.

[70] MACDONELL, A. *Vedic Mythology*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 140. PARGITER, F. F., in *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 49.

[71] GUPTA, S. P., and SHCHATENKO, A. Y., in *Bharati*, 10–11, 1968, pp. 190–97.

[72] GURNEY, O. R., *The Hittites*, Middlesex, 1952, pp. 26–32, 105 and 124–25: cf. DUMONT, P. E., in *J. A. O. S.*, 67, 1947, pp. 251–53; JACOBI, H., in *J. R. A. S.*, 1921, pp. 721 ff; THIEME, P., in *J. A. O. S.*, 80, 1960, p. 308.

[73] GHOSH, B. K., in *The Vedic Age*, Bombay, 1952, pp. 204–25.

In our opinion the pre-historic homeland of the Aryans was in the Iranian tableland, of which the Afghan-Baluch borderland is, to say the least, essentially an extension. The slow but steady penetration of the two last mentioned regions by the early neolithic settlers was certainly an eastern overflow of the Aryans. And once this stage of initial settlement was over, they started to assume an individuality commensurate to their new found ecology.[74] This was a prolonged evolutionary process and many of its finer nuances are yet to be properly understood. And it is why that its culmination in the establishment of the Harappan culture complex is often described as a sudden and isolated phenomenon,[75] which it is certainly not.

It is a natural law that after every rise there must come a fall. And it came when the symbiotic balance had perhaps reached the saturation point.[76] Thus ended an age, that of the Vedic Saṁhitās[77] and we appear to step on the threshold of the Brāhmaṇa period, that is the period of the post-Harappan Chalcolithic Cultures of India.

Finally, in view of the synchronism suggested above, the early and late Vedic periods seem likely to correspond with the pre-Harappan / Harappan and the post-Harappan chalcolithic cultures of India respectively. It is therefore neither without significance nor a mere coincidence that both the Epochs are separately known to have come to a close only with the ushering in of the Iron Age, both literally - as an aftermath of the *Bhārata* war, as well as archaeologically.

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[74] FAIRSERVIS, W. A., Jr. "The Indianisation of the Indo-Iranian borderlands : evidence for the origin of Indian Civilisation", *Int. Conf. Asian Archaeology*, New Delhi, 1961, pp. 33–34.

[75] WHEELER, R. E. M., *Early India and Pakistan*, London, 1959, p. 94.

[76] FAIRSERVIS, W., A. Jr., *The Harappan Civilisation – New Evidence and More Theory*, New York, 1961, pp. 1–35; and cf. *The origin character and decline of an Early Civilisation*, New York, 1967, pp. 1–48.

[77] It has often been suggested that a number of terms in the *R. V.* reflect the racial and linguistic characteristics of the non-Aryans, who were the city dwellers of the Indus-Valley (DESHMUKH, P. R., *Sindhu Saṁskṛti, Ṛgveda va Hindu Saṁskṛti* (Marathi), Wai, 1966). BUDDHA PRAKASH has, however, focused our attention to their indiscrimate use, and we agree with his contention that they do not imply a different people (*Ṛgveda and the Indus Valley Civilization*, Hoshiarpur, 1966, pp. 53–69). But it is difficult to agree when he pleads for an internecine struggle in the form of a rural revolt led by the Vedic kings, whose exploits form the core of the *Ṛgveda*, against the urban exploitation as the immediate cause of the Harappan break down (*Ibid.*, pp. 97–120). So far there appears to be absolutely no archaeological evidence for inferring any such struggle. The cause of the Harappan break down, on the contrary, was the inevitable exhaustion coupled with such natural calamities as recurring floods (RAO, S. R., *Ancient India*, 18–19, 1962–63, pp. 179–80 and 191–93; RAIKES, R. L., in *Antiqutiy*, 39, 1965, pp. 196–203).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED :

A. B. : *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*
A. I. O. C. : *All India Oriental Conference.*
A. V. : *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā.*
B. N. I. S. I. : *Bulletin of the National Institute of Sciences in India.*
G. B. : *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.*
I. H. C. : *Indian History Congress.*
J. A. O. S. : *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
J. R. A. S. : *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Gr. Br. and Ireland.*
J. U. B. : *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa.*
K. S. : *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā.*
M. A. S. I. : *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
Mbh. : *Mahābhārata.*
P. B. : *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa.*
R. V. : *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā.*
S. B. : *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
Ś. Ś. S. : *Śāṁkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.*
T. S. : *Taittirīya Saṁhitā.*

DISCOVERY OF THE SHOULDERED COPPER CELTS IN WEST BENGAL AND CONNECTED PROBLEMS

By

D. K. CHAKRAVARTY, CALCUTTA

As far back in the year 1883 the discovery of a single shouldered copper celt from a pit near the village Tāmājurī (Lat. 22°35′, Long. 86°40′), P. S. Binpur in Midnapur District was reported by J. ANDERSON in his *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum*. This singular find from West Bengal was briefly reported and described by J. Coggin BROWN in his *Catalogue Raisonne of the Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum at Calcutta* (Simla, 1917), at pp. 10 and 142 and a photograph of the celt was published (Pl. X, Fig. 2) in it. It has been reported therein that " it was found at the foot of the hill system of Manbhum, in Midnapur district. A village called Tāmājurī is not far from the site where the copper axe was found. It was discovered by some villagers who were digging a pit for some domestic purpose". The description reads that it is " a flat celt or battle-axe with a rounded cutting edge ending in two well marked shoulders continued down from the butt. The cutting edge is considerably more than half a circle and has a diameter of 15.7 cms. The upper end measures 10 cms. across and from it to the expansion of the edge, in a vertical line is 7 cms. The total length of the specimen is 18.8 cms. It is highly finished and weighs 2, 180 gms."

Since then no further discovery of such type of copper celts from West Bengal was reported until in the year 1965 the Superintendent of Police, Midnapore informed about the discovery of a prehistoric copper object from the paddy field of one Sri Trailokya Tela at village Chatla, P. S. Egra in Midnapore district. By the kind initiative taken by Sri B. C. BAGCHI, I. P. S., the then D. I. G. Police (H. Qrs.) West Bengal the object was acquired by the present contributor from Egra P. S. and taken to Calcutta for preservation and display in the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal. The finding was briefly reported in the brochure entitled *Exploring Bengal's Past* (Ed. by P. C. DAS GUPTA, Calcutta 1966) and a photograph of the same was published. In the *Indian Archaeology, A Review 1965–66*, (Cyclostyled Copy-P I-108) this was also reported. The measurement of this celt which is a shouldered one has been recorded as 20 cms. in length, 18 cms. in breadth and .75. cm in thickness and which weighs 2.43 kgs.

Then again in the year 1968 Sri A. K. Karmakar, Archaeological Chemist of the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal observed 3 shouldered copper celts and a copper bar-celt in the Nazirkhana of the district of Purulia which were kindly shown to him by the then Nazir Sri N. K. Chakravarty and informed the Director of Achaeology about the findings. After being deputed by the Director of Archaeology the present contributor utilised the opportunity, in examining the objects at Purulia and also in exploring the site at Kulgara in Hura P. S. wherefrom the objects were unearthed in the year 1963 during a Test Relief Operation. The village Kulgara is approachable from the Purulia-Hura Road via Lakshanpur and is jeepable. The site wherefrom the Copper Celts and Copper bar or the pick-like object were discovered is situated on the western part of the village which is now a deserted area. From our observation it appears that once upon a time the area was covered by a deep forest, faint traces of which still remain. A tank (locally known as Bāndh) was shown to us during the re-excavation of which the copper objects were reported to have been found. During the exploration no trace of any ancient habitation site was visible. From the data collected from the official records of the Collectorate at Purulia by Sri K. Majumdar, Section-in-Charge of the Directorate of Archaeology, it is observed that the materials were examined by Sri H. Sen, Senior Geologist of the Directorate of Mines and Minerals, Government of West Bengal, who has opined that the objects were made from copper. However analytical or metallographic studies of these copper objects have not yet been made. These objects have recently been acquired by the present contributor on behalf of the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal, with the kind collaboration with the District Officials among which thanks are due to Sri K. M. Lal, I. A. S., Deputy Commissioner, Purulia and also to Sri R. Mahapatra, Officer in Charge of the Revenue Munshikhana of the Collectorate. The celts are of shouldered type having the edges slightly bevelled to form a perfect cutting edge which however is blunt. The size, thickness etc. vary from specimen to specimen. Measurements etc. have been recorded by Sri S. K. De, Exploration Assistant of the Directorate of Archaeology which are reproduced below :

Sl. No.	Length (Maximum)	Breadth (Maximum)	Thickness (Maximum)	Weight
1 – (celt)	21.5 cms.	18.5 cms.	1 cm.	2.5 Kgs.
2 – „	20.5 „	16.5 „	1.5 cms	2.5 „
3 – „	20 „	15 „	1 cm.	2.5 „
4 – (Bar-celt or Pick like object.)	45.5 „	5.25 „	3 cms.	2.7 „

The copper-bar is plano-convex in section and having its both ends tapering like the edges of a pick which however is crescentic in this case. It seems that originally it was used as a copper-pick; this being a new type so far discovered and reported in India. So far as it is known to us the shouldered copper celts and the copper bar celt or the pick-like object were never found together in a board or any stratified sequence. The copper bar or the pick has also been cast in a mould and the wavy lines visible on the flat surface perhaps reveal the stage of blooming when the metal was in a molten stage. It may be surmised that the shouldered celts were used as hoes for digging and ploughing, while the copper bar or the pick was used for deep digging, leverage and breaking of stones etc. The users of these implements were perhaps engaged in rudimentary agriculture and clearance of jungles for making their habitat within the deep forested region.

The findings of these copper objects in a hoard from Purulia district is interesting from the point of study and re-examination of the problem of the Indian Copper Hoards Culture and its relation with the Protohistoric Chalcolithic–Neolithic Culture which flourished in different parts of West Bengal. The discovery of these copper objects in a singular deposit reveals the importance of the area which is situated very close to a copper seam which is now being worked out and where prospecting is now going on; viz. at Tamakhun in Manbazar P. S. within Purulia district. Ancient copper mines and workings have been noticed at Purnapani near Jhilimili in Ranibandh P. S. in Bankura district wherefrom Kushana coins have been reported to have been found perhaps suggesting that the mine was in working condition during the early Christian Era. A preliminary exploratory survey by the Geological Survey of India has revealed the existence of copper-ores at some places in Bankura district which are however un-economic from the point of view of extraction and further utilisation. A survey by the Geologists of the West Bengal Government as well as by the Geological Survey of India have located a 'roughly east-west mineralised zone along a belt of sheared rock running almost parallel to the course of the Kumari Nadi' flowing through the districts of Purulia and Bankura [cf. *Mineral Resources of West Bengal*, H. SEN, in *West Bengal* Vol. XIV, June 7, 1969 No. 46 (pp. 873–877)]. Further occurrences of copper-mineral deposits have been noticed by the Geologists near the Tri-junction of Bankura, Midnapur and Purulia districts and ancient copper workings in this zone have also been reported (cf. 'Copper Mineralisation near the Tri-junction of Bankura, Midnapur and Purulia districts, West Bengal. P. S. CHAKRAVARTY, at pp. 204–209 in the Miscellaneous Publication No. 13 of the G. S. I. entitled *Copper*, Calcutta, 1968). All these areas are situated quite close to each other and not very far off from the present 'hoard' site at Kulgara or that from Tāmājurī mentioned above. An intensive as well as an extensive exploration programme in these areas may perhaps reveal the source of origin of the Copper Hoards from West Bengal as well as the relation of the Copper Hoard Culture with the Chalcolithic Neolithic Cultures that flourished in this region.

Howerer a metallurgical and scientific study of the copper artifacts described above is an urgent necessity which may reveal the probable sources of the raw material from which copper was extracted. Techniques employed in extraction of the metal as also its quality can be ascertained by a scientific examination of the artifacts. The process employed on the solid extracted metal for the production of these artifacts can also be known. These can however be done in a well-equipped Museum Laboratory and it is an urgent necessity that a scientific laboratory should be established in the Eastern Region of India which will facilitate our Museological Studies. Spectroscopic analysis of some selected artifacts and some samples of copper ores to be obtained from the ancient copper mines located in our region will determine the constituent elements of the specimens while a systematic Quantitative Chemical Analysis of the artifacts and the copper-ore samples will determine the percentage composition of the specimens. Internal micro-structure of the metal can be obtained by Metallographic examination of the artifact which will also reveal the methods employed by the ancient metallurgists from West Bengal in the production of the copper celts since recovered by us. Such a scientific study of the Chalcolithic Period Copper Metallurgy has already been undertaken in other parts of India and Dr. K. T. M. Hegde of the M. S. University, Baroda has already made a detailed technical study of the excavated copper artifacts from Ahar, Navdatoli, Chandoli and Somnath. His studies in the copper artifacts from Ahar, dt. Udaipur, Rajasthan has since been published in the form of an Appendix in the ' Excavations at Ahar (Tambavati)' by H. D. Sankalia *et al*.

Now we are confronted with two problems viz. (a) the period during which these implements were manufactured or at least to arrive at a relative date of manufacture of these tools and (b) who are those peoples who manufactured these copper artifacts. In recent times S. P. Gupta has made a detailed analysis of the Indian Copper Hoards in his admirable article entitled ' Indian Copper Hoards : Problems of Homogeneity, Stages of Development, Origin Authorship and Dating' as published in the *Jour. of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XLIX (Jan–Dec. 1963). Parts I–IV pp. 147–163 wherein he has pointed out some relationship between the assemblages of the 'Copper hoards' and the Chalcolithic Culture as revealed by recent excavations in widely separated regions of India. From the metallurgical and the techno-typological considerations he has postulated an independent origin of the shouldered copper-celts in eastern India. The distribution of such type of shouldered celts is limited to eastern and central India and parts of U. P. All the specimens have been found in unstratified deposits except a solitary specimen unearthed during the excavations at Navdatoli on the Narmada in M. P. The tenon of this specimen is however missing. The date of the specimen has been ascribed to *circa* 1700 B. C. by a carbon-14 dating of some samples from Phase I (Earlier IIIA) of Navdatoli with which this shouldered celt was found associated. The beginning of the 'copper hoards' located in a zone which is quite rich in copper mineral deposits like ours 'can easily be placed in the 1st half or even the 1st quarter of the second millennium B. C.' as observed by S. P. GUPTA.

Now about the people. The earlier views expressed by the scholars like R. HEINE, GELDERN and others that the users of the Copper Hoards are the Vedic Aryans are not now supported very strongly, although scholars like V. S. AGRAWALA have observed that Ṛgvedic man knew the copper celts as the term *āyasī yāśī* (copper celts) used in the *Ṛgveda* testifies. While enquiring about the ancient copper miners of Singhbhum, a district now situated just outside our western boundary in the neighbouring State of Bihar, Valentine BALL recorded the local tradition that the local people of this area believe that the ancient copper mines located in the region of Singhbhum were worked out by the ancient peoples known as *Seraks*, who formerly possessed the country (cf. : 'On the Ancient Copper Miners of Singhbhum' in *Proc. of the A. S. B.* 1869, pp. 170-175). He associated these peoples with the Aryans prophesying Jaina faith which is interesting for the study of ancient history of this region. The views expressed by B. B. LAL in an article entitled 'Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem' published in *Ancient India* No. 7 (1951) pp. 20–39, point out that the bearers of the Copper Hoard Culture belonged to the ancestors of the Proto-Australoid tribes like the Mundas, Santals and others who now predominantly occupy this area. Prof. Niharranjan RAY in his monumental work *Bangalir Itihāsa-Ādi Parva* (in Bengali) has deduced from the literary reference that 'Vajjabhum' now covering the western Rāḍha portion of ancient Bengal, comprising the districts of Purulia, Midnapur and Bankura, was peopled by the Austric speaking population in ancient times. It may be pointed out that the human skeletal remains from Pandu Rajar Dhibi a protohistoric chalcolithic site in West Bengal, reveal some very meagre data about the racial characteristic of the people of ancient Bengal. From the meagre data available the Osteologists of the Anthropological Survey of India have observed that 'it seems that the individuals (of Pandu Rajar Dhbi) were certainly taller than the present aboriginal inhabitants of nearby areas, namely the Santals. However in the shape of nose they resemble the latter, while in the shape of head they are even longer-headed than the Santals'. (Extracts from unpublished reports in the custody of the Directorate of Archaeology). This comparison with the present day Santals is quite interesting from the point of view of our present study and perhaps it will help to establish firmly the views already propounded by LAL about the authorship of the Copper Hoards. Pending further discovery and research the shouldered copper celts found in West Bengal may be attributed to the ancestors of the present aborigines viz. the Santals, Mundas etc. of the Proto-Australoid group of peoples speaking Austric languages.*

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* The contributor is much beholden to Sri P. C. DAS GUPTA, Director of Archaeology, West Bengal, for his kind permission for utilizing the materials in the collection of the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal.

INDIAN LINGUISTICS SECTION

KARA, HASTA, PĀṆI — A STUDY IN SYNONYMS

By

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1. Languages in their nominal composition have two kinds of word-formations which deserve to be studied – homonyms and synonyms. The former owe their existence to the inconsistencies which develop between speech and writing, phonetic changes in the course of the development of language, (Knight : night, knot : not). They are also the result of poetic use (कर as ray) and other semantic developments. The existence of this phenomenon is accepted by Grammarians and Linguisticians.

2. Synonyms fall rather in a different category. They are generally the result of original differences in closely related meaings being removed/wiped out or the nuances of meaning between two or more words with very similar meaning being lost. Grammarians – students of language – are generally unwilling (except perhaps the stratification grammar followers) to accept the existence of synonyms. Language is a code which effectively and efficiently uses the vocal symbols to communicate and is essentially, by its very nature, economically orientated. There does not seem to be any reason to believe that a code uses two different items, different in phonetic contents but conveying the same sense. It is, therefore, felt that two or more words, which originally were differentiated semantically, may in course of time come to mean broadly the same thing. But still factors like use, collocations, contexual situations would vary and therefore will convey different nuances of meaning.

3. This is a view which is shared by the Ancient and Modern linguists. Sanskrit grammarians were rather reluctant to grant full status to the synonym phenomenon in general but they do concede that some words can truly be considered as synonyms. Amongst such, are the three words – *kara*, *hasta* and *pāṇi*, said to have equal denotative power.

4. In this short article, an attempt is being made to examine if these words have a commonness of meaning, whether in the early stage different shades of meaning/nuances can be associated with each of them.

5. A study of this nature can be done from two points of view :—

A) Take a general stock of the references available through lexicographies and try to ascertain if contextual and other factors give some clues regarding semantic differences.

B) Study the uses of these words chronlogically, periodwise and trace the development of the meanings of these words, looking at both the meaning and the use.

6. A) If we carefully examine the references available in Moniar Williams, Apte, शब्दकल्पद्रुम and वाचस्पत्य, we do notice certain peculiarities/ features. Let us analyse them as under:—

I. i) All the three words have been used in the general sense of 'hand.'

ii) When one has to refer to the parts of the body with which 'hand' is connected, there is obviously a commonness of use i. e. all the three have more or less similar terms – are used in similar situations but certain significant (?) differences can be noticed, e. g.

A) For nail, quite a number of compounds are formed from कर. Cf. कररुह, करज, करवाल, करकंटक, करकुड्मल, करशूक.
From *pāṇi*, you have only one – पाणिज.
From *hasta*, there is no compound meaning nail.

Comment: If हस्त emphasizes the physical aspect and corresponding use for physical activities primarily, compounds from हस्त to refer to bodily parts like nail become rather significant.

B) For finger – कराग्रम्, करांगुलि < कर
हस्ताग्रम्, हस्तांगुलि < हस्त
No word for finger < पाणि

Comment: If पाणि originally signified 'palm' as is being suggested later, not having compound formations for nail, finger from it may be significant. पाणिज may just be an analogical formation.

C) When references are to be made for manual work, wages to be paid for manual work, the compound formations are with the help of हस्त e. g. हस्तताल, हस्तसिद्धि, हस्तवेश्य, हस्तक्रिया. Similarly where, by the use of hand, dexterity is to be conveyed, we have forms like हस्तकौशल्यम्, हस्तचापल्यम्, हस्तलाघवम्. There are no corresponding terms with पाणि or कर.

We have a form पाणिचापल्यम्, but it is in a different sense. It means 'snapping of fingers'. The same is the case with कर. Forms like करचापल्यम्, करकौशल्यम् etc. suggesting skill are not available. True, we have a word – करदक्ष but it is a solitary case and is slightly in a different category. Is it possible to argue that the use of a positive word दक्ष minimises the 'skill content' of कर.

II. If we examine the use of three words in connection with the figures of speech, we notice that the word पाणि does not figure in this at all. With 'beauty' as the common property, the standards of comparison for 'hand' are उत्पल, कमल, पंकज, पद्म. As stated above, पाणि is not utilized in the figurative context. We have only one expression हस्तकमल. But this is more a case of symbolism than poetic embellishment. कमल in hand is a symbol of prosperity. It is possible that if पाणि stands primarily for 'palm' of the hand (from मणिवंध to अङ्गुलि), it can be understood why it is not found in this context. By कर is meant the whole arm as such – long, slim, graceful and therefore serves as an *upameya* for lotus. Hence we have expressions like करकमल, करपंकज, करपद्म, करकिसलय; करपल्लव (No similar expressions with हस्त and पाणि).

III. There are a number of expressions which are used to refer to taking of the hand of the bride in marriage and other similar compound formations are employed to refer to wife etc. In this context, the word पाणि is much preferred to the other two. Expressions like पाणिग्रहणम्, पाणिपीडनम्, पाणिप्रणयिनी, पाणिग्राह are not only very common in Sanskrit literature but have come down in new Indo-Aryan languages. As against this, we have a few expressions with हस्त and कर – हस्तग्राभ, हस्तग्रह, करपीडनम्, करग्रहणम् but they are not very commonly used and have later disappeared. Since 'taking the hand' does not involve the whole arm but primarily the 'palm' and 'fingers' cannot one say that the distribution is understandable and logical (if पाणि suggests 'palm' primarily)? The use of पाणि in this connection then appears natural and the expressions like हस्तग्राभः, हस्तग्रहः, करपीडनम् can be construed as analogical formations. Does this not suggest that the term हस्त emphasizes the physical aspect, while कर is a more elegant expression signifying the beauty, the grace of the arm? The word पाणि primarily stood for the palm.

The prevalence of expressions like चक्रपाणि, खड्गपाणि perhaps now can be explained by arguing that a dagger or a disc is held in the palm and does not need the whole arm directly. Is it because of this that we have no expressions like चक्रकर, खड्गकर or चक्रहस्त, खड्गहस्त and the like?

We have, however, expressions like करवाल, करपालिका for sword. Can we account for the use of कर here by saying that because of the size, length and weight, sword needs the whole arm?

This looks like being corroborated by compounds with hands and feet as the two components. We have expressions like हस्तपादौ and हस्तचरणौ but *not* करपादौ, करचरणौ *or* पाणिपादौ, पाणिचरणौ.

I am also inclined to feel that the fact that we have करभाजन, करविंद as names of different persons and करवारक and करव्रण as expressions for स्कन्द, seems to go with the view that the term कर initially at least was an elegant expression for hand rather than हस्त.

The evidence offered by the 'homonyms' of कर also looks encouraging.

कर = tax
कर = ray of the Sun
कर = trunk of an elephant

The three different meanings have primarily come from 'Arm'. कर stands for the rays of the Sun because if the Sun is personified, as he undoubtedly was in the early Sanskrit literature, the rays are his hands. The Trunk of an elephant is also called कर because of common properties like length, grace, tapering down etc. कर being the more elegant expression for hand, it is used.

The popular phrase दानेन पाणिः न तु कंकणेन may seem to confirm the meaning 'Palm' of पाणि since it is primarily used in making a दान.

The etymological interpretation offered of कर as कं सुखं दाति agrees with the above.

The etymological explanations given for the 3 words are:—

1) पाणि –पणायन्ते व्यवहरन्ति अनेन इति and is said to extend from मणिबन्ध to अङ्गुलि.

2) हस्त–हसति विकशति इति । चतुर्विंशति अंगुलिपरिमाणम् (18 inches from elbow to tip of middle finger).

3) कर–कीर्यते विक्षिप्यते अनेन (used in throwing things) or कं सुखं राति.

It is suggested, in view of above, that in the early stage, the three words, though referred to hand in general, had semantic boundaries. The use of पाणि was restricted to 'palm' हस्त and कर referred to arm but the former emphasized the physical aspect, while कर is a more elegant, sophisticated expression. These semantic boundaries, in course of time, were obliterated and the words come to be considered as synonyms though certain contextual situations etc. still show the vestiges of the original boundaries.

B) Let us now briefly see if this interpretation receives some evidence or corroboration in the earliest available Sanskrit literature - the Samhitās, particularly the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*.

Apparently the word कर is of later origin. The earliest reference to it is found in *Ṛgveda*, the earliest available human record in writing. Even here, the references are extremely few - in fact only two. Once it refers to the hands of Aśvins, invoked for safe delivery (I. 116. 13) and once, it refers to the hands of Indra (X. 67. 6) (Incidentally both the references are from the later portion of the *Ṛgveda*).

The word *Pāṇi* is of an earlier origin. * *Pelni* would be the reconstructed IE form and its counterpart in *Avestā* is *Pərəna,* referring to the hands of a priest offering libation. Considering the extent of the *Ṛgveda,* allusions to पाणि also are few. In isolation, it is used only 3 times. At II. 31. 2 it stands for the foreleg of the horse. At VI. 71. 1 it refers to the hands of Savitā – the solar deity. IV. 21. 9 uses both पाणि and हस्त in the same line–भद्रा ते हस्ता सुकृता उत पाणी प्रयन्तारा स्तुवन राध इन्द्र - GELDNER translates this as " luck bringing are your fists and your well-formed hands give gifts to the singer, oh Indra. " I do not know whether GELDNER is making a semantic distinction between पाणि and हस्त. Possibly he is using two different German words to avoid the same word, as a part of good style of writing. GRASSMANN makes no difference and सायणाचार्य considers them as synonyms.

Following the semantic distinction I am endevouring to suggest, that it is significant that in connection with giving of gifts, पाणि is appropriately used. In over 20 places, it is used as a second member of the compound, the first being some qualifying adjective. These adjectives generally refer to qualities like strength, beauty, skill, etc.

Similarly the word हस्त is very old and can go back to IE * ghasto meaning hand/arm. The *Avestā* has *zasta* and old Persian *dasta.* For a rough ready and functional use, for hand, the word is हस्त. This is the word mostly used by Ṛgvedic seers, and refers, almost in all cases, to the physical hand, either carrying a weapon or offering Soma, strength etc.

Similarly in compounds with हस्त as one member, except for X. 18. 8 where हस्तग्राभ means a husband, all the other compounds refer to movements or actions of hand in connection with some activity. In quite a large number of cases it is with reference to सोम, e. g.

हस्तयत:—controlled by hands (press–stones V. 45. 7 ; X. 76. 2)

हस्तिन्.—possessed of hand (used of a priest who presses सोम. III. 36. 7; IX. 80. 5 ; V. 64. 7.)

हस्त्यम्—prepared by hand (सोमं हस्त्यं अभि वावशेव:)

The picture in the *Atharvaveda* is nearly the same in respect of पाणि and हस्त. It does not use the word कर at all. May be, the subject matter of Veda and its contents did not supply any occasion to the Atharvavedic poets to use a more elegant expression.

Appendices

Charts showing the use of the three words in certain definable situations.

I. *Poetic use*	कर	हस्त	पाणि
उत्पल	✓		×
कमल	×	✓	×
पंकज	✓		×
पद्म	✓		×

***Note* :— हस्तकमल is actually not a poetic use. It is a symbolical expression.**

II. *Marriage*	कर	हस्त	पाणि
	करपीडनम्	हस्तग्राभः	पाणिग्रहणम्
	करग्रहणम्	हस्तग्रहः	पाणिपीडनम्
			पाणिप्रणयिनी
			पाणिग्रहः

***Note* :—The forms with पाणि are not only very common but have come down to NIA languages. The forms with कर and हस्त are uncommon and may be, are analogical expressions.**

III. *References to physical parts*	हस्त	कर	पाणि
	हस्ताग्र (finger)	करकंटक, करज	
	हस्तसूत्र (bracelet)	कररुह, करकुड्मल	
	हस्तांगुलि	करशूक (nail)	×
	हस्तमलम्	कराग्रम्	
		करतल	
	हस्तपुच्छ (hand below wrist)		
	हस्तपृष्ठ (back of hand)		
IV. *Compound*	हस्तपादौ हस्तचरणौ	×	×

V. *Physical ordinary use*	हस्त	कर	पाणि
	हस्तताल	करताल	पाणिघात
	हस्तसंमोहन	कर-आघात	पाणिचापल्यम् (snapping of fingers)
	हस्तक्रिया	कर आस्फोट (beating of chest)	
	हस्तसिद्धि (wages)		
	हस्तवेश्य (handiwork)		
	(manual work, labour)		

Note **:–हस्त looks like being used more extensively than कर and पाणि. if it refers to physical hand, it is natural and expected.**

VI. ***Dexterity, Skill***	हस्त	कर	पाणि
	हस्तकौशलम्	करदक्ष	
	हस्तवत् (dexterous)	(rare)	
	हस्तचापल्यम्		
	हस्तलाघवम्		
	X	X	खड्गपाणि चक्रपाणि

DRAVIDIC STUDIES SECTION

THE ROLE OF METATHESIS IN DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

By

M. ISRAEL, MADURAI

What is metathesis ?

The term "metathesis" is derived from Greek by the combination of meta "instead of" or "through" and thesis "statement." Metathesis is a process by which the order of phonemes within a word or between two words is transposed. Thus it replaces an old form by a new one which differs in that two parts have been interchanged.

Metathesis is attested only as a sporadic change in the order of phonemes. The interchange may be of vowels, phonemes or of consonants. The phonemes thus interchanged may be contiguous or non-contiguous.

Metathesis in Dravidian Languages

In Tamil there occur a few pairs of words which are related in phonemic shape and are of the same meaning.

Eg.	*miñiṟu*	"honeybee"	*viciṟi*	"fan"	*catai*	"flesh"
	ñimiṟu		*civiṟi*		*tacai*	

In these words one can notice the change in the order of phonemes. In Tamil such a change is not a regular feature but is found rarely. But in Central Dravidian languages the operation of this process is frequently seen. The Central Dravidian Languages are divided into sub-groups :— One is Kolami-Parji sub-group consisting of Kolami, Naiki, Parji and Gadaba and the other is Telugu–Kuvi sub-group consisting of Telugu, Gondi, Konda, Pengo, Manda, Kui and Kuvi. Metathesis is not at all in operation in the former group. A few instances of metathesis, which are sporadically seen in that group, are due to the borrowing of forms from the latter. The latter group can be characterized by the operation of metathesis to a considerable extent.

There are instances of metathesis in Brahui, for which Prof. EMENEAU has worked out details. Metathesis seems to occur in Tulu also. Most of the instances in Tulu show evidences for a mere loss of vowel, e. g., *ḍambaḍi*, **uṭampaṭi*; *lappuni *aḷapu*; *reṅke*, **iṟakkay*.

Metathesis had been previously called by names like aphaeresis, syncopation of radical vowel, etc., because it seems prima facie to involve the loss of the vowel of the first syllable plus lengthening of that of the second. Only at a later period it began to be recognized and identified as metathesis.

Before the actual occurrences of metathesis are analysed, it will be helpful if the Proto-Dravidian phonemes are enumerated. With the help of the work so far done in Comparative Dravidic Studies, it is possible to reconstruct the following phonemes for Proto-Dravidian.

Consonants

p	t	ṯ	ṭ	c	k
m	n		ṇ	ñ	
			ḷ		
			ḻ		
		r		y	

Vowels

V
ī ū
i u
ē ō
e o
a ā

In the common Dravidian etyma the retroflex and alveolar consonants except nasals (ṭ, ḷ, ḻ.ṯ, l, r) do not occur in the initial position. In the same way the occurrence of consonant-clusters in the initial position is not a common Dravidian characteristic, i. e. the common Dravidian etyma do not attest the occurrence of consonant groups in the initial position. Hence it is not possible to reconstruct the initial retroflex and alveolar consonants as well as the initial consonant-clusters.

In a few Dravidian Languages we observe a good number of cognates in which the non-initial alveolar– retroflex consonants occur initially and also some other cognates in which there is formation of initial consonant clusters. These features are due to the result of metathesis.

Metathesis in Dravidian Languages may be classified into two types. The first type which involves the shifting of non-initial consonants to the initial position and the seconed type which involves the shifting of medial consonants to the adjacent position of the initial consonant and of forming an initial consonant-cluster with the initial consonants.

Non-initial consonants shifted to the initial position

Languages differ from one another in the operation of metathesis. When the consonants shifted position, they underwent various changes.

In Telugu -ṭ- becomes voiced in the metathesised forms. -ḻ- fell together with -ḍ- and -ḷ- fell together with ḻ-. In classical Telugu the distinction between r and ṟ (<ṯ) was still preserved in some of these metathesised forms. In modern Telugu r and ṟ merged into one. Thus in the classical language Telugu shows evidence for the occurrence of four consonants in the initial position as a result of metathesis.

They are ḍ-, ṟ-, r- and l-

ḍiggu	" to descend "
ḍāgu	" to disappear "
rāyu	" to be rubbed "
ṟōlu	" to lament "
lē	" non–existent "

In Kui -ṭ-, ḻ and -ḷ- became ḍ- in certain environments; -ṯ- and -ḻ- lost contrast and merged into ṛ- in some environments; -ṯ- in certain environments fell together with r- and -l- and -ḷ- fell together. Thus in Kui only four consonants occur initially as a result of the shift. They are ḍ-, ṛ-, r- and l-.

ḍuspa	" to cause to break "
ḍespa	" to raise "
ḍāsa	" to measure "
ṛūva	" to plough "
rumba	" to roar "
lāa	" young woman "
lāṅka	" to suffer "

In Kuvi -ṭ-, -ḷ- and -ḻ- fell together and became ṛ-; -ṯ-, ḻ in some environments fell together with r- and -ḷ- fell together with l in most of the places. Thus in Kuvi the phonemes that occur initially as a result of metathesis are ṛ-, r- and l-. There is rare evidence for the occurrence or ḍ- in the initial position in the metathesised forms.

ṛū	" to plough "
rīh	" to beg "
re ʔ	" to pull "
lacali	" to measure "

There are evidences for the occurrence of ḍ-, r-, ṟ- and l- initially in Konda as a result of metathesis.

ḍig	" to descend "
ri	" two "
loʔi	" inside "
ṟeyu	" night "

In Gondi ḍ-, l- and r- occur initially as a result of metathesis.

raiyōl	" adult boy "

ḍigānā	" descend "
lopa roppo	" inside "

Pengo has ḍ-, ṛ-, r- and l- in the initial position as a result of metathesis.

ṛū	" plough "
lāc-	" to measure "
ro	" one "
rāc	" snake "

With regard to Manda the data is not available at hand. There are a few cases of shift of non-retroflex alveolar consonants also to the initial position in Telugu and other languages. They are n-, m-, v- and d-. These consonants are found shifted to the initial position in the oblique forms of the first and second personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns.

nā	" my "	
mā	" our "	
nī	" your "	(sg.)
mī	" your "	(pl.)
Te. *vā̃ḍu*	" he "	**avanṯu*
Konda *vāṇṟu*	" he "	
Te. *vīru*	" they "	**ivar (u)*
Konda *vēr*	" they "	
Te. *dėni*	" this thing "	

Formation of Initial consonant–clusters

Where the Proto–Dravidian word has a C_1 preceding V_1 in a sequence as in $C_1 V_1 C_2 - V$...... the metathesis of V_1 and C_2 produces initial consonant clusters.

As a result of metathesis Telugu, Kui, Kuvi, Pengo, Manda and Konda have acquired consonant clusters in the initial position. Here also the displaced consonants have undergone various changes.

In Old Telugu the consonant groups admitted in the initial position through metathesis are those with -r as the second member of clusters; the first may be anyone of the phonemes p-, b-, t-, d-, k-, g-, m-, s-, v- combining with -r-, pr-, br-, tr- and so on. In the initial position r- develops out of PDr. *r and *ṯ whereas in the consonant clusters -r derives from three PDr. phonemes *r, *ṯ and *ḻ.

trā̃cu	" serpent "
travvu	" to dig "
krovvu	" to grow fat "

In Kui –r, ṛ– and l occur as the second member of the initial consonant cluster. The first member may be anyone of the following phonemes p–, b–, t–, d–, ṭ–, ḍ–, k–, j–, m–, v– and s–.

gramba	" to learn "
srāsu	" snake "
kṛohpa	" to winnow "
gṛāpa	" to cross over "
plīnga	" to be split "
slīng	" to stand on end (hair) "
tlau	" head "

In Kuvi also three consonants namely –r, –ṛ, and –ṇ occur as the second member of the initial consonant clusters. In a dialect –l is also rarely found to occur as the second member. The first member may be anyone of the following phonemes p–, b–, t–, d–, ḍ–, k–, g– and m.

trāyu	" head "
mrānu	" tree "
kṛānu	" threshing ground "
kṛōh	" to winnow "
mṇukka	" urine "
mnīh	" to dazzle "

In Pengo–Manda also instances for the occurrence of initial consonant clusters are available. In Pengo –r and –ṛ (also rarely –l) occur as the second member and the first member may be p–, t–, d–, ṭ–, ḍ–, k–, g–, or m—

mrōl	" have "
kṛoy	" put "
mṛuk	" to dip in "

There are a few instances of initial consonant clusters available in Konda also. In Konda –r, –ṛ and –ṟ occur as the second member and the first may be anyone of the following phonemes p–, k., g–, m– and s—

mrāk–	" to hide "
srāsu	" serpent "
pṛiyu	" worm "
pṟi–	" to grow "

Vowel Shift

In Dravidian languages all the five short vowels (a, i, u, e, o) occur in the root syllable but only a, i, u occur in the derivative syllable. When the consonants are displaced as a result of metathesis as cited above the adjacent vowels also get shifted.

Metathesis with Vowel Contraction

In the sequence $(c)_1\ V_1\ C_2\ V_2 \ldots\ldots C_2$ and V_2 shift position, i. e., suffer metathesis and V_1 and V_2 merge together, i. e., they contract, giving length if a single consonant follows, but as a short vowel if a consonant cluster follows. In Kuvi the vowel is shortened even when followed by a glottal stop or semivowel –y. When V_1 is merged with V_2 which is part of the derivative syllable, the resultant shape is of V_1 and not of V_2

E. g.,	a+a	ā/a	
	i/e+a	ē/e	
	u/o+a	ō/o	
	i+i/u	ī/i	
	e+i/u	ē/e	
	u+i/u	ū/u	V + C
	o+i/u	ō/o	V + CC
Telugu	*ḍā̃gu*	" to disappear "	
	lē	" non-existence "	
	rōlu	" mortar "	
Kuvi	*ṛū-*	" to plough "	
Te	*ḍiggu*	" to descend "	

It is explained that metathesis has been attended by vowel contraction. However there are instances of metathesis which has been attended by a loss of vowel (i or u) in the second syllable.

$$V_1\ C_1 - (\,i/u\,)\ C_2 \qquad\qquad c_1\ V_1.\ C_2\ C_2.$$

History of Metathesis.

It is evident that metathesis is the characteristic feature of Telugu-Kuvi sub-group of the Central Dravidian Languages. This sub-group underwent metathesis first of all in the oblique forms of the first and second personal pronouns, *nā, mā, nī, mī*. When we compare these with the corresponding forms of the Kolami–Parji sub-group, *an, am, in, im* respectively, it becomes evident that the former ones are the result of metathesis.

In *nā, mā, nī, mī* the vowels are lengthened because the phonemic structure of those languages does not allow monosyllabic words ending in a short vowel; or else the lengthening may be the result of the contraction of the root vowel and the following vowel of the oblique suffix.

E. g.	*en– a–kku*	*em–a–kku*
	an–a nā	*am–a mā*

After the completion of the process in the oblique forms of the pronouns and also in Telugu demonstrative pronouns a sudden separation of the languages of this group should have occurred. Hence metathesis is not progressive in Gondi and though it is progressive in others there are many independent developments.

When the merger of i/e and u/o took place in Telugu, simultaneously metathesis was progressing in demonstrative pronouns.

e. g. *ivaru* *vīru* " he " proximate

Telugu inscriptions give evidence for the following development also.

id̆–an–i *ed–an–i* *dēni* " this thing "

The metathesis of demonstrative pronouns in Telugu must have taken place in the border areas of Konda Language and hence it is shared by both Telugu and Konda.

	Telugu	Konda
Masc. Sg.	*Vā̃ḍu*	*Vāṉṟu / Van–*
Masc. Pl.	*Vāru*	*Vāru / Var*
Non–masc. Sg. (obl.)	..	*dan–*
Non–masc. Pl. (obl.)	..	*van*

Since Kui and Kuvi do not attest the process of matathesis in the demonstrative pronouns, they should have been separated before this development in Telugu and Konda.

īvasi	" he "	*ēvasi*	" he " (remote)	Kūvi
īvasi	" they "	*ēvari*	" they " (remote)	

Metathesis has been resisted in Konda interrogative pronouns most probably to avoid a confusion between proximate pronouns such as *ivaṉṟu* > *evaṉṟu* > *vēṉṟu*. but in Telugu interrogative pronoun has suffered metathesis, **evaṉṟu*> *vē̃ḍu*

Thus in the preliminary stage of metathesis the consonants are not restricted as n–, m–, v– and d– are also involved in. The initial vowels involving metathesis also have not undergone any change, e. g., *a* in *an–a*>*nā*, *i* in *in–a*> *nī* and *e* in *ed–am*> *dēn–j*, etc. In Telugu metathesis in oblique forms of the personal pronouns must have taken place before the merger of PDr. *i, *u with *e, *o respectively in South Dravidian Languages and in other forms it might have taken place after the merger of the said vowels.

**ir –a*	**e r–a > rē*	" night "
**ur–a*	**or–a > rō–lu*	" mortar "

Loss of C– in south Dravidian and C– > t– shared by Telugu also should have taken place before the developed stage of metathesis.

Te.	*lē*	" non-existence "	**cil–*
Te.	*rē*	" night "	**cir–*
Te.	*trā̃cu*	" serpent "	**carav–*

From these facts it can be concluded that in Telugu metathesis and vowel contraction took place after its separation from PSDr. But even after that it was bound to Goṅdi–Konda, Pengo–Manda and Kui–Kuvi for a considerable period of time.

THE TAMIL KINGS – A PARADOX

By

V. Natesan, Madras

The history of India is incomplete without further investigation of the history of Dakṣiṇapada. The ancient history of South India is, for the most part, shrouded in darkness. Without any sentimental bias the South Indian historians and students of history should throw light on many a topic connected with South India. Scholars have often fought shy of the intricacies of the historical development in Tamil Nadu. In short, we have to rewrite the history of South India with the help of facts and figures.

For Example : I give the following—

Suppose we want to know the real name of the city of Madras. We will find that even as the name of Calcutta is derived from 'KĀLĪ' (DURGHA) 'KALIGHAT', the name 'Chennai', it may be said, is derived from the name of the city's goddess 'Chennaiamman' (KĀLĪ) situated at 'Chennai-Kuppam' (from which, it can be argued, that the original name of Chennapattanam is derived from Chennammam). The locality now comprising coral merchant street, Thambu chetty street and its suburbs, was called 'Maratha Town' at the time when Sivaji Maharaj visited Madras (Vide : *Vestiges of Madras and east India Records*). Chennaiamman is one of the names of Sree Kaligambal enshrined at the oldest temple in the city in the year 1600 (67, Thambu chetty street, Muthialpet, G. T. Madras-1). This name of the goddess, it is very probable, has been attributed to a man's name 'chennappa Naicken'. Chennaikuppam was famed for a kind of fish called 'Chennai' and for the manufacture of a fish-net called 'Chennaivalai'. Chennai Kaligambal's Temple drum was called 'chennai' (Vide : *Tamil Lexicon*, Madras University). This, it may be recognised, is one of the many historical facts connected with South India.

I wish to put forth a few points to be pondered over by lovers of history who, if they care, may furnish me with historical facts for further studies.

History begins to the South of India as to the North, with the advent of the Aryans. The progress of aryanisation of the south is reflected in the language, literature, legends and grammar. There is ample evidence in South Indian languages and inscriptions to prove it. Till about 600 B. C., people living in the north of India did not know about the fertile lands beyond the south of the Vindhyas. Only after 600 B. C., legends of Agastya, Paraśurāma and Viśvāmitra centre round the slow and steady infiltration of the Aryans into South India. It is seen from our literature that the Pāṇḍya and Cola kings embrace Agastyamuni as their 'Kulaguru' and the Cera kings trace their origin to Paraśurāma and called their land Cerapada or Paraśurāma Kṣetra. Why? Was it not because those kings were the representatives of the north Indian Emperors? They were pleased to remain under the guidance and influence of the Āryamuni, Agastya.

The same Agastya is said to have been sent by Lord Śiva to South India to keep the balance of power in India or to begin aryanisation in the south of the Vindhya mountains. The wedding of Śrī Mīnākṣī with Lord Śiva at 'Madurai-south' points to another aspect of the Aryanisation, an Aryan god marrying a Dravidian goddess of South India. Tradition makes Agastya the father of Tamil, the author of the first grammar books in Tamil (Big Agatyam and small Agatyam) and Royal Chaplain (*Kulaguru*) of the divine line of the Pandiyan Rulers, the descendants of Śiva and Śivāi who condescended to become the first king and queen of this celebrated line.

Malayathuvaja Pandiyam and Kāñcanamālā are said to be the founders of the Pandiyan dynasty and their *kulaguru* was Agastya. According to *Thiruvilayadal Purāṇam* and *Thirualavai Purāṇam* Lord Śiva himself became Sundereśa Pandiyan and married 'Thadathagai' (incarnation of Śakti) the daughter of the Pandiyan king and their holy union, it is said, gave birth to 'Ugrakumara peru vazhythi' (incarnation of Lord Muruga). All the three ruled the Pandiyan kingdom (vide: *Madurai Knadam*, Vol. I). Tradition avers the Pandiyans to be a branch of the ancient lunar race of kings, (vide: *Purnanuru* stanza 58) and they were called 'Panchavar'. The Pandiyan kings belonged to the Lunar dynasty. May I ask why and how if they were Tamil kings? The capital of the Pandiyan kingdom, 'Thenmadurai' (south Madurai) would recall the North Indian Muttra (Vada Madurai), Ceylon Madurai and Java Madurai. These three cities having the same name would suggest the continuity of the sway of Aryan kings from North India to the south, Ceylon and the Java islands. In the epic *Mahābhāratam*, it is mentioned that Pāṇḍava prince, Arjuna married 'Chitrangadai', the daughter of the Pandiyan Chitrangadhan of Madurai-south. Arjuna and Chitrangadhan belonged to the lunar dynasty. From the *Mahāvaṁśa*, we learn that the king, Vijayan of Ceylon married the daughter of a Pandiyan king of Madurai in the year B. C. 478 and every year the Ceylon king was sending gifts to his father-in-law in Madurai. Further, there was intermarriage among the Cera, the Cola and the Pandiyan kings. This shows clearly that these three dynasties belong to or were derived from Āryāvarta only and there was often dynastic unity among them to oppose their common enemies.

The five Cult (Aryan Culture) had been introduced into the Tamil country by these so called Tamil kings only in much earlier times and the Cera, Cola and Pāṇḍya kings engaged themselves in Vedic *yajñas* or sacrifices. We have the Cola-Raja Syamvetta Perunarkilli, the Cera Celkelu Kuttuvan and the Pandiyan Palyạgasalai Mudukudimi for conducting the *yāgas* in their respective kingdoms.

Animals play a considerable part in the mythological and religious ideas of the Vedas. Among them the horse is prominent as drawing the cars of the gods. The splendour of royal ceremonial, however, culminated in horse-sacrifice (Aśvamedha). It was not a thanks-offering as might at first sight be inferred from the words of the Brāhmaṇa description of each king who performed it. He victoriously traversed the earth and offered the horse-sacrifice (Vide : page 615, Vol. XII, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James HASTINGS in 1921). Palyagacalai Muthukundimi, a Pandiyan king, was famed for conducting ' Parimetham ' or Aśvamedha and many other *yāgas* (Vedic sacrificial fire). To become *Cakravarti* (Emperor of India) the kings were performing Aśvamedha *yāgas*. From the Chinnamanev and Velvikudi copper plates one Pandiyan king is reported to have conducted 1,000 *yāgas*. This king, alluded to, is only ' Palayagacalai Muthukudumi Peruvazhuthi '.

Does it not show that these kings were descended from the Vedic Aryans ? Thus one can easily understand that there was close connection or euphonymous relationship between the Pandiyans and the Pāṇḍavas of North India, for both belonged to the lunar dynasty. Pandiyans are called ' Gowriar ' because they were the descendants of Śrī Mīnākṣī, the daughter of Malayathuvaja Pandiyan and Kāñcanamālā of Madurai-South and Śrī Mīnākṣī, the daughter of queen of the Pandian and her administration had also been referred to in the foreign notices of South India.

The author of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* mentions the existence of the Pandiyan kings in B. C. 8th century and the gates of Thenmadurai are described as being decked with gold and pearls. It is mentioned that there were *āśramas* for ascetics in the Daṇḍaka forest. The author of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* had written a Tamil stanza in the Tamil classical work *Puranamuru*. The author of *Vyāsa Bhārata* has made mention of Arjuna's wedding in Pandiyanadu.

In B. C. 4th century Makitthi Pandyan was ruling the Pandiyanadu with the capital, Kabadapuram (seaport). At the end of the second Tamil Saṅgam period the ancient Tamil grammar *Tholkapium* was approved by the Tamil poets and scholars of the above Saṅgams. The last and 59th king of Pandiyanadu (with the capital, 'Kabadapuram') was Mudathirumaran and in his period washed away the seaport, Kabadapuram.

After this inundation, Mudathirumaran founded a temporary city at Manalur and then permanent town, 'Alavai' meaning Śiva at the foot of the banyan tree with the temple of Śiva in the centre of the town and on the day of the renovation of the temple mentioned above called it as 'Madurai' in memory of the oldest city South Madurai. As also North Madurai (Muttra) (Vide : the copper plate of Paranthaka Pandiyan).

"தென் மதுராபுரம் செய்தும்
அங்கு அதனில் அரும் தமிழ்நா
சங்கம் இரீஇத் தமிழ் வளர்த்தும்"

In the last Saṅgam age Pandiyan Mathivanam who was himself a Tamil poet wrote a Tamil drama *Mathivanan* and Porkai Pandiayan (golden-hand Pandian) protected the Vedic brahmins like his eyes in his kingdom. Thus one can understand that there was connection or relationship between the Pandiyans and the Pāṇḍavas for both belong to the Lunar Dynasty (Candravaṁśam). Pandiyan Kulasekaran alias Malaithuvajan is the son of Indra and the grandson of 'Āsirithan' and the great grandson of 'Dushyarithan' (Vide : p. 657, *Abithiana chinthamani* by A. Singaravelu MUDALAIR 1910). In 1911 Mr. SWARNAM EDWARD of Tuthukudi said 'Pandyas belong to Kshatrya family which has solar, lunar and Agni dynasties. Meenavan, Vazhuti, Maran belong to 'Vennathimarabu' (Lunar dynasty) Vajarangatha Pandian advised his son, Ratnangathan that his son should rule his country like their ancestor Bharathan who was very famous for his good administration in India'. Bharathan was a south African king of lunar dynasty and his descendants are Barathavar and Parathiars (fishermen and fisherwomen). They were the inhabitants of maritime districts being fishers; Pandian kings were called as 'Meenavarkon' and 'Cherppan'. From being Jainas, they (Pandians) became Saivites (Vide page 221, *Encyclopaedia Britanica*). The small but important (9th to 13th century A. D.) dynasty of the Pandyas of 'Ucchangi', a hill fort south of Tuṅgabhadrā river, may have originated from the Madurai family (Vide the above page). There is another school of thought that Andathiran's sons are Bheran, Bholan and Pandian; Pandian is the eldest son.

Dakṣiṇapada :— *Ṛgveda* mentions that one Aryan was expelled from the Aryan fold, betook himself to the south and turned his feet in that direction. In the later Vedic age there were in South India a few Aryan kingdoms like Vidarbha with its capital at Kundina. Kaliṅga perhaps had Aryan influence at an early period. Thus the aryanisation of south India commenced in the Brāhmaṇa period.

The *Aitareya Brāhamaṇa* mentions that the sage Viśvāmitra condemned his fifty sons to live on the borders of Āryāvarta and Pāriyātra (Northern and Western portion of the Vindhyas) and the sage's grand children are Dasyus like Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas in 1000 B. C. The Buddhist canon records that an Aryan Guruji, Bavari left Kosala and settled in a village on the banks of the Godāvarī and his pupils went via Paithan, Mandhata and Ujjain to meet Lord Buddha.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is mentioned that Agastya made Daṇḍakāraṇya fit for Aryan occupation by his victories over the Asuras. This goes to prove the Aryan settlements and colonisation of the south in the epic period itself. The Mauryan empire was established all over India except in the extreme south. Aśoka the Great had political and diplomatic relations with the south countries that lay outside his empire. Why? I say, because the so called 'Tamil kings' were their kith and kin or representatives in the south.

Cerapadaḥ :— 'Some 2,000 years ago the whole of south India was inhabited by a people who called themselves, so far as we can reasonably conjecture, the 'Damizha' or 'Damizh' people and their land they called 'Damizhakam'. The word Damizh later on became 'Thamizh' or Tamil. The Sinhala people call them 'Damila' and the Greeks called Tamilake as 'Damirike'. This Damizhakam was divided into three areas - Cola, Pandi and Cera. In all these sub-divisions of Damizhakam there had been one culture and one language' said Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI on 17th July, 1967. The language, Tamil was called 'Colabasha' in ancient Tamil land. There are conjugal relations and other peculiarities prevailing among the Nayars of the West Coast and the Newars of the Nepal, point to a similarity of race (Vide : Dr. BURCHAN and HAMILTON's *Account of the kingdom of Nepal* pp. 29–42 and *Kirckpatrika*'s Nepal p. 187). 'The Tamilians think that the Cera, Cola, Pandia kings are Tamils but even to-day the Rajahs of Keralanadu follow Aryan culture, customs and habits (Vide : *Chola kings*, part I, by Pandit N. Kanakaraja IYER, 1931, p. 3).

According to *Racial history of India* by Chandra CHAKRABARTY Turuvasu who came to India by the Sea-route (*Ṛgveda* 6. 20. 12; 1. 174. 9) made friendly terms with the Vedic *Ṛṣis*. Turuvasu clans migrated to the south and four sons of this clan - Pāṇḍya, Kerela, Cola and Kulya established after their own names, Pāṇḍya (Madurai and Jeludi where there is a Mīnākṣī goddess in her magnificent temple at Madurai - the patron deity of the Maditerranians), Cola (Coromandel coast where the mediterranians established a mighty empire), Kerala (Malabar, Canara and Travancore) and Kulya (Kuntala-Kanta) (Vide : *Vāyupurāṇa* chapter 99. 5–7).

According to the legend of Malabar, Paraśurāma threw his axe towards the sea. The sea, upto the place where that axe fell, fixed up and land appeared. Paraśurāma consoled the fishermen by taking out threads from the nets and making them into sacred threads. Thereafter he declared them as Brahmins. After some time, Brahmins from north India came there, declared them ' Brahmins ' i. e. as low-grade Brahmins. They were Namadi-vipad Brahmins (Vide : letter from Malabar by the Dutch Chaplin JACOB, castes vincher–1743 pp. 9–10 and the land of Perumals by BAY, p. 306; Durgadospatra of Ranchi's letter to the Editor, *Illustrated Weekly of India* dated 16th April, 1972).

Aitareya Āraṇyaka mentions that the Ceras were one of the three people who transgressed certain ancient injuctions. It is evident that the Aryans entered Cerapada very early and the customs and habits of Ceras are different from those of the rest of the south India.

Paraśurāma took out an expedition against the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times and conquered the lands and distributed them to the Brahmins only. There was no land left for himself. Therefore he threw his weapon *Paraśu* standing on the cape of Kanya Kumari and the *Paraśu* is reported to have fallen on ' Kokarnam '. Thus Varuṇa gave the land to Paraśurāma from the Arabian Sea. This is the land called ' Kerallam ' and ' Paraśurāma Kṣetra '. The Paraśurāma's land was Aryanised in 64 villages. That the Ceras were Kṣatriyas by caste is evident from the fact that they engaged themselves in the performance of Vedic sacrifices. (Vide : life of Red Chera who built Kannagi Temple at Cannanoor).

About B. C. 4th Century the south Indian grammarian, Kathya-uana referred in his book to Pandiya, Cola and Kerala (not Ceranadu). Thus his work was written after Paraśurāma's age. Kauṭilya talks of the precious pearls and muslins of the Pandianadu. Aśoka had political and diplomatic relations with the Southern countries that lay outside his empire. Aśokan edicts refer to the three kingdoms of Tamila Nadu and Tembapanni (Ceylon) as part and parcel of India. One is forced to think why these North Indian kings avoided fighting with the 'Tamil Nadu' kings. The Mauryan empire was established all over India except the extreme south. We can conclude that indeed, they were the relations or representatives of the North Indian kings. Senguttuvan was an ally of Avanti (Ujjain in Malava) and of the kings of Vajra and Magadha. Kabilar wrote his work, *Kurinji Pattu* to make a North Indian king, Bragasthan to know the value of Tamil language.

THE BALLAD-CYCLE OF ŚAKTI IN ĀNDHRA

By

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From time immemorial, 'Śakti' worship is in practice in the country. Historians believe that Śakti worship of ancient races was much older than Sun and Fire-worship of the Aryans. By the time of the commencement of 'Tantras' in Vedic literature, Śakti worship was most popularly practised by all sects.

The origin of Śakti worship can be traced even in Vedas. In *Ṛgveda*, Śakti is described as the supreme power. Later in *Kenopaniṣad* she was revealed as the most shining form of Umā. In Purāṇas, she was described as Mahā Māyā, the sister of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and thus she was linked with Vaiṣṇavism also. According to Śaivism, Śakti is the wife of Lord Śiva. In course of time, the practice of worshipping Śakti as the Universal Mother has become prevalent. That is Ādiśakti'. In the different forms of Śakti, the most fearful form, Kālī has become popular. Śakti is worshipped as Durgā, the presiding diety of the mountains and as Lalitā, the supreme beauty. Śaktis are of different kinds. It is generally believed that all these Śaktis are parts of Ādi Śakti. Like *Ekam sat viprā bahudhā vadanti*, one Supreme Śakti is being worshipped in defferent forms and in different names. Some like *lalita mūrtis* (gracious forms), and some others like *ugra mūrtis* (fierce forms) of the Śakti. At times, the same Śakti is considered both as *lalita* and *ugra*. Tantras are the source literature of this Śakti cult.

Aṣṭa Siddhis (eight perfections) like Aṇimā, Mahimā, Garimā are *unnata śaktis* - supreme powers. All could not be achieved but for severe penance. Those who desire to acquire these powers will worship the Vedic deities like Lalitā, Durgā and Caṇḍikā. Mantras, Tantras, incantations and sacrifices are the methods of this worship.

The powers achieved with little practice, that too with the offering of wine and meat, intend to do harm to others and show little tricks, are called 'Kṣūdra Śaktis' - mean powers. Stambhana, Vidveṣaṇa, Uccāṭana, Bhrāmaṇa, Utsādana, Māraṇa etc. mean powers are mentioned in all Mantra Śāstras. Ellammā, Aṅkammā, Gaṅgammā, Polerammā Mutyālammā etc. are the mean deities. The fierce forms like Kālī, Bagaḷā, Caṇḍikā and Mātaṅgī are seen both in noble ways of penance and low practices in Mantra Śāstras.

The worship of mean deities alone is prevalent among the folk. They are called village deities. Aṅkammā (or Aṅkalammā or Anku), Eṛrapooṭammā, Ellammā, Koṇḍammā, Gaṅgammā (or Ganganamma or Gangānamma), Gaṇṭālammā, Pallakammā, Pallālammā / Puṭṭālammā, Peddiṇṭammā, Paiḍammā, Poolakammā (or Polakā) Polerammā (or Pooleeru), Mārī, Mutyālammā and Mogadārammā - are the main village deities worshipped in Andhra Pradesh. In this mean worship, the folk celebrate *jātrās* and offer sacrifices. Only during these festivals, songs and ballads narrating the greatness of the deities will be sung. Among these Śakti ballads, there are stories relating to Ellammā, Aṅkammā, Polerammā, Mātā, Mātaṅgī. Mutyālammā, Māhurammā, Tsauḍammā, Kākatammā, Jālammā, Gangānammā and Puṭṭālammā. Among these, the Ellammā ballads and Aṅkammā ballads formed into separate cycles.

The Ballad-cycle of Ellammā or the Ballad-cycle of Paraśu Rāma :

In Mantra Śāstras Reṇukā is praised as a noble deity. Kāvya Kaṇṭha Gaṇapati Muni, in his *Pracaṇḍa Caṇḍī Triśatī*, described Reṇukā as a tribal woman. But the folk are worshipping Reṇukā as a mean deity in the name of Ellammā. As she is in Māhura village, she came to be called Māhurammā This same Reṇukā has appeared as Ekavīrā Devī in Oorugallu. There is also a ballad *Ekavīrāmba Kathā*.

About Ellammā, there are nine ballads, known to be popular among the folk. All these are formed into a ballad cycle. The folk call this as *Gautu Purāṇam* or *Paraśu Rāmāyaṇam*. I have noted down six oral ballads on this *Gautupurāṇam* in West Godavari district in 1964. I also collected a palm-leaf manuscript of *Ekavīrāmba Kathā* in Krishna district and a paper manuscript of *Ellammā Kathā* in Hyderabad. I referred to two manuscripts of *Paraśu Rāmāyaṇam* (D. 1110 and D. 1111) and *Māhurammā Kathā* (R. No. 694) in Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library.

By comparing all the material cited above and the popular belief among the folk, I analyse that the following ballads are in order in the ballad cycle of Ellammā or Paraśurāma :

1) *The Ballad of Banyan Tree* : This is the story of Satya Gauta who for farming food crop, Korra, cuts the Yādava Banyan tree and kills the twelve-hooded Ādiśeṣa in the ant-hill at the bottom of the tree and destroys the birds that live on the tree and begets the sin.

2) *The Ballad of Jalagannā Pārvatī* : It is the story of the sufferings of Jalagannā Pārvatī, wife of Satya Gauta, under her mother-in-law Nīmakā Devī.

3) *The Ballad of Ekavīrāmbā or the Ballad of Māhurammā* : This is the name of the main ballad. There are three inner stories in it.

(a) The birth of Reṇukā - the birth of Ādi Śakti to Giri Rāju as Reṇukā

(b) The marriage of Reṇukā or the marriage mission of Reṇukā-Jamadagni, son of Satya Gauta, marrying Reṇukā, and–

(c) The battle of Giri Rāju or the battle of Reṇukā - the helping rendered to Giri Rāju by his daughter Reṇukā in killing the demons like Tripurāsura.

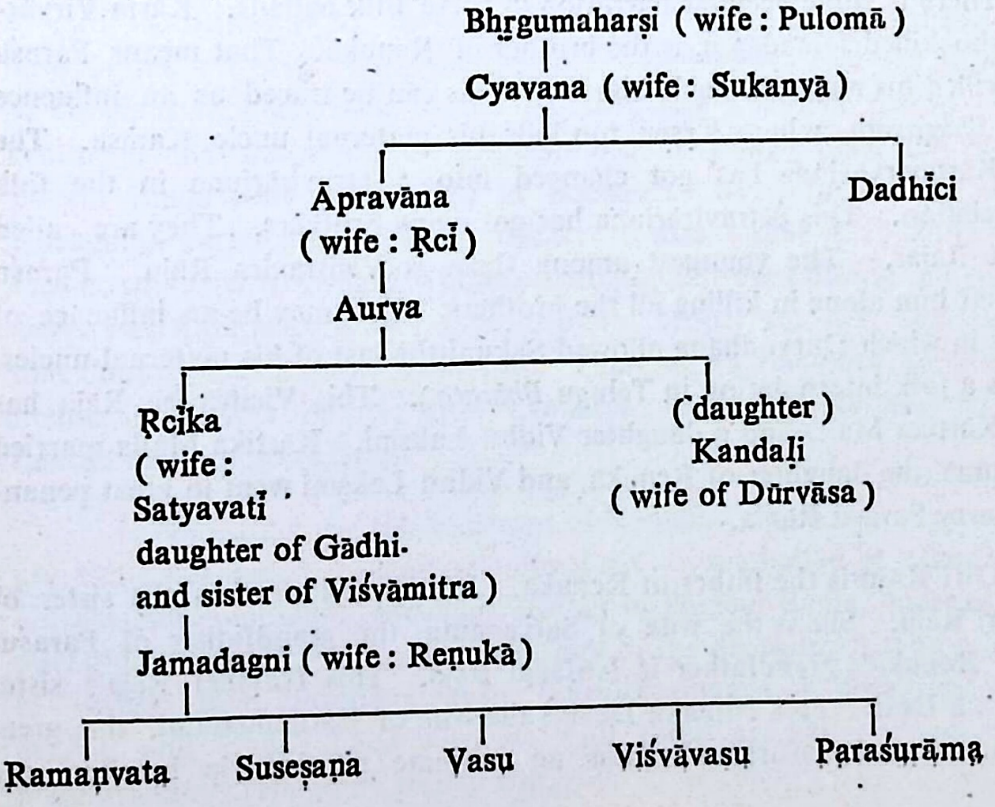
(4) *The birth of Paraśu Rāma*: The story of the birth of three children - Jampaya Rāju, Pāperu Gaurammā and Paraśu Rāmuḍu to Reṇukā and Jamadagni.

(5) *The battle of Paraśu Rāma*: The vengeance taken by Paraśu Rāma by killing Kārtika kings.

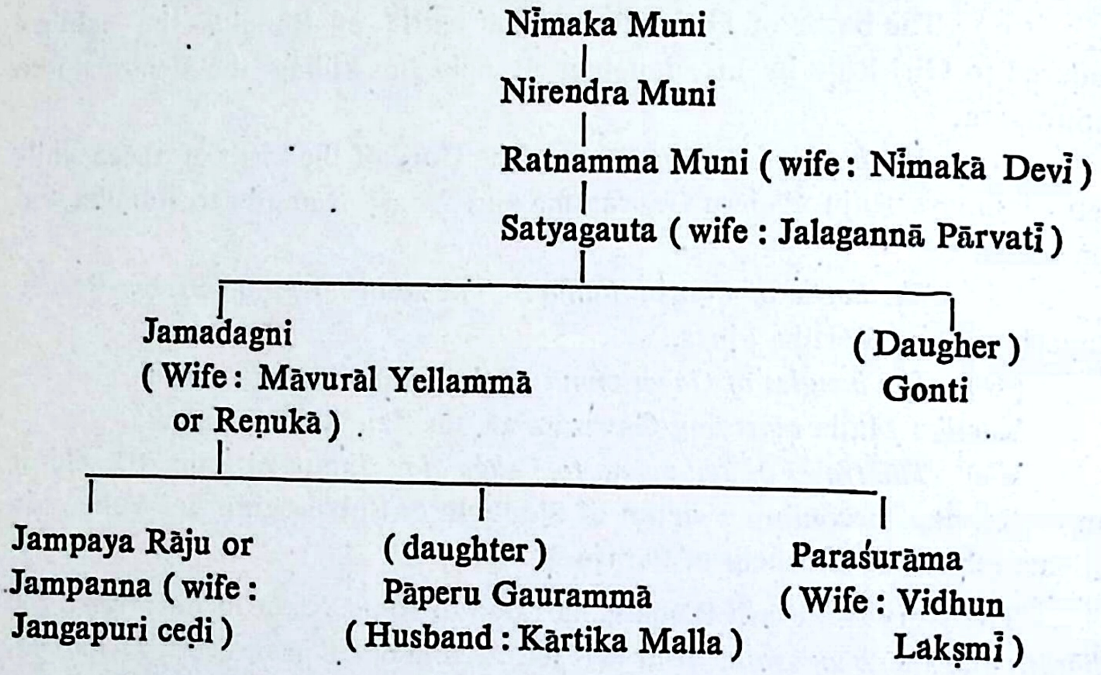
(6) *The bangles of Gavarammā or the ballad of Gontemmā*:
Kārtika Malla marrying Gavarammā, the daughter of Reṇukā.

(7) *The travel of Jampanna to Veligoṇḍa*: Jampaya Rāju, the eldest son of Reṇukā, becoming a victim of Siddhulu or Subhoogulu in Veligoṇḍa and his rebirth by the help of Paraśu Rāma.

The story of Paraśu Rāma is narrated to some extent in *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhārata* and the *Bhāgavata*. But it is narrated in detail in *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. However, there is no resemblance between the story of *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, and the story current among the folk. The story of *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* itself might have been metamorphised in the folk literature. Or the folk stories might have been codified in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. At present, except in one or two instances, there is no resemblance between the two narrations. According to epics and Purāṇas the genealogy of Paraśu Rāma is—


Bhṛgumaharṣi (wife: Pulomā)
Cyavana (wife: Sukanyā)
Āpravāna (wife: Ṛcī)
Dadhīci
Aurva
Ṛcīka (wife: Satyavatī daughter of Gādhi. and sister of Viśvāmitra)
(daughter) Kandaḷi (wife of Dūrvāsa)
Jamadagni (wife: Reṇukā)
Ramaṇvata
Suseṣaṇa
Vasu
Viśvāvasu
Paraśurāmạ

The genealogy of Paraśurāma according to folk ballads can be shown as below:

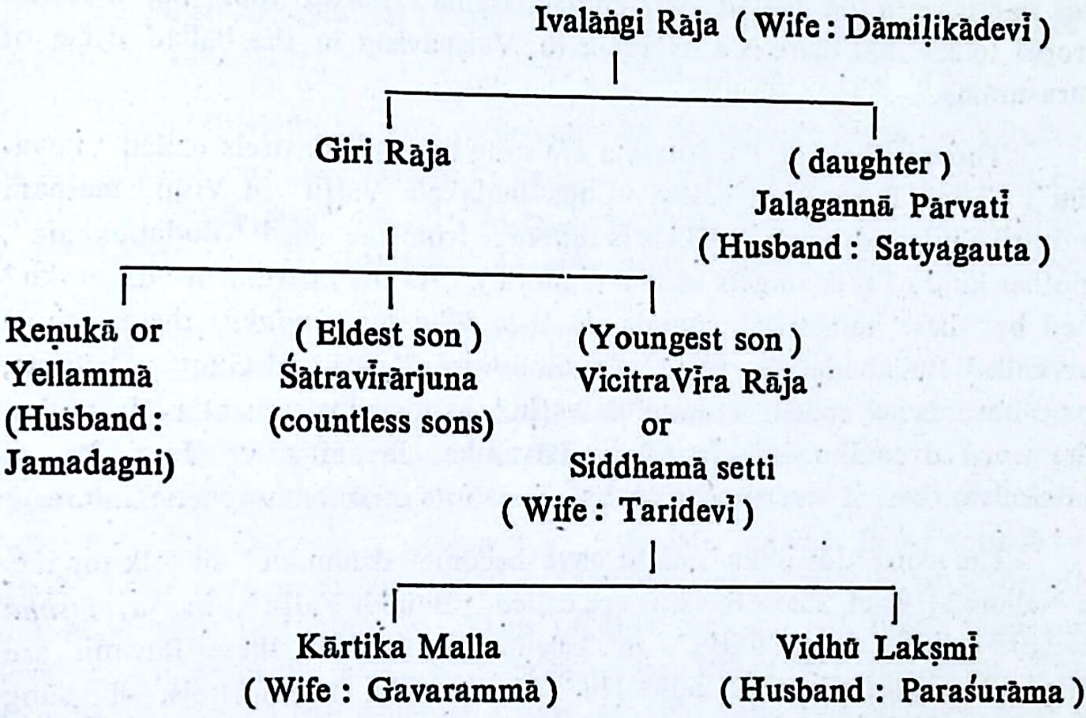

Nīmaka Muni
Nirendra Muni
Ratnamma Muni (wife : Nīmakā Devī)
Satyagauta (wife : Jalagannā Pārvatī)
Jamadagni (Wife : Māvurāl Yellammā or Reṇukā)
(Daugher) Gonti
Jampaya Rāju or Jampanna (wife : Jangapuri ceḍi)
(daughter) Pāperu Gaurammā (Husband : Kārtika Malla)
Paraśurāma (Wife : Vidhun Lakṣmī)

Gaurammā, the daughter of Yellammā, is worshipped as Gonti Devī and Kārtika Malla, her husband, is worshipped as Nandigādu by the Pariahs now. Vidhū Lakṣmī, the wife of Paraśu Rāma, is a blind woman. She is worshipped by Brahmins, starting from 'Nelaganṭu' i. e. a month prior to Saṅkrānti.

There is some peculiar narration in these folk ballads. Kārta Viryārjuna, who killed Jamadagni, is the brother of Reṇukā. That means Paraśu Rāma killed his maternal uncle himself. This can be traced as an influence of the *Bhāgavata*, where Kṛṣṇa too kills his maternal uncle, Kaṁsa. The name Kārtavīryārjuna has got changed into 'Śātravīrārjuna in the folk pronunciation. This Śātravīrārjuna has got many brothers. They are called Kārtika Rājas. The youngest among them is Vicitravīra Rāju. Paraśu Rāma left him alone in killing all the brothers. This may be an influence of *Bhārata* in which Duryodhana allowed Śakuni the last of his maternal uncles. (This is a folk interpolation in Telugu *Bhārata*). This Vicitravīra Rāja has a son Kārtika Malla and a daughter Vidhū Lakṣmī. Kārtika Malla married Gaurammā, the daughter of Reṇukā, and Vidhū Lakṣmī went in great penance to marry Paraśu Rāma.

Giri Rāju is the father of Reṇukā. Jalagannā Pārvatī is the sister of this Giri Rāju. She is the wife of Satyagauta, the grandfather of Paraśurāma. Reṇukā's grandfather is Ivaḷāṅgi Rāja. This Ivaḷāṅgi Rāja's sister is Nīmakā Devī. This Nīmaka Devī is the wife of Ratnamāmuni, the great grandfather of Paraśurāma. Thus an intimate relationship between the families of Paraśurāma and Kārtavīryārjuna is created by the folk. For this relationship there is no other source excepting the folk belief.

According to ballads, the genealogy of Kārtavīryārjuna can be traced like this –


Ivalāṅgi Rāja (Wife : Dāmiḷikādevī)
Giri Rāja
(daughter)
Jalagannā Pārvatī
(Husband : Satyagauta)
Reṇukā or
Yellammā
(Husband :
Jamadagni)
(Eldest son)
Śātravīrārjuna
(countless sons)
(Youngest son)
VicitraVīra Rāja
or
Siddhamā setti
(Wife : Taridevī)
Kārtika Malla
(Wife : Gavarammā)
Vidhū Lakṣmī
(Husband : Paraśurāma)

While commenting on the ballads of Paraśurāma, Mr. Sripada Gopala KRISHNAMURTI, Telugu critic, said, " Paraśurāma Purāṇa praises Vaiṣṇavism. It must be of later origin ". He believes that the ballad cycle of Paraśurāma might have originated after the Kākatīya period (11 to 14 century). But according to *Krīḍābhirāma*, a Telugu play, the ballads of Paraśu Rāma were being sung by minstrels ' Bavanīlu ' in the streets of Oorugallu, during the time of Pratāpa Rudra (1298–1323 A. D.). That means, the ballads of Paraśu Rāma were popular even during the thirteenth century in Āndhra country. It is also not proper for Mr. SRIPADA to say that these ballads praise Vaiṣṇavism. There is no reference to Vaiṣṇavism neither in the folk ballads now available nor in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, instead they praise Śaivism.

In the ballad of ' the Marriage of Reṇukā ', Jamadagni appears in the guise of a dzaṅgam (a Vīraśaivite devotee). In the ballad of ' the Bangles of Gavarammā, Jampanna, the elder brother of Paraśu Rāma, marries ' Jangapuri ceḍi ' (*dzaṅgapu vāri ceḍe* – the lady of the dzaṅgams), who is the sister of Śivaparvatam, Haraliṅgamayya, Guruliṅgamayya, Koṭipalliswāmi .Lingamayya, and Iśvara Vīrabhadrayya (all these are Śaivite names). Thus there are many references to Śaivism.

According to *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa,* Paraśu Rāma worships Lord Śiva and gets 'Paraśu' and 'Bhārgavāstra' by his grace and becomes a great hero. There is a narration of Paraśu Rāma being given life again with the Sañjīvanī by Lord Śiva when he was slain by Triśūla of Kārtavīryārjuna. We find this reference in the ballad of 'Paraśu Rāma's Battle' too. So, it is not proper to say that there is a reference to Vaiṣṇavism in the ballad cycle of Paraśurāma.

These ballads of Paraśurāma are sung by the minstrels called 'Bavanīlu'. These Bavanis are called 'Buḍa–buḍakala Vāḷḷu' in Viśākhāpaṭnam and Śrīkākuḷam districts. (This is different from the word 'Buḍabukkala', another kind of folk singers in the Āndhra). As the instrument 'dzamuku' used by these minstrels, sounds *buḍa-buḍaka buḍabuḍaka,* these people are called Buḍabuḍakala vāḷḷu. In Godavari, Kṛṣṇa and Guntur Districts, these Bavanis are called 'dzamukula vāḷḷu', as their instrument is dzamuku. The word dzamuku is referred as Bavanika, Javanika or Jamidika in classical works. These appear to be the words of onomatopoetic nature.

The word 'Javanika' might have become 'dzamuku' in folk tongue. In Nellore District, these Bavanis are called 'Bainīḍi Vāḷḷu', in *Rāyalasīma* they are called 'Āsādi Vāḷḷu', in Teleṅgaṇā Districts, these Bavanis are called 'Bainīḍooḷḷu' or 'Baiṇḍlooḷḷu'. Ultimately, the minstrels, who sung the ballads of Yellammā are Bavanis belonging to 'Ammagāri Darśana' (worshippers of Ādi Śakti, the Universal Mother) and they are all cobblers. Among the castes worshipping Yellammā, Gamaḷḷas (Toddy-tappers) form a large majority. All the people in 'Eenugula Bāvi' village, in Nellore district, worshipping Reṇukā are Gamaḷḷas only. Even some Ooruganṭi Reḍḍis are also worshipping Reṇukā.

According to *Krīḍābhirāmam,* apart from Oorugallu (Warangal), there are also other places– Maṇḍapāka, Penubāka, Māhuramu, Nāgavaramu and Polāsa – where Reṇukā or Yellammā has emerged. Maṇḍapāka village is by the side of Taṇuka town in west Godavari district. Here a great festival is celebrated for Yellammā every year. Penubāka might have also been located in Andhra Pradesh. Māhuramu, Nāgavaramu and Polāsa are now in Maharashtra. Māhuramu is the present Mahur, Nāgavaramu is the present Nagpur and Polāsa is none other than present Balharshah. I believe that Śakti worship, especially the worship of Yellammā, is derived from the Maharashtrians. In Maharashtra, Dattātreya is considered as the son of Reṇukā. There is a Dattātreya Muṭh and a Reṇukā temple in the present Mahur.[1] The Kākatīya Kings might have brought this deity from Maharashtra. As she has emrged in Mahur, she is referred to in the folk ballads as Māvurāla Yellemmā, Māvurammā and Māhurammā. The Yellammā in Oorugallu is called Ekavīrā. As she has in Maisamāpuram, the town gifted away by her father, she might have derived the name Maisammā. Kākatammā in Oorugallu is a different deity. Yellammā is a friend of Kākatammā. These two deities are referred to as 'Bhogāvatī Kanyalu' (pleasure girls) in the song of Kāmeśvarī.

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[1] Dr. B. Rama Raju, *History of Telugu Folksongs,* p. 438.

Among the ballad-cycles in Telugu, the Yellammā Cycle or Paraśurāma Cycle must be the oldest in existence. For this there are references in history that Paraśurāma, after defeating Kārtavīrya, invaded Keraḷa in 1176 B. C.[2] Keraḷites are still following an era called 'Paraśurāma Śaka' from that date.

There are some links between this ballad cycle and the other two popular Ballad cycles in Telugu, i. e. the Ballad-cycle of the heroes of Palanāḍu and the Ballad-cycle of Kāṭama Rāju. The Haihaya Kings who ruled Palanāḍu are the descendants of Kārtavīryārjuna. This is a historical fact. Apart from this, there is a reference in Palanāḍu Ballads that Paraśurāma himself has reborn as Brahmanāyuḍu (the Central hero of this Ballad-cycle) and Nāgammā, the minister - villain of this cycle, is no other than the developing baby in the womb of a Śūdra woman killed by Paraśurāma. The story of the Banyan tree which is a part of the Yellammā Ballad-cycle is also found in the story of Bhaktiranna in the Ballad-cycle of Kāṭama Rāju.

In the Ballad-cycle of Yellammā, it appears peculiar that Kārtavīryārjuna having been described as the maternal uncle of Paraśurāma, Reṇukā having much affection towards her maternal side, and Reṇukā trying to kill her own sons to evade the curse on her brothers. The names here are also peculiar (Ivaḷāṅgi Rāja, Jamiḷikādevī, Jalagannā Pārvatī etc.). As these ballads are carried over from generation to generation by oral tradition these stories might have got strange and wonderful changes. Perhaps of this oral transmission, there is no similarity between the stories of *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and this Ballad-cycle.

In the Ballad cycle of Yellammā, the attributes of the ballad are in full revelation. Even though the theme is mythological, it has been well shaped in a fine social background. In these ballads, the customs and traditions of the scheduled castes like pariahs and cobblers have been well depicted. The virulousness of the mother-in-law, the sufferings of daughter-in-law, the greatness of *pativratās*, the valour of Reṇukā who is the incarnation of Śakti and the heroic deeds of Paraśurāma, some humour in appropriate places, the description of Vīra and Adbhuta Rasas, the creation of folk atmosphere with supernatural elements and the ballad common places are appearing vividly. Satyagauta's pomp and glory, at the time of his procession to his mother-in-law's place, has been described with all folk background.

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[2] *Telugu Encyclopaedia*, vol. I, p. 316.

The Ballad-cycle of Aṅkammā: In this, there are three ballads of Mārāsapu Kings who worshipped Aṅkammā or Aṅkāḷammā. The first one is the story of Mārāsapu Aṅkammā. In this the seven Kings– Dharmasūḍāni Rāju, Allāni Rāju, Ballāni Rāju, Anupadma Rāju, Kalyāṇa Rāju, Kanakasoma Rāju and Vīra Soma Rāju – the grandsons of Devādhi Deva Rudra who was ruling Kalyāṇa Devagiri Paṭṭaṇa, got the wrath of Aṅkammā for having abused her.[3]

The second ballad in this cycle is the story of Ravaddevī Rāju. It tells the valour of Ravaddevī Rāju, the son of Dharmasūḍāni Rāju, who attacks Aṅkammā and gets her blessings and frees his father and uncles from her curse.[4]

The third ballad in this cycle is the story of Gaṅgu Rāju or Kalyāṇapu Gaṅgu Rāju. Gaṅgu Rāju is the son of Ravaddevī Rāju. His uncle (father's younger brother) Kanakarāvendra is cruel in character. He tries to kill Gaṅgu Rāju perhaps with the intention of occupying the throne. Gaṅgu Rāju kills him with the help of Aṅkammā. The minstrels call him as Kalyāṇapu Gaṅgu Rāju. He must have derived this name by ruling Kalyāṇa Paṭṭaṇa. In the palm-leaf manuscript we find his name as 'Rāju Gaṅgu Rāju'.[5]

Just as Paraśurāma ballad-cycle is called as *Gautupurāṇam*, the ballad-cycle of Aṅkammā is also called as *Aṅkammā Pāṅgem* by the folk. These may be historical ballads. These ballads may deal with Western Cāḷukyas who ruled Kalyāṇa. As this Aṅkammā was worshipped by Ravaddevī Rāju and Gaṅgu Rāju, who belong to Mārāsapu dynasty, she got the name 'Mārāsapu Aṅkammā'. There are also two other kinds of Aṅkammā: 'Palnāṭi Aṅkammā' or 'Vīrula Aṅkammā' (heroes' Aṅkammā), who was worshipped by Komma Rāju, a popular hero of Palnāḍu. Her temple is in Kārempūḍi in Palnāḍu. The folk call her as 'Iirla Aṅkammā' ('Iirla' is a folk derivative of 'Vīrula'). 'Bayaṭa Aṅkammā' (external Aṅkammā): she will not be kept in houses. She will be at the outskirts. Therefore

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[3] I collected this ballad from oral tradition in 1966 in Nellore District (A. P.).

[4] I collected this ballad also from oral tradition in Nellore District (1966).

[5] I collected this manuscript in Krishna District (A. P.) in 1964.

Aṅkammās are of three varieties – Mārāsapu Aṅkammā, Palnāṭi Aṅkammā or Vīrula Aṅkammā and Bayata Aṅkammā. The present ballad-cycle belongs to the first type.[6]

Palnāṭi Aṅkammā is also connected with Mārāsapu Aṅkammā. There is much affinity between the ballads of Aṅkammā and Palnāṭi heroes. The Mārāsapu kings, who rejected Aṅkammā, are seven brothers. The youngest of them is Vīrasoma Rāju. He has mixed with Palnāṭi heroes. He gave his daughter, Sirā Devī, in marriage to Pedamali Deva Rāja who ruled Mācerla. Vīrasoma Rāju's son is Komma Rāju. While coming, he also brought with him his family deity, Aṅkammā, to Palanāḍu. This deity became 'Palnāṭi Aṅkammā' or 'Vīrula Aṅkammā'. This is a historical fact too.

It is said that Aṅkammā was born as one among seven sisters. The sisters are : Aṅkammā, Polerammā, Mālakṣumammā, Kanaka Durgammā, Baṅgārammā, Gaṅgammā and Kūmalammā. Among them Kūmalammā has a hundred children. As Śaktis are all one, in this ballad-cycle, Aṅkammā is now and then praised as Reṇukā. Apart from this, in Rāyalasīma, Āsādis, who should sing only Yellammā ballads, are also singing the ballads of Aṅkammā.

The minstrels, who sing these Aṅkammā ballads, are Pariahs who belonged to 'Ayyagāri Darśanam'. They are called 'Pambalavāru'. They must have derived this name because they play the instrument 'Paṁba Joḍu' (a pair of Paṁbas). The minstrels, four in number, use Paṁba Joḍu, 'Titti' (a leather bag), 'Katti' (sword) and 'Jamajāla' (a dagger) while singing. One among them is the narrator and the rest are accompanists. The narrator will have a long sword in his right hand. In the left hand he will have the dagger. He will be attired as a prince. He will wear gingling anklets, a turban with two crescents on either side, a coloured feather (Kaliki turāyi), shield cloth (a long piece of cloth passing over the left shoulder), Ṣarayi (trousers) and a big horizontal *tilaka* of Kumkum on the forehead. With the expression of heroism, he sings the ballad dancing according to the rhythm wielding the long sword in the right hand and striking it with the dagger in the left hand. One of the three accompanists will play the 'Paṁbajoḍu', another blows the 'Titti' and the last will supply the refrain by uttering '*a a*...'. The 'Paṁbajoḍu' will supply the rhythm (*tāla*) and the 'Titti' the tune (*śṛti*).

All the castes worship Aṅkammā. Among the worshippers are the Brahmins and Kammas in Palanāḍu; weavers ('paṭṭusālīlu Oruganṭi Reḍḍis) and Potters in Nellore district; Devadāsīs, toddy tappers, Balijas, washermen, Pariahs and Mutrāsis in northern districts.

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[6] The ballad of Palnāṭi Aṅkammā is narrated in the ballad-cycle of the heroes of Palnāḍu. Just before the story of the battle of Komma Rāju Aṅkammā's birth will be sung.

Ballads of Tsauḍammā : Tsauḍammā or Cauḍeśvarī is the Sakti, worshipped by Togaṭa Vīra Kṣatriyas, (a weavers' caste in Rāyalasīma). Also the names Caṇḍī, Cāmuṇḍī, Cauḍeśvarī, Tripura Sundarī, Bagaḷāmukhi, Durgeśvarī, Mahiṣāsuramardinī and Cāmuṇḍeśvarī are attributed to Tsauḍammā.

To kill the demons, Ādi Śakti, with Yogamāyā was born as a daughter to Mahiṣāsura. As she was born in 'Pitṛgaṇḍa' she was sealed in a rock-box and burried. When Lord Śiva killed Tripurāsura, the demons grew wild and gave a hell of time to Śiva. Śiva, who was too tired in that battle, came to the very place where the Ādi Śakti was buried. He wiped the sweat on the fore-head and it got sprinkled at the spot. As the sweat-drops fell on the ground, the box of rock got broken with a fearful noise and out came Śrī Vīra Cauḍeśvarī. Śiva recognises her as his daughter, a slayer of demons, and presents her with Khaḍga, Ḍamaruka, Bhiṇḍivāla, Cakra, Triśūla and Pāśa and blesses her.

From there Śrī Vīra Cauḍeśvarī goes and appears before the saint Puṣpāṇḍaja, who was doing penance for her. When he prays for sons, she creates an *agnikuṇḍa* (fire) and gives him some *akṣatās* to throw them in the *agnikuṇḍa*. When he does like that 360 'Ekāṅgavīras' were born out of that *Agnikuṇḍa*. These are the 'Togaṭa Vīras'. Cauḍeśvarī takes those heroes along with her, invades the demons and kills Andhakāsura and Mahiṣāsura and removes the sufferings of the Gods. Later Cauḍeśvarī celebrates the marriages of the 360 sons of Puṣpāṇḍaja with celestial brides and blesses them with wealth and titles. She assures them that she would be their family deity by the name 'Śrī Vīracauḍeśvarī' to fulfil their desires always and gives a boon that she would protect them for ever and goes to Kāśī. From then onwards, Togaṭavīras are enjoying all prosperity by worshipping Tsauḍammā.

There is an interesting story narrating the coming of this Cauḍeśvarī, situated in Kāśī, to Rāyalasīma. This is called the song of Peda Rāya Bhūpati. Some time ago, there was a town, Nandivardhanapura (Nandavaram), near Mahānandi Kṣetra in Kurnool district. That was ruled by King Nandivardhana. A Siddha, pleased by his honest rule, presented him a pair of wooden slippers with supernatural powers. He can go anywhere he likes by wearing them at the very moment. With that miraculous *pādukās* that King was travelling alone to Kāśī every night, worshipping Viśveśvara and returning home before dawn. One night, his wife, Śunandanā Devī, also accompanied him to Kāśī. There she menstrurated. Because of this impurity, the *pādukās* lost the power. The King prayed the Brahmins in Kāśī for help. He assured them whatever they asked for would be given if they could send him back to his capital. Those Brahmins worshipped their family deity, Cauḍeśvarī, and appointed her as a witness for the words of the King and sent the King and queen back to Nandivardhanapura. After sometime a famine broke out in Kāśī. Then the Brahmins came to Nandivardhanapura and requested the King's help. The King forgot his assurance to them earlier. So the Brahmins went back to Kāśī and brought Tsauḍammā for witness. Later, recognising the greatness of the deity, the King donated many villages to Brahmins and Nandivardhanapura to Tsauḍammā. From then onwards those Brahmins were called 'Nandavarīka Brahmins', in Rāyalasīma. They are principal priests of Tsauḍammā.

Even today, the main temple of Tsauḍammā is in Nandavaram village (near Nandyala) in Kurnool district. Every year on the last Monday in the month of Kārtika, a big festival for Tsauḍammā is celebrated in this Nandavaram. In this festival, Togaṭavīras decorated with 'Jyotis' on their heads dance with heroic fervour by singing the songs of Tsauḍammā. They walk on the fire. In Bojjāyapalle village in Cuddapah district, in Peddakotla village in Anantapur district and in several other villages of Rāyalasīma, we find the temples of Tsauḍammā. She is worshipped as a powerful Śakti in Rāyalasīma even to this day.

The songs, ballads and verses about Tsauḍammā are being sung by Togaṭavīras from generation to generation in Rāyalasīma. The birth of Tsauḍammā, the birth of Togaṭavīras, the slaughter of Mahiṣāsura and the oncoming of Tsauḍammā from Kāśī to Nnndavaram are all the narratives in these songs. Most of these songs are known to be written by a poet called *Gurram Sarvayya.* He appears to be an old folk-poet. Some other names like Tiruvengalappayya are also heard in the last lines of some songs.

Among the songs of Tsauḍammā, Guruvu Pāṭa, Kandanūli Pāṭa, Vīrasekharuni Pāṭa, Jaya Viṣṇuvu Pāṭa, Pedarāya Bhūpati Pāṭa, Eelava Rāju Pāṭa, Mahiṣāsuruni Pāṭa, Kamsuni Pāṭa, Tsauḍammā Veḍukalu, Erukalapāṭa, Trimūrtula, Jananamu Pāṭa and Śaktikā Vijayamu are the examples of the narrative songs. These can be called as the ballads of Tsauḍammā because they reveal the heroism of Cauḍeśvarī. These are popular too among the folk. But these can be counted as balladlings but not as long ballads. They are with rhythm and tune. They are mostly sung in 'Ādi Tāla'.

In Tsauḍammā festivals Togaṭavīras, who accompany the 'Jyoti' procession, dancing with vigour and singing the verses in praise of Tsauḍammā, scratch their waistes with long drawn out swords. The blood oozing out from the waist flows over the feet and falls on the ground. This is called 'Naddi seva' (waist-worship). The 'Jāndlas',[7] another sect of Tsauḍammā worshippers, scratch on their chest with daggers. This is called 'rommu seva' (chest worship). Both these worships are called 'Khaḍga Seva' (sword worship). The verses recited during this worship are called 'Khaḍga Padyamulu' (Sword verses).

Other ballads of Śakti :

1) *The ballad of Polerammā* : Like Tsauḍammā, this Polerammā too was born from the sweat of Lord Śiva. She helped Śiva in killing the demons like Raktabīja. This is a short ballad.[8] All the Śaktis are said to be the daughters of Śiva. It is described that the slaughter of the demons, which became an impossibility for Śiva, has been executed very easily by these Śaktis. Especially while slaying Raktabīja, the Śakti is said to have spread her tongue on the earth and sucked the blood of that demon without dropping of any blood on the earth. If it falls on the earth, each drop of blood will become a Raktabīja. This is a common-place in all the Śakti ballads.

The ballad of Polerammā is being sung near the small-pox patients. When cholera and small pox are virulent in villages, all the folk will go to a garden situated in the western side of the village and offer worship to the Śakti. The ballad of Polerammā is made to be sung in these worships. This ballad is also being sung during 'Vanabhojanas' (garden feasts).

2) *Ammavāri Daṇḍakamu*[9] (*Daṇḍakam of the Śakti*) : This is another ballad of Śakti popular in coastal districts, especially in Vizag and Śrīkākuḷam. Like the ballad of Polerammā, this is also a short ballad usually sung when the villages are attacked by cholera and small-pox.[10] According to this ballad, Śakti's birth place is Anakāpalle; mother-in-law's place is Kasimi Kooṭa; grand-father's place is Bezawaḍa and her abode is Vijayanagaram. It is said that Pūsapāṭi Vijaya Rāma Rāju, the king of Vijayanagaram, left her unable to worship with all sincerity.

Once, Śakti, after fully decorating herself, was going from her mother-in-law's house in the west to her mother's home in the east. During the journey, a stream near Anakāpalle came as an obstruction in her way. The boatman while ferrying her was attracted towards her and loved her. The Śakti cursed him to become a victim of small-pox and killed him. She sent her maids and destroyed the whole village of that boatman. When she was destroying all that was coming in her way, Trimūrtis saw it and pinned her to the earth with a big trident. This is the story in this ballad.[11]

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[7] 'Jāṇḍlavāru' or 'Devāṅgulu' are weavers like 'Togaṭas'.

[8] I collected this ballad of Polerammā from oral tradition in 1966, in Nellore District.

[9] Daṇḍakam is a type of metre in Telugu, popularly used in praising Gods.

[10] I collected this ballad in Bhimavaram in West Godavari District, in 1964.

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[11] I acknowledge my indebtedness to my friends Mrs. & Mr. S. T. Narayana Murty, who helped me in writing this article.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION SECTION

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PUNISHMENT, AS RECORDED IN VARDHAMĀNA UPĀDHYĀYA'S *DAṆḌAVIVEKA*

By

Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Bhatpara

The present writer read in the last Jadavpur Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held in October, 1969, a paper on "The *Daṇḍaviveka* of Vardhamāna Upādhyāya - a Unique Sanskrit work in Mediaeval Indian Criminal Jurisprudence," which is shortly to be published in the *Indian Antiquary,* Third Series Poona. He was then engaged in the preparation of an English Translation of his late father, MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha's edition with an English Introduction and Index in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, as vol. LII, 1931, of the above work. Though Mr. (now MM. Dr. Bhārataratna, National Professor of Indology) P. V. Kane was not in a position to utilize the printed edition of this work in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I, published in 1930 by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, just a year before the publication of this edition, yet he has done sufficient justice to both Vardhamāna Upādhyāya and the *Daṇḍaviveka* in the Appendix portion of his above work on pp. 736-737 and p. 556 respectively by adding a half-column note to each of the author and the work. He has also with an uncommon insight made two significant remarks on pp. 362 and 367 in his sections on Kullūka Bhaṭṭa (of Bengal) and Caṇḍeśvara (of Mithilā) respectively about 'frequent mention of the views' of the former who was a commentator of the *Manusmṛti*, by the *Daṇḍaviveka* and about the important fact that the *Vivādaratnākara* of the latter, who was an almost immediate provincial predecessor of Vardhamāna Upādhyāya, 'formed the basis of..the *Daṇḍaviveka*'. The present writer's English translation of this work has been completed some months ago, along with the exhaustive identification, in the body of the work, of the copious quotations from numerous ancient and mediaeval authorities, which was lacking in the printed edition of the text and correction of its misreadings in the footnotes of the translation. Dr. Kane's remarks quoted above about Kullūka and Caṇḍeśvara have now been fully borne out by the multiplicity of quotations from these two authors on almost every page. The *Vivādaratnākara* is however, not a methodical work on legal disputes (*vivāda*), as it has jumbled together indiscriminately civil and criminal matters, which defect has been fully remedied by Vardhamāna, partly because the very title of his work, *Daṇḍaviveka*, meaning 'a manual of punishments' (i. e. a treatise on criminal law), demanded it and partly because he was a Judge (*dharmādhikaraṇika*, as mentioned in the colophons of several chapters of his work), having been engaged in the actual administration of justice. The publication of the present writer's English translation of the *Daṇḍaviveka* has been taken up by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, for inclusion in their *Bibliotheca Indica* and almost half portion of the work has either been completely printed off or has been passing through the proof-stage. The Sanskrit text comprises 356 pages, being divided into seven chapters and the first chapter of 69 pages deals with the theory and practice of punishment, while the six following chapters of 287 pages elaborate six specific categories of crimes, viz. murder, theft, molestation of woman, abuse, assault and miscellaneous offences. Though all the seven chapters are highly argumentative and interesting, yet the first chapter on the theory and practice of punishment, being a distinct and original contribution of the author on Criminal Jurisprudence in comparison with the similar other mediaeval works, is the best of all and so we propose to give here a summary of the contents of this chapter from our English translation, which is now passing through the press. Before describing in detail the various topics, included within this first chapter, our author has quoted four verses of Manu (chapter VII. 14–15 and 17–18) to emphasize the very purpose of the infliction of punishments on criminals and the beneficial effects of doing so and to personify the king with *daṇḍa* (i. e. punishment), having been created by God Himself to be wielded by him. The following nine topics have been described in detail in nine corresponding sections of this chapter :—

(A) Views following the non-punishment of the punishables.
(B) Merits of punishment.
(C) Requisites of the administration of criminal justice.
(D) Responsibilities of assessors.
(E) Enumeration of punishments.
(F) Gradation of fines.
(G) Subject-matter of punishments (or specific offences and their punishments),
(H) Variations of punishment, and
(I) Consideration of the methods of inflicting punishments.

The first section primarily draws upon Manu (VII. 20 and 21b, IX. 254, VIII. 307 and 304, VII. 28–29 and VIII. 127a) and quotes a verse each from the *Kāmandakīyanītisāra* (v. 82), Kātyāyana (961) and Yājñavalkya

(II. 307) and a prose text of Vasiṣṭha only. The purport of the Manu verses is as follows :—

The king's withholding punishment from the punishable persons almost invariably results in the torturing of the weak by the stronger men. The king, who does not restrain the thieves but goes on collecting taxes from his subjects, not only makes his territory disturbed but is also himself deprived of heaven after his death, on account of the maxims, (1) "One-sixth portion of the virtues of the subjects accrues to the king, for the protection he affords to them and a king, not offering them such protection, gets a similar portion of their vices" and (2) "*Daṇḍa* (or punishment), which is a very great power, if wielded by an inefficient king, destroys him along with his friends and relations, fort and territory and finally torments the sages and the gods." Infliction of unjust punishments also destroys the fame of the king while living and also after death. Vice equally accrues to the king by putting to death an innocent person and releasing a guilty one and virtue is acquired by the king, doing otherwise. The Yājñavalkya quotation lays down that if the king has realised a fine from a person in contravention of the provisions of law, he should dedicate thirty times the amount realised to the god Varuṇa by a formal resolve and himself make it over to Brāhmaṇas.

The second section consists mainly of Manu quotations (VII. 27a and 19a, VIII. 18, 348–49 and 350–351a), while two Yājñavalkya texts (I. 357 and 359), one text each of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba (II. 25. 14) and one verse each from Aṅgiras, Yama and Nārada have been laid under contribution. The purport of the Manu quotations is to the following effect:–

Having inflicted proper punishments on the criminals, the king attains prosperity in the three aims of life, viz. justice, material benefit and desire and a king, doing so properly, pleases all his subjects. Persons, having committed vices and having been subsequently punished by the king, become spotless and go to heaven, just like good men, performing good acts. An approaching assailant, be he a teacher (or an elder) or a child, an old man or a very learned Brāhmaṇa, should be indescriminately put to death, because the slayer of an assailant is guilty of no fault.

The Yājñavalkya quotations are also to the same effect.

The third section contains five quotations from Manu (VII.30, VIII. 1, 21 and 10a, the last half verse having not been found in the printed *Manusmṛti*), two half–verses of Yājñavalkya (II. 10b and 1a), Gautama (II. 4.31), Nārada (III. 17), Bṛhaspati (I. 87, 84–85, 88b–90, 60a, 82b, 65a, 73, 92–94, 75 and 76), Kātyāyana (112, 117, 63 and 83, the fifth verse having not been found in the *Kātyāyanasmṛti*, reconstructed by Dr. KAṆE), one Vyāsa text and one verse only from the *Mahābhārata*. The purport of the Bṛhaspati quotations, which are the most numerous and important in this section, is first given below:—

The following are the ten limbs (of the body, i. e. requisites) of a criminal trial: the king, *adhikṛta* (the judge), the courtiers (i. e. the ministers, priests, Brāhmaṇas and similar other persons), the Smṛti (i. e. the law-books of Manu and others), the accountant and the scribe, gold, fire, water and the king's men (i. e. the constabulary). (Our author adds that Smṛti also includes 'works on Polity'). Of these ten limbs, the king constitutes the brain, the judge the mouth, the courtiers the arms, the Smṛti serves the purpose of the hands, the accountant and the scribe those of the two thighs, gold and fire are the two eyes, water is the heart and the king's men are the feet. The presiding judge is the spokesman, the King is the punisher and the courtiers supervise the litigation, while the Smṛti lays down the judgment by way of decreeing (or allowing) the case of the petitioner and pronouncing judgment on the defeated party. Gold and fire are employed for administering oaths (to the contending parties) and water is used for thirsty and bewildered persons, while the accountant (or the cashier) counts the money (involved in the suit or realised as fine) and the scribe writes out the judgment. The king's men bring (to the court) the defendant (or the accused person), the courtiers and the witnesses (of the suit) and keep under their vigilance both the plaintiff and the defendant (or the complainant and accused persons) until the suit is ready for hearing. The king's men should be trained to be truthful and submissive to the courtiers and the judge or the king's Brāhmaṇa assistant should look over the King's work (of supervision of litigation). The halls of justice of the foresters, soldiers and merchants should be located respectively in the forest, the army and merchants' assembly. The family (of the litigants), the guilds (of the artisans and traders) and the corporation (of the Brāhmaṇas or of other worldly minded people, following various occupations), fully approved of by the king, should decide the cases, concerning their members but other than those relating to crimes. The heads of these corporate bodies are known to be arbiters of the cases of their constituents. Any judicial matter, left undecided by the family (of the litigants) should be taken up for adjudication by the guilds (of the parties concerned) and any matter, falling outside the knowledge of the guild, should be similarly taken up by the corporation (*gaṇa*). Any matter, not coming within the purview of the knowledge of the corporation, should be finally decided by the assessors, appointed by the king. The assessors are superior in power to the family etc. and the judge supersedes the assessors. Of the family, the guild, the corporation, the assessors, the judge and the king, the succeeding ones are successively higher in judicial authority than the preceding ones. This is the established law in this matter. The king should have the cases of the hermits and of the magicians and persons, practising *yoga*, decided by persons, proficient in the three superior Vedas and should not himself adjudicate them, lest these persons may get enraged.

The two Yājñavalkya half-verses lay down that the king should supervise cases, brought to him by the litigants for decision, along with learned Brāhmaṇas and that sureties are to be taken from both the parties - sureties, who are able to ascertain the truth of the case. The two most important of the five Kātyāyana verses mean :—

If, owing to considerations of time and place, it takes one or two days for the king's messenger to bring the plaintiff (or the defendant) to the court, the latter is to provide means to the former (resting in his house). If no one is available to stand surety in the petitioner's suit, he (i. e. the petitioner) is to be kept at the end of the day of the hearing of the suit under the custody of the king's messenger (in his own house), to whom he will have to pay his daily allowance.

The fourth section contains quotations from Manu (VIII. 13, 18 and 19), Nārada (III. 10, 12, cf. 13 and 3 and two unidentified verses), Bṛhaspati (I. 98), Kātyāyana (74, 76-78), Baudhāyana (I. 10, 30, consisting of two verses, placed separately) and one verse each of Hārīta and Yama. The purport of the four Kātyāyana only is given below :—

When the king has passed an unjust judgment in a case between two contesting parties, the assessor should (immediately) report the matter to him and fully restrain him (from giving effect to that judgment). An assessor has got the duty of speaking out just and meaningful words. But if the king turns a deaf ear to them, the assessor becomes absolved of the consequent guilt. But coming to learn that the mind of the king has swerved from the path of rectitude, the assessor may say some unpleasant words to him, whereby he incurs no sin whatsoever. Assessors should not, as a rule, wink at the conduct of the king, bent on doing injustice. If they do so, they, along with the king, go with downcast faces to hell (after their death).

The fifth section consists of two printed pages only and contains a solitary verse of Manu (VIII. 125) and two verses of Bṛhaspati (XXIX. 2 and 4) only. The Manu verse, which is in continuation of his just preceding verse, in which he has stated that there are ten kinds of punishments, enumerates the eight limbs of the offender to be mutilated as the genital organ, the belly, the tongue, hands, feet, eye, nose and ears and his entire body (which is to be subjected to sentence of death) and also prescribes the imposition of fines on the criminal in some cases. The Bṛhaspati verses are to the following effect :—

Punishment is said to be fourfold, viz. admonition, reproof, fine and corporal punishment. It should be meted out in consideration of the offending person, his pecuniary condition and the specific offence committed by him. Hand, leg, organ of generation, eye, tongue, ear, nose, half-tongue, half-leg, the thumb and the second finger taken together, forehead, upper lip, anus and waist (are the fourteen limbs, which may be mutilated).

Vardhamāna adds the following note :—

Fines may be of two kinds, viz. fixed and fluctuating. The fixed kind corresponds with the three kinds of amercements, viz. first, medium and high. Corporal punishment is of three kinds, viz. torture, mutilation of limbs and death sentence. Manu's list of only ten kinds of punishments is not exhaustive but only indicative of the minimum number, otherwise it would be in conflict with the list of Bṛhaspati.

The sixth section consists of quotation of texts of Śaṅkha-likhita, Nārada, Manu, Yājñavalkya and Bṛhaspati, which lay down various upper and lower limits of the three kinds of amercements, adding that these fines are to be exacted from the offender in considerations of his wealth and seriousness or otherwise of offence, committed by him. Of these numerous quotations, the purport of Manu (VIII. 138) and Yājñavalkya (I. 366) verses is given below :—

(1) Two hundred and fifty *paṇas* (i. e. copper coins) constitute the first amercement, five hundred *paṇas* the middle amercement, while one thousand *paṇas* make the high amercement.

(2) One thousand and eighty *paṇas* constitute the highest amercement, while the middle and the first amercements consist of the successive halves of the just preceding ones.

The seventh section begins with a text of Nārada (cf. *sāhasa*, V. 2), which lays down :—

Murder, theft, molestation of women other than one's own wife, two kinds of severities (i. e. abuse and assault) and miscellaneous offences are the six-fold subject-matter of punishments.

In a note to the above text Vardhamāna says that crimes proper are to be sharply distinguished from the criminal offshoots of civil disputes, all of which originate either from greed or from ignorance and crimes proper are those, which are reported to the king by spies and in which offenders, after having been hauled up before courts of justice by the king's men, are tried, not from any private complaint. These crimes proper are murder and similar other offences and not civil disputes like recovery of debt. So it has been laid down (by Nārada, 2nd line = *prakīrṇaka*, V, 1a) :—

These (king's) men should discharge the king's duties (as his representatives) in detecting (and bringing before tribunals) offenders in case of commission of crimes i. e. inequitable acts. But there is an additional class of offences, to be described (below) in the miscellaneous chapter, in which the king can act *suo moto*.

In criminal offshoots of civil transactions, punishments may also be inflicted on the guilty party, if wanton denial of the liability etc. transpires in course of the suit. All these latter crimes originate necessarily from evil intention and are hence distinguished from such acts as are done out of error. Punishments are inflicted on the perpetrators of the above mentioned latter class of crimes, as they create commotion among the people.

Nārada (*vāg.* vv. 7a and 4) in his chapter on abuse and assault says:–

Five kinds of both these offences also, taken together, have been spoken of (by the law-givers) : Infliction of injury on another person's body by means of hands, feet, weapons and similar other things and harassment of other persons by throwing ashes on his body are called (the two kinds of) assault.

The three kinds of abuse such as cruel, obscene and severe, spoken of by the same authorites (*vāg.* vv. 1–3) will be described below (p. 196 of *Daṇḍaviveka*).

The same authority (*prakīrṇaka*, v. 4b) has thus defined miscellaneous offences (*prakīrṇakam*). All those offences, not specified above, shall be designated as ' miscellaneous '.

The eighth section begins with a text of the *Vyavasthaupayika – varga – saṁgraha*, which is to the following effect :—

The caste (of the offender), the thing (involved in the offence), the quantity (of that thing), the utility (of that thing), the person, concerning whom the offence has been committed, the age (of the offender), the place (of the commission of the offence), the time (of such commission) and the specific offence are the several factors (to be considered, while inflicting punishment).

An anonymous text also says :—

Variations of punishments are composed of (i. e. due to) the following five components (i. e. causes). Exemption, extenuation, infliction according to prescription, aggravation (including general rules, special methods, cumulation and commutation).

In the ninth section Vardhamāna has said that the methods to be considered, while inflicting punishment, include the ordinary and the extraordinary methods, the cumulation of several punishments and their commutation and are thus fourfold.

(I) The ordinary method or general rules, according to Vardhamāna, are that the parents and similar other (respectable) persons, except those, engaged in inflicting injury to the king, are to be punished with admonition only for their offences, wherein the recluses and similar other persons are to be administered reproof.

Bṛhaspati (IX. 18) has said :—

Persons born of the *pratiloma* form of marriage (i. e. marriage of a lower caste male with a higher caste female) and those in the lower rung of the social ladder (such as *cāṇḍālas*) are known to be the dirt among human beings and as such, if they transgress a Brāhmaṇa, they are to be put to death but are never to be fined.

As regards the confiscation of the entire property of a criminal, Nārada (*prakīrṇaka*, v. 11) lays down :—

Even in a punishment, entailing forfeiture of the entire property (of the criminals), the king is not entitled to confiscate the implements, by means of which the artisans eke out their living.

Our author adds that the implements, spoken of above, are exclusive of those, used by a thief for stealing.

Our author also says, while interpreting a text of Bṛhaspati (XXXIII. 9 and XXVII. 9b), containing the words '*vyāpādane tu tat-kārī*' (meaning 'an actual or direct murder'), that if a person causes another person's anger, resulting in the latter's suicide by swallowing poison etc., sentence of death is not to be inflicted on the former.

(II) *The extraordinary method* :—

Manu (IX. 248) says :—

The king should put to death a member of the lowest caste, intentionally thwarting (i. e. tormenting) Brāhmaṇas and do so with the employment of the special forms, conducive to the physical agony of the culprit.

(III) *Cumulation of punishments* :—

Bṛhaspati (IX. 12–13 and I. 91) says :—

Admonition should be administered in petty offences and reproof in the lowest crimes; fines should be imposed in the medium and highest crimes, while sedition is to be punished by tying up (the criminal and throwing him in the prison). (A king), who is desirous of securing his own welfare, may also order banishment or imprisonment of the offender. All the above forms of punishment are to be employed together against a perpetrator of various crimes. The first two punishments of admonition and reproof are known to be within the powers of a Brāhmaṇa (i. e. a judge) but the next two punishments such as imposition of fines and infliction of corporal punishment are to be administered by the king only.

(IV) *Commutation af punishments* :—

Bṛhaspati (IX. 19) lays down :—

A man, sentenced to death, may have his sentence commuted (by the judge) to the payment of a hundred gold coins and one, sentenced to mutilation of limbs, to paying half the above amount, whlie one, sentenced to the cutting off only of the thumb and the second finger, taken together, may compound the above punishment to the payment of half of the above half punishment (i. e. one-fourth of one hundred gold coins).

Vardhamāna has added that Vācaspati Miśra (p. 157 of *Vivādacintāmaṇi*) has interpreted that only a Brāhmaṇa offender, sentenced to death, may thus have his sentence commuted to the payment of a hundred gold coins.

Āpastamba (II. 27. 16–17) says on this topic :—

In cases of murder of individuals, theft and forcible seizure of (another man's) land, (the king) should forfeit the (entire) property (of the criminal) and put him to death. A Brāhmaṇa (criminal) should suffer here the plucking out of his eyes. Vardhamāna says, following the *Mitākṣarā* that as the above punishment of the plucking out of a Brāhmaṇa's eyes comes into conflict with another text of Bṛhaspati (quoted earlier on p. 46 of *D. V.*) and a text of Gautama (II. 3. 43), laying down respectively ' A Brāhmaṇa should remain unhurt ' and ' No corporal punishment (is to be inflicted) on a Brāhmaṇa ', so banishment is the proper punishment to be inflicted on a Brāhmaṇa for offences, entailing the penalty of death for members of other castes and consequently the expression *cakṣur-nirodhaḥ*, occurring in the above text of Āpastamba, *does not mean ' plucking out of the eyes '* but ' covering the eyes with a piece of cloth ', while the Brāhmaṇa convict is being expelled from the city (or the territory), otherwise when leaving his country, he may get enraged by looking at it (with uncovered eyes). Our author adds that Vācaspati Miśra (p. 140 of *Vivādacintāmaṇi*) has explained *steyam* in the above text, not simply as ' theft ' but as ' theft of gold '.

After having quoted two conflicting texts of Yama and Kātyāyana, our author finally concludes the discussion by making the following comments:—

A Brāhmaṇa offender, sentenced to pay fines, if found rich enough to do so, shall undergo the penalty of the forfeiture of his property or of the payment of *paṇas* beginning with one thousand, according to the prescriptions, laid down in different offences. But if it is found that a Brāhmaṇa offender cannot pay the fines even by instalments, he shall then be forced to do menial services (for the king). But even in such cases as of inability of the Brāhmaṇa offender to do so, if he be possessed of good conduct and Vedic studies, he should be bound up with fetters etc. and kept in a solitary jail and compelled to undergo expiatory rites for the purpose of his correction. But if no such correction occurs within a specified time, he should be banished from the territory, according to a text of Āpastamba, to be quoted below on p. 260 of *D. V.* in the beginning of the topic of miscellaneous offences. The punishment to be inflicted on (poor and) ordinary Brāhmaṇas (not having good conduct and Vedic study) is that they shall be compelled to perform menial services or cleanse the leavings of other person's food, not appropriate for Brāhmaṇas, according to the degree of the offenders' degradation. If a Brāhmaṇa, either of the superior or the inferior type, sent to exile, returns to his home country uncorrected and indulges in bad acts as before, he should then (in that extreme case) be kept imprisoned either up till the end of his life or so long as no correction occurs in his conduct.

So Bṛhaspati (IX. 25b–26a) has laid down :—

If an alleged offender, completely defeated, having been adjudged guilty by witnesses, document, circumstantial evidence or ordeals, declines to pay the fines upon him or decretal amount, he is to be banished from the city (or the territory).

Vardhamāna concludes this first chapter on the general description (of the theory and practice) of punishment by making the final remark that these eight kinds of prescription, consisting of division and subdivision (of the several types of criminals with separate financial conditions and mental attitudes), constitute what is technically known as the *daṇḍa-mātṛkā*, i. e. the measurement or gradation of punishments and that this line of reasoning is to be followed throughout (in criminal trials).

THE CONCEPT OF RĀJA-YOGA

By

B. L. Nigam, Ujjain

Rāja-yoga is a practical and scientifically worked out psycho-physical method of concentration and meditation. This method is needed, more or less, in every *yoga* or the way to spiritualisation, and therefore, it is regarded as the royal path.[1] According to Romain Rolland "Rāja yoga is the Rājah, the king of yogas. It is yoga *par excellence*. It is an experimental psycho-physical method".[2]

The Sources of the term Rāja-Yoga

The term 'rāja-yoga' does not appear anywhere in the principal Upaniṣds, *Pātañjala Yoga Sūtras* and the *Bhagavadgītā*; but, it is frequently used in some of the minor Upaniṣads, e. g., *Maṇḍalabrāhmaṇopaniṣad* (III-4,5) *Yogatattvopaniṣad* (I-137, 238), *Advayatārakopaniṣad*. The *Yogaśikhopaniṣad* mentions the names of *mantra*, *laya* and *Haṭha-yoga* and considers them as steps to Rāja-Yoga, but all of them are included in one Māhāyoga, which is called by those four different names (I-129, 130). This Upaniṣad defines Rāja-yoga as the conjunction of the *retas* and *rajas* (male and female vital fluids, or Śiva and Śakti). By its practice a *yogin* will shine out after attaining the psychic powers of the *aṇimā* etc. (I-137, 138).

The *Yogatattvopaniṣad* prescribes the practice of twenty stages to attain Rāja-yoga. These stages are:

> *Yama*, *niyama*, *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, *dhāraṇā*,
> *dhyāna*, *samādhi* – (the eightfold yoga of Patañjali),
> *mahāmudrā*, *mahābandha*, *mahāvedha*, *khecarī*, *jālamdhara*,
> *siddhāntaśravaṇa*, *vajroli*, *amaroli*, and *sahajoli*
>
> (stanzas 24 to 27)

The *Maṇḍalabrāhmaṇopaniṣad* expects a Rāja-yogin to know well the nine *cakras* (plexus), their functions and control; six *ādhāras* (the regions which are the supports of the *cakras*); three kinds of introspection (internal, external and intermediary) and five kinds of ethers, otherwise he is a *yogin* in name possessing merely book-knowledge (IV-5).

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[1] Akhilananda, *Hindu Psychology*, (George Routledge and Sons Ltd. London, 1947, pp 187-188.

[2] *Life of Vivekananda*, (Advaita Ashram, Calcutta), p. 242.

A careful perusal of these minor Upaniṣads[3] shows that they show a very close influence of the *Pātañjala Yoga* on them, and all of them advocate the philosophy of the Advaita Vedānta. For the realisation of *nirguṇa*, *nirviśeṣa* Brahman, who is described by the Upaniṣads to be of the nature of eternal consciousness and bliss; these Yoga-Upaniṣads seek to expound the essentials of Rāja-yoga. It seems that the seers of the Vedāntic age had realised that the psycho-physical discipline advised by Patañjali could easily bring in the dissolution of the mind and thereby its equilibrium. The *Yogatattvopaniṣad* accepts the view that no knowledge of Brahman can be possible without yoga and *vice versa.* It asks " How can knowledge become a certainty, the bestower of liberation when unaccomplished by *yoga* ? Likewise *yoga* devoid of knowlebge is incompetent to bring about liberation " (14-15). The realisation of Brahman may be made possible when the knowledge is raised to the status of certainty by the yogic practices. After hearing about Brahman, meditation and contemplation are necessary for its realisation.

These Upaniṣads seem to be least inclined to talk about the dualistic philosophy of the Sāṁkhya-Yoga, but they do refer to its practices. These practices have, however, no indispensable relation with the philosophy of Sāṁkhya. Patañjali seems to have borrowed philosophical material from Sāṁkhya and directed his "efforts to co-ordinating philosophical material around practical material formulas for concentration, meditation and ecstasy ".[4] They who preached the Upaniṣadic Brahman-philosophy also made use of the *yoga* practices in order to reach their own Ideal - Brahman. This is supported by the fact that Śaṁkara in his *Aparokṣānubhūti*, *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* and *Ātmabodha* prescribes Rāja-yoga as indispensable for the realisation of Brahman.[5]

Jñāna-yoga, Bhakti-yoga and Karma-yoga are the terms which occur in the *Bhagavadgītā* and though the term Rājavidyā (IX-2) has been used, yet the term Rāja-yoga occurs nowhere in the *Bhagavadgītā*. The practices have been incorporated in it. The term Rāja-yoga seems to have become very popular during the composition of the various Yoga-Upaniṣads. The *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* declares Haṭhayoga to be a ladder to Rāja-yoga. From this it appears that Rāja-yoga as a term became popular after the time of the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Pātañjala Yoga.* When it appears in the Yoga-Upaniṣads, it clearly refers to the *aṣṭāṅga* (eightfold) *yoga* of Patañjali, but it is not invariably associated with the Sāṁkhya or Yoga philosophy of the dualism between Prakṛti and Puruṣa.

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[3] *The Yoga Upaniṣads*, edited by Pandit A. Mahadev SASTRI, Adyar Library, 1920.

[4] Mircea ELIADE, *Yoga, Immortality and Freedom*, (Rout. & Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 7.

[5] *Aparokṣānubhūti*, 114, 143; *Ātmabodha*, 37, 45, 48. (Edited by RAJARAM TUKARAM, T. P. H. Bombay, 1901)

Vijñānabhikṣu treats ' Rāja-Yoga ' and Pātañjala-yoga as synonyms, because in his *Yogasārasaṁgraha* (a short treatise on Pātañjala-yoga) he says that he does not want " to enter into the details of postures, because our subject-matter is Rāja-yoga (in which postures occupy only a secondary position)".[6] But Vijñānabhikṣu has quoted from *Nāradīya Haribhakti Śuddhodaya* in which Nārada is said to give a description of Rāja-yoga. Nārada advises the Brāhmaṇas to merge the human self into the Supreme Self. " An aspirant is to merge the human self – which wrongly or needlessly conceives itself to be the doer of acts and enjoyer of the results – which is yet pure on account of its being devoid of limitations – into the unconditioned supereme Self ".[7] According to Vijñānabhikṣu to regard the human self as separate from Brahman is an illusion, because such a differentiation is due to *māyā*. When a man is equipped with *yoga*, he becomes merged into Brahman, This shows that he, starting with the Advaitic conception of the identity soul and Brahman for the realisation of the spiritual goal, considers that the Pātañjala practices may be made use of.

SWAMI AKHILANANDA considers Patañjali as the father of applied psychology (Rāja-yoga) and in his opinion the term ' Rāja-yoga ' always refers to the systematic thought propounded by Patañjali.[8]

Definition of Rāja-Yoga

Patañjali defines *yoga* as ' restraining the mind-stuff (*citta*) from taking various forms (*vṛttis*)' (Sūtra I–2). Complete mastery over the mind and its modifications is the aim of *yoga*. The author of the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* discusses both the negative aspect (*nirodhārtha*) and the implied positive aspect (*saṁyogārtha*) of the above definition. According to him, the root *yujir* of the *yoga* and Yājñavalkya, according to whom, *yoga* is the union of Jīvātman and Paramātman, both support the positive aspect (*saṁyagārtha*) of *yoga*. Vyāsa (the commentator of the *yogasūtra*) also takes the positive meaning of *yoga* as *samādhi*, but Mādhavācārya does not accept this meaning of the ground that *samādhi*, is only a part of the whole *yoga*.[9] According to him Patañjali gives the negative aspect (*nirodhārtha*) of *yoga* and, likewise, Bhoja also takes it as the separation between Puruṣa and Prakṛti. Vijñānabhikṣu gives a synthetic meaning of *yoga* as " the inhibition of functions of the mind which leads to the absolute abidance of the Spirit (Puruṣa) in his real nature".[10]

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[6] Edited by JHA (T. P. H. Madras, 1933), p. 79.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 93, 98.

[8] *Hindu Psychology*, (G. Rout. & Sons), p. 104.

[9] *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* (Khemaraj Shrikrishnadas, Bombay), pp. 276, 277.

Annie BESANT considers it as the rational application of the laws of the unfolding of consciousness, self-applied in an individual case.[11] It seeks to control the changes in consciousness and by this control to rule the material vehicles.[12] The yogic practices will enable a man to arrest the modifications of his mind and thus bring it to equanimity. Such a mind, free from all pains, will lead to our original blissful nature. This is the ideal to be realised through *samādhi.*

From the above discussion we conclude that Rāja-yoga is an applied practical science of mind which undertakes the methods of inhibiting its modifications. It is nothing but the *aṣṭāṅga yoga* of Patañjali. It is to be truthfully practised to achieve control over the vagaries of mind. Mind has immense powers and they can be made manifest during the process of inhibition of the modifications of the mind.

It quickens the process of unfoldment of mind. For Sri AUROBINDO, it is the shortest way to arrive at the largest development of spiritual power.[13] Patañjali has indicated that for the extremely energetic aspirants success is speedier (*Yogasūtra* I-21.). By Rāja-yoga one can achieve control over the mind and attain perfection in one's life which millions fail to achieve in myriads of lives. It advocates a firm faith in the personality of man who by strenuous efforts can quicken the speed of evolution towards perfection.

Rāja-yoga does not presuppose any dogma or religion. It lays down universal and general principles for controlling our own mind. As it is an experimental science, the truth of its precepts can be realised by any one who experiments with it. As such, the question of religion or faith does not arise. The practices of Rāja-yoga can be used by any man who desires earnestly for the perfection of his personality. For these reasons the Pātañjala yoga is termed as Rāja-Yoga.

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[10] *Yogasārasaṁgraha,* edited by JHA, (T. P. H. 1933), p. 2.

[11] *An Introduction to Yoga,* (T. P. H. Banaras, 1908), p. 9.

[12] *Ibid.* p. 31.

[13] *On Yoga,* International Unirversity Centre, 1955, p. 699.

YOGA IN THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

By

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The term 'Yoga' has been repeated a numher of times in the *B. Gītā.* The root युज् (to join) from which the word is etymologically derived, occurs along with its derivatives, equally in many places. The term occurs as the first member of compounds such as the योगक्षेम (II. 45, IX. 22), योगसंसिद्ध (IV. 38), योगसंन्यस्तकर्माण (IV. 41), योगरूढ (VI. 3, 4), योगभ्रष्ट (VI. 41), योगवल (VIII. 10), योगवित्तम (XII. 1) and even as a second member of the compounds e. g. बुद्धियोग (II. 49), ज्ञानयोग (III. 3), कर्मयोग (III. 3), आत्मसंयमयोग (IV. 27), ब्रह्मयोग (V. 21), अभ्यासयोग (XII. 9), भक्तियोग (XIV. 26), ध्यानयोग (XVIII. 32) and others. The divine lord, who revealed the teachings of *B. Gītā* to his disciple, devotee and friend अर्जुन, is himself designated as योगी (X. 7), योगेश्वर (XI. 4, XVIII, 75, 78) and also as महायोगेश्वर (XI. 9), apart from the fact that others also are termed as योगी (III. 3; VI. 10) etc., where difinitely the appellation conveys different concepts.

If one tries to locate the connotations of the term 'Yoga' occurring in different contexts, one finds a variety of shades it has in *B. Gītā* itself. Thus, in the colophon of each Adhyāya, where the word occurs in the compound योगशास्त्र it means the science or the technique of union, of revelation. The two phrases occurring simultaneously ब्रह्मविद्या and योगशास्त्र taken together indicate the two phases of the same science, one theoritical and the other practical. ब्रह्मविद्या is the lore of philosophy of the Supreme Being, while योगशास्त्र is the science of union with it, and hence योगशास्त्र is the applied ब्रह्मविद्या in this context. The similarity is closely indicated by कठोप. (6. 18) which refers to विद्यामेतां योगविधिं च कृत्स्नम्, meaning the pure and the applied ब्रह्मशास्त्र.

(ii) Yoga has one meaning here, while in the colophons of certain Adhyāyas such as अर्जुनविषादयोग, विश्वरूपदर्शनयोग, दैवासुरसंपद्विभागयोग, श्रद्धात्रयविभागयोग etc., the term 'Yoga' has no other meaning than 'topic' and does not possess any special interpretation.

(iii) The word 'Yoga' appearing in III. 1, in opposition to संन्यास has a definite meaning of the path of action, as a system of attainment of the highest Bliss of deliverance.

(iv) In the sixth chapter, where it appears as योगसंसिद्ध (VI. 37) or योगभ्रष्ट (VI. 41), it has the connotation of Yoga discipline of पतञ्जली, which perhaps is the most popular meaning widely known to a commoner.

(v) The word 'Yoga' has one more shade of meaning in *B. Gītā*. It indicates the divine power of the Supreme Lord. In योगमैश्वरम् (IX. 5, XI. 8), विभूतियोगं च (X. 7), योगं विभूतिं च (X. 18) it has this special interpretation to indicate the mysterious and the miraculous power of being one and many, mutable and immutable, formal and formless etc.

(vi) In योगक्षेम (II. 45, IX. 22) the word means the normal activity of acquisition of the unacquired (अप्राप्तस्य प्रापणं योग). Here it has a purely mundane and secular meaning of earning one's livelihood. But one thing is perhaps more conspicious, that where the word does not carry any special meaning in relation to the context, it mostly means the path of selfless actions.

(vii) In words like योगवित्तमा: (XII. 1), the word has a very wide meaning of method or process in general, without any special significance.

(viii) In compounds like सांख्ययोग, ध्यानयोग, भक्तियोग, कर्मयोग etc. it definitely means the system of philosophy for the attainment of the highest goal, a path or practical way leading to the same end. It indicates a *darśana*.

As is well-known to the learned scholars, the term 'Yoga' has been defined in *B. Gītā*. In समत्वं योग उच्यते (II. 48) it is defined as aquanimiy of mind in relation to every aspect of life; good or bad, success or failure, pleasure or pain and such other pairs. The equanimity suggested here is purely mundane in relation to the worldly affairs and has no reference to the spiritual aspect of attainment, which is achieved after a rigorous practice of discipline of Yoga referred to in साम्येन (VI. 33). More or less the same concept is conveyed in II.50 where, Yoga is said to be a special skill in the performance of the action (योग: कर्मसु कौशलम् I). This skill is not technical; it is not the physical mode or method of the execution of an action. It is highly psychological. The mental attitude of looking towards actions and their fruits is hinted here. It is neither the attachment nor the apathy either for good or for bad actions. (न द्वेष्टि संप्रवृतानि न निवृत्तानि कांक्षति । XIV. 22; न द्वेष्टयकुशलं कर्म कुशले नानुषज्जते XVIII. 10). But it is the performance of actions without any thing of selfishness. *B. Gītā* describes this skill in various ways; (a) It is the performance of actions without any attachment of ego to them (संगं त्यक्वा II. 48). (b) It is relegating all actions to the Almighty (मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि संन्यस्य–II. 30); (c) or may be doing them with non-attachment to the fruits (त्यक्वा कर्मफलासंगं... –IV. 20, XII–20) or (d) performing the actions only for the sake of God, not as actions of the individual, but those of the Almighty performed at his command for his sake (मदर्थमपि कर्माणि कुर्वन् –XII. 10) or (e) n the end, submitting all actions to him (यत्करोषि यदश्नासि...मदर्पणम् IX.27). The third definition is peculiar in its expression. It is the separation from the conjunction with pain; (तं विद्याद्दुःखसंयोगवियोगं योगसंज्ञितम्) –VI. 23), The first two definitions are incorporated with special reference to the system of action viz., the actions are to be performed irrespective of their quality and fruits and without attachment of any type and hence with equanimity and skill. But the present definition has no reference to any system of thought in particular though it occurs in the discussion on the technical or Pātañjala Yoga. This is a wide definition and describes Yoga in relation to the end achieved through any system of philosophy or conduct of any religion. It refers to the highest Bliss which is a synonym for the soparation from association with pain, available by means of the philosophy, may it be of knowledge, action, meditation or devotion of any variety. It is the explanation of earlier highest pleasure (सुखमात्यन्तिकं–VI. 22). Thus, this definition is of no avail to us in enlightening us as to the method or the process of behaviour for the achievement of the end.

In spite of all this, one has to accept that the technical or Pātañjala or Aṣṭāṅga Yoga or the discipline of Yoga forms the basis of all the various teachings of *B. Gītā*, and in one form or the other it pervades the whole text. Whether it is the description of a स्थितप्रज्ञ or कर्मयोगी or a ज्ञानी or मुक्त or त्रिगुणातीत or a person of दैवीसंपद्, some element of this technical Yoga occupies a predominant position in it and thus at every step reminds us of its universal presence. In fact Yoga is a discipline which has no limitation either of country or time or of religion, faith, creed and belief. It is but natural that Yoga should occupy such an outstanding position in *B. Gītā* which is also a type, universal and catholic in its evarlasting precepts. The eight elements of Yoga viz. यम, नियम, आसन, प्राणायम, प्रात्याहार, धारणा, ध्यान and समाधि, have a place in *B. Gītā*, some with name, others without name. Let us examine their presence one by one in the warp and the weft of the text.

(1) यम or control: यम and नियम are said to be ten each according to the स्मृति but the पातञ्जलयोगसूत्र restricts them to five each. Though this term यम does not occur in the text, its constituents viz., अहिंसा (non violance), सत्य (truth), अस्तेय (Non-theft), ब्रह्मचर्य (control over organs), अपरिग्रह (Non-possession) are spreea in the narration of some teaching or the other. Thus अहिंसा is included in XIII. 7, XVI. 2 and XVII. 14 as one of the qualities of knowledge, of divine person and of physical penance. सत्य appears in almost the same context (XVI. 2, XVII. 15). ब्रह्मचर्य (XVII. 14) is mentioned as a constituent of physical penance and is referred to as a quality of knowledge. (इन्द्रियार्थेषु वैराग्यं—XIII. 8), अस्तेय and अपरिग्रह are not indicated by name, but they are implied by II. 37 and XVI, 21, where काम (desire) and लोभ (covetiousness) are denounced. Where neither desire nor covetousness is present, the question of non-stealing and non-possession rests settled. Moreover the words like निर्मम (XII. 13), न कांक्षति (XII. 17), अनिकेत (XII. 19) and host of similar phrases speak volumes about them.

(2) नियम or Restraint– Though this word appears in the text (तं तं नियममास्थाय– VII. 20) it has no reference to the नियम of the Yoga discipline. The नियमs are तप (penance), स्वाध्याय (study), ईश्वर प्रणिधान (submission to God), शौच (purity) and संतोष (contentment). All these are mentioned in *B. Gītā* and a recognition is accorded to them. तप is a must for a divine person (XVI. 1) and is dercribed as a necessary requistes of every good person in XVII and XVIII chapters. स्वाध्याय occurs also in the same places except in chap. XVIII. शौच has its place in the qualities of a devotee (XII. 16) if the knowledge (XIV. 7) and also of a good person (XVI. 3). It appears in physical penance (XVII. 14) and also in the duties of a ब्राह्मण (XVIII. 42). संतोष is also referred to as प्रसाद in II. 64, *65* as an attainment of स्थितप्रज्ञ. It is said to be a quality of a devotee (XII. 14) and is a mental penance (XVII. 16). ईश्वर-प्रणिधान is spread all over the text and runs like a continuous thread throught the *B. Gītā*, in every chapter. मत्परः (II. 50), मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि (III. 30), मन्मना मामुपाश्रितः (IV. 10), तन्निष्ठास्तत्परायणा (V. 17), युक्त आसीत मत्परः (VI. 14), मा भजन्ति (VI. 31), मय्यासक्तमनाः (VII. 1), मामेवस्मरन् (VIII. 5), भजन्त्यनन्यमनसो (IX. 13, 27). मच्चित्ता मद्गतप्राणाः (X. 9), मत्कर्मकृन्मत्परम (XI. 55), मां ध्यायन्त उपासते (XII. 6). मयि चानन्ययोगेन भक्तिरव्यभिचारिणी (XIII. 10), मां च योऽव्यभिचारेण (XIV. 26), स सर्वविद् भजति मां (XV. 16), यजन्ते सात्त्विका दैवान् (XVII. 4), मामेकं शरणं व्रज (XVIII. 66).

(3) आसन or a Posture has been included in the sixth chapter (VI. 12) which mainly deals with Pātañjala Yoga. The *āsana* there may be one of the meditation-postures, but the शीर्षासन or the head-posture seems to be alluded at IV. 29, where *apāna* is said to be oblated in *prāṇa*.

(4) प्राणायाम or Rhythmic Breathing is mentioned at IV. 29 (प्राणायामपरायणाः) while discussing various types of sacrifice. Apart from the two simple and primary types of प्राणायाम mentioned in this verse, an advanced variety known as केवलकुम्भक is mentioned at V. 27 (प्राणापानौ समौ कृत्वा नासाभ्यन्तरचारिणौ). The same is suggested in VI. 11–13 where most of the details of the समाधि stage are enumerated, but the breathing is not referred to, which means that the Yogi practises केवल कुम्भक in the stage.

(5) प्रत्याहार or withdrawal of sense organs, though not referred to by name, is intended in many places and forms the basis of teaching of evry school of thought in *B. Gītā*. In II. 58 (यदा संहरते चायं कूर्मोऽङ्गानीव सर्वशः) it is the प्रत्याहार or contraction of all limbs, sense organs particularly, which is described. The same is referred to by different words and phrases all over *B. Gītā*, viz. II. 61, 68, V. 21, 22, 27, VI. 12, 24, VIII. 12, XII. 4, and in many other places.

(6) धारणा or Concentration is referred to in तत्रैकाग्रं मनःकृत्वा (VI. 12) as well as मनसाचलेन (VIII. 10) and मनो हृदि निरुध्यच...योगधारणाम् (VIII. 12). This

form निरुध्य here and also निरुद्धं in चित्तं निरुद्धं योगसेवया (VI. 29) have the same root नि + रुध् as in योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः (पा. यो. सू. 12) giving the definition of योग according to पतञ्जली. The text in *B. Gitā* is a direct paraphrase of the पातञ्जल-सूत्र as can be seen from अभ्यासेन तु कौन्तेय वैराग्येण च गृह्यते (VI. 35) reflecting the words as found in अभ्यासवैराग्याभ्यां तन्निरोधः (पा. यो. सू. I. 3). These are direct references to पातञ्जल योग in *B. Gītā*. अभ्यास also has been included in other contexts in *B. Gītā*. पूर्वाभ्यासेन (VI. 44), अभ्यासयोगयुक्तेन (VIII. 8), अभ्यासयोगेन (XII. 9), अभ्यासे (XII. 10), are the illustrations where the word has the same connotation as in the technical Yoga.

(7) ध्यान or Meditation, though referred to in many places such as VI. 14, 25, is directly mentioned in मां ध्यायन्त उपासते (XII. 6), ध्यानात्कर्मफलत्याग (XII.12) and ध्यानेनात्मनि पश्यन्ति (XII. 24). सगुण or qualified meditation is indicated in XII. 6, while निर्गुण or non-qualified (pure) maditation is suggested in XIII. 24.

(8) समाधि or Trance consciousness : Though the term occurs in *B. Gītā* it is a debatabe one. Though समाधि is mentioned in समाधौ न विधीयते (II, 44), समाधावचला बुद्धिः (II. 53) and समाधिस्थस्य (II. 54), the term has to be interpreted a little cautiously. The connotation of the term may not be the same as has been ordinarily taken in Pātañjala Yoga. Here it may be having the root meaning available by सम + आ + धा to mean, " lay down thoroughly on all sides " indicating the pure and simple contentment or satisfaction which may not necessarily be the result of Yoga practice. Moreover, the context in which the term occurs, gives little change to the Yogic meaning. The description refers to a person of steadfast intellect and not to a yoga practising individual. The method of mental attitude of contentment may be an outcome of either supreme knowledge or selfless action or highest devotion or even by Yoga discipline. The term is variously interpreted by different commentators also. Śaṅkara takes it to mean the minor sense organ (समाधिरन्तःकरणं बुद्धिः). रामानुज interpretes it as mind (समाधिर्मनः). आनंदगिरी understands contentment by the word (मनःसमाधानं), नीलकण्ठ ज्ञानेश्वर, the trance, the तुरीय or the fourth stage, the last of the eight elements of अष्टांगयोग. But a close inspection is necessary in this respect. If it were to mean this where is the point in making a query about the speech, the sitting and the gait of a person in the position of trance. (cf. II. 54) ? He is sitting in the trance and does not either speak or walk. Moreover the term समाधिस्थ is interpreted in II. 54 by *B. Gītā* itself :—

स्थितप्रज्ञस्य का भाषा समाधिस्थस्य केशव ।
स्थितधीः किं प्रभासेत किमासीत व्रजेत किम् ॥ ५४

The whole description refers to a person of steadfast intellect and has no pointed reference to a Yogi practising discipline of योग. समाधिस्थस्य and स्थित-

प्रज्ञस्य are in the same case viz., genitive, and stand in apposition. The same person is referred to in स्थितप्रज्ञ, स्थितधि and समाधिस्थ and therefore it is quite clear that समाधिस्थ is a स्थितप्रज्ञ and not a Yogi in trance. Thus समाधि in the present context has no reference to the last element of पातञ्जलयोग but means contentment, satisfaction only.

But this does not mean that समाधि is not mentioned in *B. Gītā*. योऽन्तःसुखोऽन्तरारामः (V. 24) is a description of समाधि. VI. 10–15 give details of समाधि. The same is the case of VI. 24–28 and VIII. 10–13. विश्वरूपदर्शन is not a hallucination or a hypnotic vision as believed by many. It is an experience of सविकल्पसमाधि; such a समाधि is not an impossibility when we know that even Shri **Ramakrishna** could impart such experience to Shri **Vivekananda** in the present age. What to speak of a योगेश्वर and of महायोगेश्वर ! In XII. 8–9 the same experience is repeated. In other places also we find traces of this state.

There are other details such as (VI. 45, VIII. 21, XIII. 28) and threefold results of action (XVIII. 12) and others which have a direct relation to the Yogic technicalities in *B. Gītā.*

To conclude, Yoga discipline, of which the teacher *par excellence* was the supreme lord, pervades the teachings of *B. Gītā* in every school of thought and whatever other connotations of the term ' Yoga ' may have in *B. Gītā*, the technical Yoga even with its details was never away from the mind of Lord Kṛṣṇa and he has interspersed them, knowing their primal importance in attainment of the highest goal of human life. Throughout the sacred text, Pātañjala Yoga thus forms the foremost basis of *Gītā* thought in the Divine Gospel.

SĀṀKHYA-NĀŚAKA MĀDHAVA

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A Sāṁkhya thinker is referred to in Buddhist, Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya works as Sāṁkhya-Nāśaka or Sāṁkhya-Nāyaka. This means that he was either an 'unfaithful exponent' of Sāṁkhya doctrines to which much harm must have been done by his views, or he was a great Sāṁkhya exponent.[1]

We may note some such references to Mādhava:

(A) In the first chapter of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (with its auto-commentary), Diṅnāga criticizes the views of a certain Sāṁkhya teacher who was known as the destroyer of the Sāṁkhya (*Sāṁkhya-vaināśika*) because of his holding a theory that goes beyond the limit of the older Sāṁkhyas. Jinendrabuddhi commenting on this portion quotes lengthy passages from a treatise by Mādhava.

In order to find out in what respect Mādhava violated the Sāṁkhya tenets it is necessary to examine Diṅnāga's arguments in this connection.

Diṅnāga objects to the Sāṁkhya's recognising five sense-organs for apprehending sounds, tangible objects, colours, tastes and odours and at the same time holding that every thing is constituted of three *guṇas*. If, as the Sāṁkhya says, a sense does not take for its object those things that are to be apprehended by another sense, and so each sense works only on its object, then the senses should be infinite, or just one sense-organ should suffice as the three *guṇas* are the same everywhere.

The Sāṁkhya tries to justify the distinctions between sounds and other objects (tangibles etc.) on the basis of the difference of the configuration of *sattva* and other *guṇas*. A lengthy argument follows, the main stand of the Sāṁkhya being that there is apprehension by the sense, e. g. the visual sense of one and the same class (*jāti*) of objects, e. g. colour variously, in accordance with the difference among many configurations (of different colours, such as blue, yellow, etc.). Diṅnāga would say that in that case, the onformity of a sense to only one configuration is not experienced. If the Sāṁkhya still urges that the classes of objects are distinguished from each other according to difference of configuration, there would follow the absurd conclusion mentioned before that the senses should be infinite in number.

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[1] Dr. RAGHAVAN has written an article on Sāṁkhya-Nāśaka Mādhava. This article is published in *Sarūpa-Bhārati* (1954). See also *Sāṁkhya darśana kā Itihāsa*, pp. 533–36, Udaivira SASTRI. I am indebted to this material already published.

It is at this stage that Diṅnāga refers to a Sāṁkhya Vaināśika, whom Jinendrabuddhi identifies as Mādhava. Mādhava holds that from the three *guṇas* composing sound (*śabda*), the three *guṇas* composing tangibles and other objects are different in kind (*jāti*). It is unreasonable that there should be apprehension by different senses of that which, by reason of the uniformity of its cause, is uniform. Thus, we should admit that among the objects of the senses there is a difference in kind among the three component *guṇas* which are of the nature of *sukha*, etc. It is because of this difference that each sense functions only on its own objects.

Diṅnāga says that in this theory also there is implied the absurdity that the senses are infinite in number, and so this theory is not different from the standard Sāṁkhya theory so far as the apprehension of the varieties within the class of objects peculiar to each sense is concerned. Yet Diṅnāga admits that Mādhava's theory, though not faultless, is better than that of the older Sāṁkhya teachers in explaining the distinctions among the classes of objects. In order to bring out the drawback in Mādhava's theory, Diṅnāga reproduces it precisely, of course, as he understood it.

In Mādhava's view, says Diṅnāga, the atoms differ everywhere (i. e. in different classes of effects, possessing each its respective nature). They are called *pradhānas*. *Sukha*, *duḥkha* and *moha*, likewise sound, tangibles and other such objects are distinguished from each other in accordance with the difference of class (*jāti-viśeṣa*). The atoms which, when combined turn into all of these, are called *pradhānas* (primordial entities). Thus according to combinations which vary from class to class there are different effects, each possessing its own nature but not going beyond the boundary of a particular class and these effects become the objects of the senses.

Here Jinendrabuddhi quotes a passage from a treatise of Mādhava. The gist of it is as follows: Every atom is composed of three *guṇas*, but some atoms differ qualitatively from other atoms because of the difference of the arrangement of the three *guṇas*. Thus the sound-atom and the tangible-atom are heterogeneous, and the difference between sounds and tangibles is due to this heterogeneity of atoms. At the time of evolution homogeneous atoms combine and their varying combinations give rise to various things – which, however, are included in the same class inasmuch as the component atoms are homogeneous. Prior to evolution atoms exist dispersedly, and in this state they are called *pradhānas*.

It may be noted that the Sāṁkhya theory of evolution (*pariṇāma*) from a primordial matter is substantially changed by Mādhava, who in admitting the plurality of primordial matters, stands closer to the Vaiśeṣikas than to the orthodox Sāṁkhyas. From another passage quoted by Jinendrabuddhi from Mādhava's treatise we know that Mādhava differs from older Sāṁkhya teachers in holding that *pradhāna* possesses *rūpa* etc., consists of parts and evolves by the energy which is preceded by *karman* and that *saṁsāra* is beginningless.

Mādhava further states that one sound-atom, for example, is in itself constituted of the three *guṇas*, and therefore has three characters, *sukha*, *duḥkha* and *moha*. Sound being composed of sound-atoms has these three characters; still each particular sound is characterised as *sukha*, *duḥkha* or *moha* according to whether *sattva*, *rajas* or *tamas* predominates. And so one apprehends a sound as *sukha*, *duḥkha* or *moha*, but not as sound in general possessing three characters.

Diṅnāga argues that the same principle would hold for tangibles and other such objects. That is to say, one would apprehend these objects as *sukha*, *duḥkha* or *moha*, not as tangibles, etc. possessing the three characters. Consequently, all kinds of objects would be apprehended by the same sense. Therefore, this theory of Mādhava is inappropriate. Still, says Diṅnāga, from its dethroning the view of the older Sāṁkhyas, Mādhava's doctrine of the possession by atoms of each its own nature is excellent. Diṅnāga concedes that the portion of his theory, in which setting aside the view of the renowned older Sāṁkhya teachers, Mādhava explains that the distinction (*jāti–viśeṣa*), among the effects (i. e. sounds, tangibles etc.), results from the distinction among atoms possessing their respective natures, is excellent. However, the doctrine that the three *guṇas* form an atom which possesses only one quality is something Diṅnāga cannot accept.

It seems that finding it difficult to explain the evolution from *prakṛti* as admitted by the older Sāṁkhya teachers (- one, undifferentiated, and so on) some revolutionaries among the Sāṁkhyas felt it necessary to modify the doctrine. The atom-theory of the Vaiśeṣikas is acknowledged to have been introduced into the Sāṁkhya system of thought at the time of Vindhyavāsin, and in his wake Mādhava tried to make the system perfect by removing glaring anomalies. Jinendrabuddhi very pointedly says that according to Kapila and others, the nature of pleasure, etc. is one everywhere, whereas according to Mādhava, they are different everywhere.

(*Kapilādayo manyante sukhādīnām svarūpaṁ sarvatra ekam eveti*; *Mādhavas tu sarvatra tāni bhidyanta iti-Pramāṇasamuccaya*, *Pratyakṣa*, 31 (Mysore Edition) H. R. Ramgaswami AIYANGAR).

This can be clearly understood on the strength of the foregoing discussion[2] Mādhava recognised a plurality of atomic primordial entities (*pradhānas*) – this would mean a thorough change in the concepts of the Sāṁkhya system, or even its annihilation, and so Mādhava is regarded as Sāṁkhya-nāśaka, and hailed as such by others.

(B) Kumārila in his *Ślokavārttika* (Codanā sūtra, 249, pp. 112-113. Madras Univ.) criticizes the view of a teacher who finds fault with the Mīmāṁsakas for advocating the slaughter of animals for sacrificial purposes. Umbeka in his commentary on the *Ślokavārttika* states that it is Mādhava, a prominent Sāṁkhya exponent who is referred to and criticized by Kumārila, keeping aside inference, etc. Mādhava proved the sinfulness of *agnīṣomīya*, etc. only on the strength of the dependence of *dharma* (merit) and *adharma* (demerit) on injunctions (*vidhi*) and prohibitions (*niṣedha*). *Mā hiṁsyāt sarvabhūtāni* prohibits the slaughter of animals, which is therefore sinful irrespective of whether it is done for a sacrifice or otherwise as this does not make any difference.

(*Sāṁkhya-nāyaka-Mādhavas tvāha-Vihāyānumānādīn vidhi-pratiṣedhatva-nibandhanatvam eva dharmā' dharmayor avalambyā'gnīṣomīyādiṣv adharmatām āha kvacid iti ślokatrayeṇa....*)

(C) Commenting on *āgamabhraṁśakāriṇām āhopuruṣikayā...anyathā racanāsambhavāt* of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* (p. 595), Karṇakagomin says that here Dharmakīrti affirms the possibility of the sacred texts being violated and the tradition of the texts disrupted or distorted by persons on account of their sense of ego or the like. They can distort the tradition of the sacred texts by composing differently. As for example Sāṁkhya-nāśaka Mādhava composed the Sāṁkhya-siddhānta differently due to his ego. (*Āgamabhraṁśa-kāriṇām ity ādinā Sampradāya-vicchedena racanāntara-sambhavam eṣa samarthayate; āgamabhraṁśa-kāriṇāṁ puṁsām anyathā pūrva-racanā-vaiparītyena rācanādarśanā l iti sambandhaḥ; anyathā-racanāyām kāraṇam āha – āhopuriṣikayetyādi; āhopuruṣikayety ahammānitvena; yathā Sāṁkhya-nāśaka-Mādhavena Sāṁkhya-siddhāntasyā'-nyathā racanaṁ kṛtam*).

(D) In his commentary, *Vipañcitārthā* on Dharmakīrti's *Vādanyāya*, Śāntarakṣita writes; *Yad āha; dharmasya dravyād arthāntaratvaṁ syād iti; athāpyasmad-vaiphalye syāt pūrvakān Kāpilān atipatya Sāmkhyānāṁ Śaka-Mādhavavat* (*Vipañcitārthā*, p. 52, Mahābodhisabhā, Benares, 1936 A. C.).

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[2] This exposition of Diṅnāga's criticism of Mādhava's views is wholly based on *Dignāga on Perception* (pp. 57–59, 155–157)– Masaaki Hattori. I gratetully acknowledge my indebtedness to this work.

See also *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie* I, pp. 404, 408 (Reihe wort und Antwort Bd. 6, Salzburg, 1953 (I. Bd.), 1956 (II. Bd.).

Sāṁkhyānām-Śaka-Mādhavavat obviously requires to be emended as *Sāṁkhya-nāśaka-Mādhavavat*. Here also Śāntarakṣita is referring to Mādhava's unfaithfulness to the Sāṁkhya tradition.

(E) Refuting Satkāryavāda, Bhāsarvajña says in his auto-commentary *Bhūṣaṇa* on the *Nyāyasāra* that if the view of Mādhava were to be accepted, the Sāṁkhya doctrine would surely meet with destruction. If a novel attribute 'manifestation' which was non-existent be created, the reasons put forth, viz. 'because what is non-existent cannot be produced', and the like, would be ineffectual reasons, and then Satkāryavāda not being proved, *vaiśvarūpya* etc. would not be proved, and so Pradhāna, etc. would not be established. There is no reason for according to this differenential treatment of holding in the case of the effect, cloth or the like, that it could not be brought out if it were non-existent, and it could not perish if it were existent, and at the same time accepting that this is sometimes possible in the case of one of its attributes (viz. manifestation). *Mādhava-matābhyupagame tu Sāṁkhya-nāśa eva syāt; katham? yadi hy abhivyaktir anyo vā kaścid dharmo' sanneva kriyate tato' sadakaraṇād ity evamādayo'-samarthā hetavaḥ syus tataḥ satkāryatvāsiddhau vaiśvarūpyādyasiddheḥ pradhānādyasiddhir iti; na cā'tra viśeṣaḥ kaścid asti yena paṭādikāryasyaivāsataḥ karaṇam sataś cātmahānaṁ na sambhavati, taddharmasya tu kasyacit sambhavaty eveti – Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* p. 569, Benaras, 1968).

According to this, Mādhava had no objection to *abhivyakti* (manifestation) being regarded as a new attribute that is brought about by the act of production, but being a Sāṁkhya he would not accept that the effect was not there in the cause even before its production. But by this the case of Satkāryavāda is actually marred.

We find a reference to Sāṁkhya 'doctor' Mādhava in the description of the travels of Yuan Chwang in India. Mādhava is said to have lived in Magadha in the vicinity of Gayā. He was very much honoured by all and had received vast stretches of land by way of gift. He was challenged by the Buddhist, Guṇamati Bodhisattva for a debate and is said to have died on that very occasion. This debate was arranged by the then ruling king at the instance of Guṇamati. According to Yuan Chwang, Mādhava was defeated in this debate and the king being impressed by the Buddhist's learning got a *Saṅghārāma* constructed at the place where the *śāstrārtha* took place. Now Guṇamati of Valabhī is said to be a pupil of Vasubandhu, a contemporary of Sthiramati, and teacher of Paramārtha. Paramārtha, a native of Ujjayini, was a disciple of Guṇamati. Paramārtha became proficient in all branches of learning and probably settled down in Pāṭaliputra. At the request of the Chinese emperor, he was sent to China in 546 A. D., where he stayed till his death in 569 A. D. Paramārtha translated into Chinese the *Sāṁkhya Kārikā* with a commentary in the period 557–567 A.D. Thus since Paramārtha's date is 499–569 A. D., Guṇamati can be said to have lived in the period 450–530 A. D., and Mādhava was perhaps his senior contemporary. Mādhava can be said to have lived in the fifth century, and been active in the latter half of it. Guṇamati is known to have written a commentary on the *Abhidharma-kośa*, wherein he refuted the dualistic teaching of the Sāṁkhya school as also the Mādhyamika view of Bhavya (*Bhāvaviveka*). There was a constant struggle for royal patronage in the times of the Guptas, right up to the times of Pūru Gupta and Narasiṁha Gupta (467 A. D. and later) and it is understandable that Guṇamati should have challenged Mādhava to a debate.

That Mādhava's ego was powerful can be seen from Yuan Chwang's account also. His last wish was that his wife should continue the dabate with Guṇamati; and she also concealed by her dress and the like the death of her husband, but the sharp Guṇamati datected it from her sad face and bitterness of speech even at the beginning. In his own days his fame was great and " surpassed that of former teachers, and outweighed all then living. The king honoured him exceedingly and named him the 'treasure of the country'. He had, as his means of subsistence, two towns in the district and the surrounding houses paid him for the privilege of building (tenant dues ?) ".

It is no wonder that philosophers of other schools mention him with almost a sense of awe, and that Guṇamati should have sought to arrange a debate with him so that the interests of Buddhism in the kingdom should not in any way suffer and the Sāṁkhya school should fall from the high position it occupied in the eyes of the king and learned circles.[3]

I have edited a hitherto unknown commentary (–I call it V_1) on the *Sāṁkhya-kārikā* from a single palmleaf manuscript. The author's name unfortunately cannot be known, as the corner of the palm-leaf is broken exactly here and all that we find is *ma* followed by a fragment of a letter which could have been *dha* or even *ha* and there is *sya* (genitive case-affix) in the next line. A letter or two seem to be missing at the end of the line. This commentary is very much like what is now known as *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, but unlike the latter, it does not have quotations from the Upaniṣads, the *Gītā*, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Hastāmalaka stotra* and the like. I have shown elsewhere that V_1 is earlier than the *Yukti-dīpikā* and that even Paramārtha knew this commentary. The author of V_1 has a fancy for something novel and I have a suspicion that Mādhava was the author of this commentary, and that what is known as *Māṭhara-vṛtti* (*M*) is but a revised and enlarged version of it with a Vedāntic tinge. We have seen above for what things in particular teachers of other schools remembered Mādhava. We may see if these could be detected in this *vṛtti*.

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[3] See *Travels of Hiouen Thsang* Vol. III, pp. 336–340 Samuel BEAL (Susil Gupta Ltd., Calcutta–12. New Edition 1958); *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* II, p. 108–Thomas WANTERS (London, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, 1904; Vol. II, 1905), *Origin and Development of the Sāmkhya System of Thought*, pp. 154–155–Pulinbehari CHAKRAVARTI, Calcutta, 1955 ; *Sāṁkhya Darśana Kā Itihāsa*, pp. 533–536 Paṇḍita Udayavira SASTRI.

(a) V_1 criticizes more than any other commentary (–except *M* which is a copy of it) Vedic rites and ethical recommendations based on them in its explanation of *Kārikā*.

(b) The author of V_1 made a number of changes in the *kārikā* text in an attempt to improve on the original wording of the *kārikā* concerned. A glance at a table of the different readings of certain *kārikās* that can be detected in the several commentaries enables one to see for oneself that the pioneer in this respest was the author of V_1 and that others (–notably the author of the *Yuktidīpikā*, and even Gauḍapāda and the author of the *Jayamaṅgalā*) attempted to improve even on the text in V_1. A few instances would suffice to show this :

(i) Kā. 24 second hemistitch :

ekādaśakaś ca gaṇas tenmātrapañcakaś caiva (V_2, *J*, *T*)
aindriya ekādaśakas tanmātrakaḥ pañcakaścaiva (V_1)
aindriya ekādaśakas tānmātrapañcakaś caiva (*Y*)
ekādaśakaś ca gaṇas tanmātraḥ-pañcakaś caiva (*G*)
aindriya ekādaśakas tanmātra-pañcakaś caiva (*M*)

V_1 seems to have altered the line in the interest of the sense to be conveyed to bring forth that the group of eleven is *aindriya*. *Y* admits this but tries to bring it in conformity with the line in V_2 by means of the expression *tānmātra-pañcakaś caiva*. There is one *mātrā* too few in V_2, *J*, *T*, *Y* and also *M* which last has *tanmātra-pañcakaś caiva* instead of *etanmātrakaḥ pañcakaś caiva* of V_1 in which there is one *mātrā* too many. The *āryā* in *G* which follows V_2 is free from any metrical defect, though the expression *tanmātraḥ* is rather odd. (It may be noted that Īśvarakṛṣṇa himself has used it in Kā. 25).

(ii) Kā 26 First line :

buddhīndriyāṇi cakṣuḥ-śrotra-ghrāṇa-rasana-sparśanāni (V_2)
buddhīndriyāṇi śrotra-tvak-cakṣūrasanā-nasikākhyāni (V_1)
buddhīndriyāṇi karṇatvak-cakṣū-rasana-nāsikākhyāni (*Y*)
buddhīndriyāṇi cakṣuḥ-śrotra-ghrāṇa-rasana-sparśanakāni (*G*)
buddhīndriyāṇi cakṣuḥ-śrotra-tvag-rasanā-nasikākhyāni (*J*)

buddhīndriyāṇi cakṣuḥ-śrotra-ghrāṇa-rasana-tvagākhyāni (*T*)
buddhīndriyāṇi śrotra-tvak-cakṣū-rasana-nāsikākhyāni (*M*)

V_1 seems to have modified the line in V_2 so as to mention the sense organs in the proper order. The line is metrically defective, but *Y* rectifies this. *G* follows V_2, but the line is metrically defective. The line is defective in *J* also, unless there was *rasana* in the place of *rasanā* (- *J* actually says *rasanaṁ rasyate yena*). The line in *T* is an improvement on that in *G*; and the line in *M* is an improvement on that in V_1. It may be noted that V_1 has retained *rūpādiṣu* in *kārikā* 28, even though it has changed the order of the mention of the sense-organs in Kā. 26 (*śrotra*), and the author of *Y* criticizes this saying that there should be *śabdādiṣu* in conformity with the reading in *Kā*. 26.

(iii) Kā. 27 :

Saṁkalpakam atra manas tac cendriyam ubhayatha Samākhyātam ;
antas trikālaviṣayaṁ tasmād ubhayapracāraṁ tat (V_2, *Y*)
ubhayātmakam atra manaḥ saṁkalpakam indriyaṁ ca sādharmyāt ;
guṇa-pariṇāmaviśeṣān nānātvam bāhyabhedācca. (V_1)

G, *J*, *T* and *M* have the same *kārikā*-text as V_1, only *G*, *J* and *T* have *bāhyabhedāśca* instead of *bāhyabhedācca* and *M* has *grāhyabhedācca*. In Paramārtha's version, the first line is the same as in V_2 and the second line the same as in V_1. It may be noted that the second line as found in V_1 can be derived from V_2 on *kārikā* 27.

Moreover *kārikās* 72 and 73 (the latter being found only in V_1 and *M*) seem to be the composition of the author of V_1, as Paramārtha quotes *kārikā* 72 saying it is a verse composed by an 'intelligent man of this (school)'. The *Yuktidīpikā* also seems to quote it and in the *Jayamaṅgalā* and the *Tattvakaumudī* we find the *kārikā* included in the original text. The *Yuktidīpikā* (p. 2, v. 14) has a verse which is clearly an imitation of *kārikā* 73 : *alpagrantham analpārthaṁ sarvais tantraguṇair yutam ; pāramarṣasya tantrasya bimbam ādarśagam yathā.*

The author of V_1 seems to be fond of novel interpretations. He interprets *kārikā* 18 (*janma-maraṇa*...) in his own way, and then refers to the traditional interpretation. He gives a two-fold interpretation of *liṅga* in *kārikā* 10, *līnam arthaṁ liṅgayatīti vā liṅgam* being found for the first time in V_1; it was readily accepted by the later commentators (see *Y*, *J*). Similarly *hetu* in *kārikā* 10 is explained as both *kāraka* (causal) and *jñāpaka* (cognitive and the author of the *Yuktidīpikā* makes a special effort to show that it is not *jñāpaka* here. In V_2 on *kārikā* 2, the author quotes the verse :

Pañcaviṁśati-tattvajño yatra yatrāśrame rataḥ,
prakṛtijño vikārajñaḥ savrair duḥkhair vimucyate

in which the second line is different from the one ordinarily found, viz.

jaṭī muṇḍī Śikhī vāpi mucyate nā'tra saṁśayaḥ.

It is not in vain that Karṇakagomin holds that Dharmakīrti is referring to 'Sāṁkhya-Nāśaka Mādhava' when he says that some, out of a sense of ego, make alternations in the traditional text handed down uninterruptedly till then.

(c) Jinendrabuddhi says that in the view of Kapila and others, pleasure, etc. are everywhere one and the same, while in the view of Mādhava they are different everywhere. Now, in the introductory passage to *kārikā* 12, only V_1 and following it the *Māṭhara-vṛtti* anticipate an objection to the effect that *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* are not *jātyantaras* (–while the Sāṁkhya holds that they are *jātyantaras* –) (*na khalu sattvarajastamāṁsi jātyantarāṇi*). Now, this can be interpreted simply as urging that *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* are not numerically different aspects of one entity. Here the word *jāti* cannot be taken in any peculiar sense, but must be taken as signifying simply *svarūpa*-there is no *svarūpabheda* in the *guṇas*, they are not different entities. The Sāṁkhya says that they are different. Or, if importance be attached to the use of the word *jāti*, this would mean: they are not three different *jātis*. The Sāṁkhya rejoinder would be that they are different *jātis*. This would mean that there are many *sattvas* constituting a *sattva-jāti*, and so also with the other two. Could Jinendrabuddhi be referring to this?

(d) According to Śāntarakṣita also, Mādhava is a specimen of an 'unfaithful exponent' who violates the tenets of his school and this can, to some extent, be explained by what we have seen above.

(e) In V_1 we do not find anything specific which could explain Bhāsarvajña's criticism that Mādhava recognised *abhivyakti* (menifestation) as a new attribute brought about by the act of production, though he would not accept that the effect was not there in the cause before its production.

I would also like to draw attention to an unwarranted reference to a 'klībarājā in V_1 33: *yathā bhaviṣyanti guṇasyānte guḍakathāḥ ya (tha) vā aśaktaklībarājā bhaviṣyati* or "*yathā...ya (tha) vā saśakta (ḥ) klībarājābhaviṣyati*" or "*bhaviṣyati guṇasyānte guḍaḥ kaṣāyavāsa (ḥ) sakta-klībarājā bhaviṣyati*" (The expression in the manuscript is *yathā bhaviṣyanti guṇasyante guḍakathā ya vā saśaktaklībarājā bhaviṣyati*, which clearly requires to be emended). We have seen above that Mādhava had to enter into a debate with Guṇamati, pupil of Vasubandhu and preceptor of Paramārtha (499–569

A. D.). This Mādhava must have lived in the latter part of the fifth century and been a senior contemporary of Guṇamati.[4] He died while the discussion was in progress and the then ruling king got a *Saṅghārāma* built to commemorate Guṇamati's victory over Mādhava... Could the author be referring to Narasiṁha Gupta (Bālāditya) (500 A. D. onwards) who must have been a crown-prince in his days and shown some leaning towards Buddhism or have had a soft corner for the Buddhists for which he is indirecly criticized here. We know that it was moreover in Narasiṁha Gupta's time that Gupta empire started tottering and had to face a Hūṇa invasion. This lends some weight to our conjecture that Mādhava (or Madhva ?) was the author of V1. Yet there can be no denying the fact that this is just a conjecture meant to provoke further thought and inquiry. It may again be mentioned that what we know as *Māṭhara-vṛtti* is only a revised and enlarged version of V1 and contains quotations from the Upaniṣads, Gītā, Purāṇas, *Hastāmalakastotra* and the like and is perhaps as late as 1,000 A. D. It may seem a bit surprising that a mere commentator should have attracted the attention of great philosophers like Kumārila, Dharmakīrti, Śāntarakṣita, Bhāsarvajña and the like. But if Māṭhara, also regarded as a commentator on the *Sāṁkhay-kārikā* could be mentioned, there is no reason why Mādhava also should not be so mentioned. We cannot definitely say what he did to deserve the appellation ' Sāṁkhya-Nāśaka '. The author of V1 differs in certain respects from other commentators, and the author of *Yuktidīpikā* and even Paramārtha seem to respect his views and readings and take note of them, or even incorporate them. Mādhava must have been a great teacher in his days as can be seen from Hiouen Thsang's description also. Perhaps his greatness connot be judged from just his commentary (V1)- if I am right in ascribing it to him. He must have haunted the minds of his rivals notably the Buddhists - especially when he is known to have carried on the debate for six days with Guṇamati and ultimately died on the occasion.

Mādhava must have written some independent work also as can be seen from Jinendrabuddhi's quotations. Perhaps his commentary on the *Sāṁkhy-kārikā* was one of his early ventures as we do not find here much evidence of his revolutionary spirit, except that he has tried to improve on the text of the *kārikās* at places - a fact referred to by Dharmakīrti and Karṇakagomin.

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[4] I have shown elsewhere that Mallavādin and his commentator Siṁhasūri have made use of *V1* in putting forth the Sāṁkhya tenets in the *Nayatakra* and its commentary (sixth century A. D.) as we find here the expression *Jātyantara* ' (found only in *V2* and *M,-Kā.* 13), and the discussion regarding *sarvaṁ sarvātmakam* (see *V1*, 15). This also agrees with the date suggested above for Mādhava.

Another question that occurs is in what way Mādhava could be conneted with Māṭhara, and by whom what is known as the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* could have been written in the form of a revised and enlarged version of *V*1. Could Mādhava himself have been known as Māṭhara because he had a *maṭha* (cloister)? He is described by Hiouens-Thsang as having lived in a mountain.

TECHNICAL SCIENCES AND FINE ARTS SECTION

MAṆḌALA - DIAGRAMS

(An Artist's Approach)

By

PRABHAKAR PANDURANG APTE, POONA

Maṇḍalas are said to be some mystic diagrams - mystic in the sense they are used in a mystic way or for a mystic purpose often connected with Tāntrism. The diagrams known as *Yantra-Cakra-Bhadra* etc. form an alotrophy of mystic symbolisms of which *Maṇḍala* is one. The present paper is confined to the *Pāñcarātra Maṇḍalas* only. That the worship of God with the aid of mystic diagrams was incorporated in the Pāñcarātra ritualism from its earliest phase is evidenced from the canonical text *Sāttvata Saṁhitā* (*SS c.* 300 A. D.) referring to a wheel inscribed with *mantras* (*mantracakra*) in 2 : 12 – सक्रिये मन्त्रचक्रे तु वैभवीये विलोकिनाम्. It explains further a form of worship in the *maṇḍala* diagrams (*Maṇḍalārādhana*). It is quite likely that this practice was adopted in the Pāñcarātra religion from tāntric tradition. But soon after adoption in the Pāñcarātra family, it has been fully and finally Vaiṣṇavised and has developed and maintained its personality as such with sectarian characteristics, all along.

Well, for understanding the topic of *Maṇḍalas*, the *Pauṣkara Saṁhitā* (*PS* – *c.* 300-400 A. D.) which is next in authority to *SS* is a must, since it elaborates the technical aspect of these diagrams and series as a source book for the later Pāñcarātra religion, on the subject of *Maṇḍalārādhana*. *Jayākhya Saṁhitā* (*JS*), the third canonical text also, gives one specimen : *Navapadamaṇḍala* and the rest of the Saṁhitās, post-classical and later ones describe one or more such diagrams. For an artist, however, the value of the *PS* is immense inasmuch as he gets therein a detailed scheme of sketching, designing and colouring of the *Maṇḍalas*.

The place of the *Maṇḍala* worship in the historical Pāñcarātra religion especially the temple cult in South India is, as an important component of the fourfold worship, offered to God who is invoked in image, pitcher, *Maṇḍala* and fire (*Bimba*, *Kumbha*, *Maṇḍala* and *Agni*). From *PS*, however, it appears that the *Maṇḍala* worship, in those days was not a part of the temple ritual only, but often maintained its independent existence like the sacrificial institution. And for that ritual known as *Yāga,* a special pendal was erected on a site chosen on a mountain or a forest or by the side of a hermitage or on the bank of a river or inside temple premises (*PS* 2. 4. 5). The formal purpose of the *Maṇḍalārādhanā* is the initiation and progress of the spiritual aspirant seeking admission to the cult and the final goal is obviously the attainment of *Mokṣa.* *PS* (Ch. I) prescribes four main classes of *Maṇḍalas, Padmodara* or lotus hearted, *Anekakajagarbha* or multi-lotus, *Cakrābja* or lotus surrounded by circle and *Miśracakra* or of complex wheels. These are meant for aspirants passing through various grades of progress : *Samayī, Putraka, Sādhaka* and *Ācārya.* The aspirant practises some sort of Yogic-cum-tāntric process of self-restraint with the help of the diagrams aiming at the final liberation. It is assured that the aspirant by entangling himself in these diagrams really frees himself of all bondage. The merit of the *Maṇḍalārādhana* accrues by even witnessing, worshipping or meditating. These *Yāgas* continue for a period extending upto forty days or more.

At a later stage the human tendency to utilise the mysterious powers for personal visible benefit seems to have outweighed the urge for spiritual uplift and the *Maṇḍala* worship was yoked for mercinery ends as seen from *Śrīpraśna Saṁhitā* (52 : 56–63) : विधिप्राप्तये वल्मीकसमीपे भद्रमण्डलपूजाविधिः ।. The diagrams were sometimes drawn on canvas or wall instead of being drawn on the ground.

The Structure of the diagrams :

In the present context, the *Maṇḍalas* are square in shape and not round. They consist of outer enclosure, entrances on four sides, passage leading on all sides for free movement and in the centre a pedestal with a lotus superscribed to be a seat for the Lord (*Mūrtyāsana*). The lotus petals bear the syllables of a specified *mantra* devoted to the adorable deity. The deity also dwells as if in the form of *mantras* and not in the form of idol. The syllables on the lotus petals and filaments are chanted in a conventional way of permutation and combination. The scope of the present paper being an artist's approach, it is proposed to explain the salient features of the *Maṇḍalas* from two aspects : scheme of designing and colouring ; by exhibiting the album illustrations prepared strictly on the basis of the Saṁhitā texts especially the *Pauṣkara Saṁhitā.*

Preparatory activity :

1. *Selection of site* : The site for the *Yāga* session of the *Maṇḍalas* is selected on a mountain or a river bank or in a park or in any other place mentioned already above. The selected piece of land is first purified and ploughed, seasoned and levelled.

2. *Orientation* : First of all, the eastern direction is settled with the the help of an instrument called *Śaṅku* and then the rest of the directions and subdirections are easily obtained.

3. *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* : A square diagram with 8×8 or 9×9 equal units is prepared for the convenience of architectural purpose. Each of these units is named after a divinity. From religio-superstitious point of view, these deities are unseen powers controlling the success of the construction as well as worship and hence these portions are allotted to them as a token of the sense of belonging. From architectural point of view however, the naming of various parts of the ground plan is meticulous and elaborate improvement on the scheme of naming the directions and subdirections after divinities e. g. *Pūrva* = Indra's direction and so on.

Scheme of Designs :

4. *Erection of Pendal* (*Maṇḍapanirmāṇa*) : A special pendal with walls and roof is erected on the chosen site for the performance of the *Maṇḍaluyāga*. In this pendal, the central portion is allotted for the sketch of the diagram and a smooth and levelled pavement is prepared there for the purpose to wit :

दृढां समां तदाकाराम् ईपत्प्रागुत्तरप्लवाम् ।
प्रोच्छ्रितां च विशेपेण स्थलां दर्पणसन्निभाम् ॥ पौष्कर सं. ४. ९८–९९.

5. *Sūtrapāṭa* : The *Śilpin* chalks out along *x* axis and *y* axis parallel lines in rows and columns cutting each other to form a chess board design, with the help of chords dipped in sandal paste, vermilion and the like. The number of parallel lines required for rows or columns is always one more than their number. Thus e. g. 8 parallel lines make 7 rows or columns as the case may be. The arches are technically called *candralāñchana* and intersection of arch is called *matsyacihna*. With the help of this process the *x* and *y* axes are to be obtained.

6. *Padmodara class of Designs* : In this paper, the *maṇḍalas* having lotus figures at the centre are alone dealt with, leaving aside the three other classes mentioned above. *PS* gives a scheme of 25 designs of this type; however, the text as come down to us has lost the description of the 25th *maṇḍala* called *Paramānanda*. The first and the smallest *maṇḍala Bhadra* measures 7×7=49 units and the last one measures 31×31=961 units.

7. *The names of the maṇḍalas* : The names suggest the fruit or merit derived from worshipping in the particular diagram. But one finds, at least apparently, no meaningful attempt in naming them. As for the relation of the shape or structure of these designs with the titles, one finds only two examples – the first one the *Bhadraka* and the sixteenth the *Svastika*. The names are as follows :

१. भद्र २. अघनिर्मोचन ३. सदध्व ४. धर्माख्य ५. वसुगर्भ ६. सर्वकामप्रद ७. अमित्रघ्न ८. आयुष्य ९. वलभद्र १०. पौष्टिक ११. आरोग्यक १२. विवेक १३. वागीश १४. मानस १५. जयाख्य १६. स्वस्तिक १७. अनन्त १८. नित्याख्य १९. भूतावास २०. अमोघ २१. सुप्रतिष्ठ २२. बुद्धयाधार २३. गुणाकर २४. ध्रुवाख्य २५. परमानन्द.

8. *Parts of maṇḍalas* : Following are the parts of a *maṇḍala* : 1. *Padma* (=Lotus). 2. *Pīṭha* (=pedestal or seat of the Lord). 3. *Vīthi* (=passage surrounding the *pīṭha* and meant for going round in a conventional manner keeping the deity always to the right i. e. *Pradakṣiṇā*). 4. *Dvāra* (=entrances on all directions). 5. *Śobhā* (=offset design on the enclosure adjacent to the entrance on both sides). 6. *Koṇa* (=the corner portion of the enclosure).

Besides these main parts, there are some allied parts : 1. *Upapīṭha* (= outer pedestal adjacent to the central seat. 2. *Upadvāra* (= side entrances which are eight in number, two on either sides of the main entrances). 3. *Upaśobhā* (= re-entrants or the inverted counterparts of the offsets occupying the space in between offsets and corners of the enclosure). 4. *Pīṭha-Gātra* and *pīṭhakoṇa* (=the portions of the *pīṭha* on four sides and four corners respectively). 5. *Bimba* (=Subdivisions of any of the parts given above).

9. *Koṣṭha* = *Aṁśa* = *Pada* = *Unit* : It is the basic square unit. By combining these units in a given number and by a given method, various geometrical figures are obtained. After taking a fixed number of units as per textual instructions, one has to erase the border lines of the units falling within that area. The units are calculated from centre to the enclosure, from inner to outer rows in succession. The square unit as a rule is not further divided but exceptionally, in one or two cases there occurs a diagonal bisection.

10. *Lotus* and *Lotus area* : The central portion of a *maṇḍala* reserved for sketching a lotus is called *Padmakṣetra*. A circular area has to be demarcated inside that square for drawing a lotus. The first step is to draw four concentric circles by dividing the radius into four equal parts. The innermost circle is allotted for the *Karṇikā* i. e. the pericarp of lotus. The carpet-area of the second circle circumscribing the inner one, is covered with filaments (*kesara*) of the lotus. The number of the filaments is two or three times the number of petals. The third circle remains blank and in the fourth circle, the petals are drawn in such a way as to make their ends touch the outer circumference and the joints of two petals the inner circumference. The lotuses in the 25 *maṇḍalas* have 3 to 27 petals in ascending order. The number 6, 8 and 12 however corresponds with the number of syllables in the *mantras* of Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa. The syllables of *mantras* are written on

petals as well as filaments and the basic syllables (*bījākṣaras*) in the places of seeds of the lotus inside the pericarp.

11. *Pīṭha* : *Divine seat* : This is a diagram supporting the lotus seat of the Lord. Its symmetrical parts situated on the four sides are called *Pīṭhagātras* and the corner portions of right angle shape are called *Pīṭhakoṇas* (or *pādas* or *caraṇas*). The *pīṭha* is sometimes supported by a sub-seat or exterior or lower pedestal called *upapīṭha* which also has sometimes corresponding division into *upapīṭhagātra* and *upapīṭhakoṇa.* In spacious diagrams, the *pīṭha* has further decorative divisions : *pīṭhagātra-bimba* and *pīṭhakoṇa-bimba.* The shape of the *pīṭhagātrabimbas* in various *maṇḍalas* resembles either I or + (cross).

12. *Vīthi – Passage* : This is an open space formed with one or more rows surrounding the *Pīṭha.* This is meant for *Pradakṣiṇā* – a round walk to be taken by a devotee keeping the deity always to his right. *Gamamārga* and *Bhramaṇī* are synonyms of *Vīthi.* The passage should be decorated with flowers, leaves and foliages and should never be left blank.

अक्षतांश्चापि पुष्पाणि कुर्याद्वै प्रतिमण्डलम् ।
न शून्यं मण्डलम् कुर्यात्पत्रवल्ल्यङ्कुरैरपि ॥ सनत्कुमार सं. (शिवरात्र १०–२७).

The passage connects the divine seat with the entrances on all sides.

13. *Entrance* (*Dvāra*) : The entrance, offsets and corners together share the space allotted to the enclosure in the outermost rows; they occupy two rows in smaller *maṇḍalas* and three in the bigger ones. The inner part of the entrance is narrow like a neck; hence it is named *gala* or *kaṇṭha* or in some places *karṇa*; the outer portion which opens wide outside the enclosure is called *upagala, upakaṇṭha* or *upakarṇa.* The entrance in the three rows is supplemented by an outer support called *ādhāra.*

In more spacious diagrams, we find two side entrances on each direction – one each on either side of the main entrances. In such case the total number of entrances is twelve. The side entrance is called *upadvāra* and reminds us of side doors in big temples.

14. *Śobhā* : The *Śobhā* or offset is a pyramid-like construction adjusted in the space left out by the entrance. With its broad base resting on the inner row, it goes on tapering outwards especially in the case of three row enclosures.

Upaśobhā is a re-entrant which stands in between the *śobhā* and *koṇa* and is, as it were, an inverted image of *śobhā.*

Sūkṣmaśobhā or a miniature offset is a *Śobhā* which occupies only two rows in an enclosure of three rows.

In accommodative designs we find all parts in series : *dvāra*, *śobhā*, *upaśobhā* another *śobhā* and *koṇa* or *sūkṣmaśobhā* and *upadvāra*.

15. *Koṇa* (*Corner*) : This is the corner portion. The number of units for this part is the remainder left after allotment to *Dvāra*, *Śobhā*, *Upaśobhā* etc. in the order of priority. The units are counted in L shaped rows from inside to outside. *Koṇa*, being a remainder, forms a shape with its leglike ends either in a projecting or a receding state. Whenever the space admits of elaboration, *koṇa* is added with *bimbas*. *Koṇas* are also decorated with divine emblems like *Śaṅkha*, *Cakra* etc.

16. *Āvaraṇa* : *outer border* : The entire *maṇḍala* picture is often decorated with border stripes in one or more colours.

17. *Isometric reconstruction* : The *Pauṣkara Saṁhitā* provides to the student of *maṇḍala* scheme, an opportunity to test his understanding, as it were, by omitting the description of the 25th *maṇḍala*. If one has grasped the scheme with analytical perception, he would be able to achieve an isometric reconstruction of the 25th (*Paramānanda*) *Maṇḍala*.

Colour Scheme :

1. *Technical terms* : The words used for colour are : *Varṇa*, *Rāga*, *Rañjana* etc. and verbs used for the process are : लेपयेत्, रञ्जयेत्.

Direct denotation of colours : Following words are used to denote the colours directly : *Sita-śveta-śukla* = white, *Pīta* = yellow, *Rakta* = red and *Kṛṣṇa* = black, *Nīla* = blue, and shades like *Aruṇa* = orange, *Raktāruṇa* = Reddish orange, *Pāṇḍurakta* = whitish red, etc.

The suffix *ujjvala* indicates brightness of colours e. g. *Raktojjvala*, *Pītojjvala* etc.

Indirect denotation : Some shades are denoted by similes of visible objects such as natural elements, birds, flora, minerals and precious stones etc. e. g. शरदगगनसंकाश, चापपक्षसमान, शुकपक्षोपम, नीलनीरजवत्, पद्मरागोपम, वैडुर्यवत्, चीनपिष्टसमान् etc.

In some cases there is a combination of direct and indirect denotation as in गोक्षीरपाण्डु where whiteness is qualified by the shade of cow's milk. The suffixes showing resemblance are : आम, वत्, संकाश, निभ etc. Curiously enough one may note that the suffix आकार, which ordinarily means shape, is used in the sense of shade – e. g. मरकताकार.

PS alone uses fifty-two technical terms denoting in all 22 distinct shades.

2. *Basic colours* : Sectarian and philosophical background of the Pāñcarātra has played important part in the building up of the colour scheme of *maṇḍalas*. The four *vyūhas* i. e. manifestations of God : Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, are described as bearing white, red, yellow and black complexions. They have again special affiliation with the four *yāgas* and four *varṇas* (i. e. caste divisions). The term *varṇa* denotes both : social status as well as colour. The Āgamas allot the same colours to the members of respective castes while prescribing choice of land etc. Thus सितादिचतुष्क includes सित-रक्त-पीत and कृष्ण as basic colours. The other shades are derivatives of these four; and perhaps these basic colours are found in easily available powders known in Marathi as रांगोळी, कुंकू, हळद, and बुक्का. That these powders were prescribed for colouring is supported by the statement in *PS* (1. 6) :

सूत्रयित्वा विधानेन पूजयित्वा रजैः शुभैः ।
लिखित्वा कुङ्कुमाद्यैर्वा चालिख्य घटिकादिभिः ॥

Besides the powders precious, material was also introduced whenever the worshipper could afford.

भूमौ हेमशलाकाद्यैर्वित्ताभावात्प्रयत्नतः ।
पूजयेत्फलपुष्पाद्यैरारण्यैर्नित्यसम्भवैः ॥ पौ. सं. १ : ७

Especially where transparent shades of precious stones are prescribed, one has to think of studding or embedding of those parts.

3. *Rājapāṣāṇa and other difficult terms* : This word, also spelt as *Rājāśma*, *Rājopala*, *Nṛpaśaila* etc. seems to be a variety of stone with regal majesty. It may be assumed that this must be the king of stones. But the royalty of stones is, as it were, the privilege of diamond (*Lakṣmītantra* 41. 42). V. KRISHNAMMACARYA in *Lakṣmītantra* interpretes *Rājopala* as Vajra (= diamond or thunderbolt). All these things denote a shade which is bright white. But from the context and by applying the method of elimination one comes to the conclusion that *Rājāśma* is a brilliant dark black shade.

Another term is *Praśāntāgnisamāna*. If it means flameless or smokeless fire, then it would present a reddish tint. But if it means extinguished fire, then it would be a heap of ash, therefore the shade would be of ash colour. *Śuklapakṣopama* is one more such term which is not capable of easy interpretation. Bright fortnight is not a good simile for denoting colours. In fact, a variant reading in one manuscript of *PS* gives a clue. The reading is *Śukapakṣopama* i. e. resembling the wings of a parrot. This is a rational simile and finds a parallel in the same context in *Cāṣapakṣanibha*. In the former case the colour is green and in the latter it is blue. Similarly, the reading मध्ये तु कमलं स्थितम् may be corrected with the help of colour analysis as : मध्ये तु कमलं सितम् indicating a colour shade.

4. *Symmetry*.: Various colour combinations, matching, contrasting, gaudy, mild, glittering etc. appealing to various tastes of spectators are found in the *maṇḍalas*. Unsymmetrical symmetry– a favourite modern trend is also seen in some *maṇḍalas* where 4 sides have 4 distinct colours.

5. *Transparent shades* : As already mentioned the denotation of transparent shades may indicate use of transparent objects like diamond, emerald, crystals etc. for embedding the surface.

6. *Colour manufacturing* : There is no reference to manufacturing of dyes and paints or of material used in them.

Resumé :

1. The entire scheme of the 25 *maṇḍalas* is very scientific and viewed from artistic point alone, it exhibits the high eligibility of Āgamic teachers and students in that field.

2. From architectural point of view, one may evaluate these diagrams as potential ground plans of 25 patterns of temple structures. The words : *Pīṭha, Vīthi, Dvāra, Śobhā, Upaśobhā, Koṇa* are all common terms in the sphere of temple architecture. Besides, the diagonal bisection of square units hints at a contour structure of the divine seat, and also of the *Śobhā* etc. And the use of stones and precious stone rather presupposes the raised surface meant for studding. Well, with necessary stock of bricks and stones one could easily erect a three dimention structure over any of the *maṇḍala* drawings given in the Saṁhitās.

3. *Isometric reconstruction* : As already discussed, isometric reconstruction of any diagram with missing text would also help a student to interpret similar passages elsewhere, describing artistic or architectural specimens.

4. *Textual reconstruction* : Finally colour scheme as well as the arithmetic tally of units etc. are useful to correct the readings, fill in the lacunae as also to reconstruct verbally some omitted portions as in the case of 25th *maṇḍala*.

AN INTERESTING IMAGE OF DEVĪ IN THE ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

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The standing female goddess of buff- sandstone from Allahabad, now preserved in the Allahabad Museum[1] (Fig. 1), is significant from the iconographic point of view. The sixteen-handed image is badly damaged, and the figure in its present state of preservation has lost her head along with her ten arms. The goddess is standing on a full petaled lotus cushion in a *tri-ratha* pedestal in a graceful (*tribhaṅga*) pose. The upper part of the deity is bare, while she wears a *sāri*-like lower garment which reached upto her ankles. The pleats of the *sāri* have been tastefully displayed. Further the principal figure has been richly ornamented. They include the necklace (or *hāra*), bracelets, armlets, wristlets, anklets (or *nūpura*). A star-shaped perforated halo is shown behind her head. On either side of the pedestal are two lions in a crouching posture, and two kneeling devotees. The goddess is flanked by two female attendants, the one to the right holding a *caurī* or fly whisk, and the one to the left a sword. Next to them are two male attendants, above whom are ascetics, with *yāgapaṭṭas* around the knees. At the top of the stele, are three roofed niches. They contain the four-armed seated female figures in *lalitāsana* pose and displaying *abhayamudrā*, *triśūla*, (or *śakti*), *pustaka* or *padma* and *kalaśa* respectively. Thus, the miniature female figures on the stele appear to be identical with the principal figure. To each side of them, is a female attendant with a *vīṇā* or a musical instrument. On the extreme corners of the stele are shown the flying Vidyādhara couples in graceful pose.

The principal figure may be identified as Khemaṅkarī, as we get a textual corroboration of the above in the *Aparājita-Pṛcchā*[2] and the *Āgamas*.[3] According to the *Aparājitapṛcchā*, Khemaṅkarī will display *varada-mudrā*, *triśula*, *padma* or lotus and a water vessel. The text runs as :

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1. Allahabad Museum Catalogue no. 770.
2. *Aparājitapṛchhā*, G. O. S. No CXV ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Ch. 222 v. 30.
3. Quoted from Gopinath Rao, T. A. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 342.

Varaṁ triśūlaṁ padmaṁ ca pānapātraṁ kareṣu ca |
Khemaṅkarīti tannāma khemārogyapradāyinī ||

As one of the forms of the Nava-Durgā, Khemaṅkarī is well known in Indian *Śilpa* texts. For instance the *Aparājitapṛcchā*[4] further states:

" ………*Durgānaṁ navakaṁ tathā |*
ādau tatra Mahālakṣmī Nandā Khemakarī tathā |
Śivadūtī Mahā (ca) ṇḍā Bhramarī Sarvamaṅgalā ||

There are different lists of the names of the Nava-Durgā found in the different texts. Rao submits a list[5] on the authority of the *Āgamas*, which reads Nīlakanṭhī, Khemaṅkarī, Harasiddhi, Rudrāṁsa Durgā, Vana-Durgā, Agni-Durgā, Jaya-Durgā, Vindhyavāsi-Durgā and Ripumārī-Durgā. Thus it is clear that in the *Āgamas* Khemaṅkarī has occupied a place as one of the forms of Nava-Durgā. The *Śāradā-tilaka-tantra* also describes Khemaṅkarī along with Bhadra-Durgā, Bhadra-Kālī, Ambikā and Vedagarbhā.[6]

From the above description of the Allahabad image coupled with its textual corroboration, the sculpture may be reasonably identified as Khemaṅkarī, an important aspect of the Nava-Durgā. The sculpture, as we have already pointed out, has displayed the repeated forms of the principal figure in miniatures (in the niches) on the top of the stele with the distinction that the miniature figures have four hands, while the central figure is sixteen-handed. And the fact that the latter holds a child in one of her hands indicates her association with the *matṛkā* aspect. But what is interesting in the present sculpture is its repeated forms of the principal deity in miniatures.

Banerjea[7] has drawn our attention to an unique sculpture from North Bengal found in the Dinajpur Dist., which depicts in a very interesting manner the Nava-Durgā motif. The relief of Nava-Durgā from Porsha[8] (Fig. 2) is an extremely rare type, consisting of nine figures of Mahiṣamardinī, one represented as central piece, with eight other miniatures grouped round it all in the usual manner. The central figure is eighteen-armed, while the rest are endowed with sixteen arms.

Typograhically, the two sculptures from Allahabad and North Bengal are certainly different from each other, but are similar in respect of their emphasis on the Devī aspect. But the concept of the *maṇḍala* may be noticed in both the sculptures, although no textual reference of the Khemaṅkarī *maṇḍala* is known to us. But it would not be very unreasonable to characterize the Allahabad sculpture in the light of the Dinajpur image as a *maṇḍala* approximation to Khemaṅkarī. Stylistically the Khemaṅkarī sculpture may be dated in the eleventh century A. D.

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[4] *Aparājitapṛcchā*, G. O. S. No. CXV ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Ch. 222 vv. 24–25.

[5] Gopinath Rao, T. A. *Elements of Hindu Iconography* Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 342.

[6] Banerjea, J. N, *Dacca History of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1943, p. 450, has also mentioned Bhattasali N. K. Catalogue of *Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pp. 203–05.

[7] Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1956, p. 500.

[8] Banerjea, J. N. *Dacca History of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1943, p. 453 Pl. XIII, 35.

SOUTH-EAST ASIAN STUDIES SECTION

MONASTIC SCHOLARSHIP OF ANCIENT BURMA

By

DEVAPRASAD GUHA, DELHI

Buddhism, a civilizing force, brought under its sway many a country of the world, and Burma was one such. To quote a contemporary scholar: " It was Buddhism that brought Burma into the arena of culture and civilization and in one line with the other countries of the Indian Orient". No doubt the statement is rather aggressive. But the fact remains that Buddhism is definitely one of the factors that gave Burmese life and culture a new meaning. Such being the debt that Burma owes to Buddhism, it is but fitting that we give a brief account of how and when, and in what form the discipline was conveyed into the country. Without an account of this momentous event, namely, the introduction of Buddhism in Burma and its effects on the people of the land, it is wellnigh impossible to thoroughly understand anything that is Burmese.

Isolated geographically from the world outside, covered as she is by mountain ranges and span of water, Burma lived throughout the greater part of her history practically to herself, unaffected by extraneous influences arising out of invasions, commercial relations with other countries, and such other forms of contact which usually tend to change a people towards the acceptance of new ideals and aspirations, and consequent adoption of new values and new ways of life. But, though the country lay detached, the seed of a cultural influence, deeply rooted in Buddhism, was imported from the south coast of India, and in all likelihood from Kanchipuram, affecting the whole of her life. Moreover, as the aspiration of Buddhism was broadly human, and not limited to a class or a race, each people and each individual might take its message to heart in an individual way. And so in the case of Burma, the restraints it enjoined and the ideals it held up, became the occasions for the unfolding of her own inmost nature. As a matter of fact, it is difficult, nay impossible, to study any aspect of Burmese life and thought without being struck by the impress left on it by Buddhism which became the all-pervasive element in the evolution of the Burmese culture, particularly from the eleventh century onwards. Pagodas and shrines were constructed, and images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas were installed in them, and together they all provide the finest examples of Burmese art and architecture, sculpture and painting. The influence of Buddhism is equally pervasive in legends and plays of the country, and also in manners and customs of the people. Pali, the language of the early Buddhist scriptures, immensely enriched the Burmese language, and untill recent times, most of its writers, both in Pali and in Burmese, were Buddhist monks. They composed treatises not only on Pali language and literature, but also composed chronicles and law-books, and even poetry.

As regards the time and manner in which the Buddhist faith was first introduced into the country, scholars are yet to be unanimous. But, it can be said with fair amount of confidence that the religion reached the realm fairly early in the Christian era, a fact fully borne out by the discovery of rich archaeological remains in different parts of the country, the most noteworthy being those found at Suvannabhūmi (identified with the Bilin township of the Thaton district), at Vesali (Mrohaung in Akyab district), at Srikshetra (Hmawza in the district of Prome), at Halingyi in Shwebo district, and at Tada-galay in Insein district of Rangoon. The afore-said remains have roughly been dated between the fifth and ninth or tenth centuries of the Christian Era. Besides, traces have been found of early existence in the country of the Mahāyāna and the Tāntric forms of Buddhism too. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that Chinese writers of the third century refer to the Buddhist kingdom of Lin-yang which Luce places in Central Burma. Then again, the chronicles of the T'ang dynasty (A. D. 618–907) refer to the P'iaos whom the scholars are inclined to identify with the Pyus, the earliest inhabitants of Burma so far known. The P'iaos were Buddhist in faith and their capital Srikshetra is generally regarded to be the same as Shin-li-cha-to-lo of Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing, the celebrated Chinese travellers.

For our purpose, however, the safe beginning would be the eleventh century when Buddhism in its Theravāda form was introduced into Pagan. The forms of religion, which were prevalent in the country in the pre-Pagan period, appear to be animism, besides Brahmanism with emphasis on the Viṣṇu cult, and some form of Tāntric Buddhism. The last one was more popularly known as the cult of the *Aris* whom the *Sasanavaṁsa*, the Burmese chronicle of the nineteenth century, describes as the *Samanakuttakas*. The *Ari* cult continued in Pagan with vigour till after the middle of the eleventh century. But, in 1056, Shin Arahan, a Mon Buddhist monk, from Suvannabhūmi, converted Anawrahta (1044–77), the earliest known historical king of Pagan, to the Theravāda Buddhist faith. Together they curbed the power of the *Aris*, and established a monkhood that was purely Theravāda Buddhist.

As the new faith could not take root in the realm due to the absence of any religious literature, Shin Arahan enouraged the monarch to seek the help of Manuha, the Mon king of Suvannabhūmi. Anawrahta sent a polite request to the Mon monarch who, however, rudely refused to oblige his Pagan contemporary. Anawrahta took the refusal as a personal insult, himself marched against Manuha with a large army, humbled him, and returned to Pagan with all the thirty sets of Pali *Tripiṭakas* which the Mon monarch so proudly possessed and fondly treasured. Besides, he carried with him the entire population of Suvannabhūmi, said to have been 30,000 in number, amongst whom were builders and craftsmen. Anawrahta utilized their services to the maximum, and very soon religious edifices started raising their heads here and there in the arid planes of Pagan. The culture and civilization, thus wrested from an unwilling neighbour, worked as a leaven among the Burmese. The Indian arts of writing and arithmetic, which were then prevalent in the Mon territory, were adopted along with the new religious faith, and the Burmese language was reduced to writing in the Mon script, a script which owed its origin to the Telugu-Kannada script of South India. By the next generation, temples of Pagan had begun to rise in architectural magnificence, showing us today that the new faith found fervent acceptance as much among the people as with the king. Amongst the edifices were monasteries, complete with cells for study, and big and small halls for holding classes. To these monastic establishments the Pagan monarchs invited and received with respect the reputed monk scholars from the conquered territory of Hamsavati (Pegu), as also from Ceylon, Siam and Cambodia, and probably also from Nepal and China. And it was at these centres of learning that the Pali literature of Burma developed, reaching a remarkale height of scholarship and prestige in a rather short time.

The speedy maturing of the new learning at Pagan became possible due to the fact when the religion and culture were transplanted, the essentials of their growth in the new abode were secured by Anawrahta through his transportations of books and teachers. They formed the necessary nucleus from which a culture could develop, and could spread among the people as well. The literary treasure, wrested from Manuha, was housed in a splendid library building, and it was placed at the disposal of monks of Pagan and Kyauk-ku Ohn-min, the latter being the centre of learning of the Maramma Saṅgha, the oldest Buddhist sect in Pagan. New copies of the sacred texts were secured from Ceylon which were examined and compared by Shin Aran himself with the Thaton collection. The ground was thus prepared for the harvest that followed. The atmosphere of the then Pagan too was conducive to scholarly and academic efforts, for learning and religion received support of kings and people alike. They were, so says HARVEY, aesthetic and spiritual rather than political in their outlook on life.

In her excellent work, the *Pali Literature of Burma*, Mabel Haynes BODE, has given a fairly good account of monastic scholarship in Burma from the reign of Anawrahta down to the rule of King Mindon (1852–78). But no account possibly can give a vivid picture of the literature and scholastic activities of the numerous monasteries of Pagan and its interior regions where, away from the din and bustle of ordinary life, the Buddhist monks strove hard to master the sacred scriptures. There in the solitude of the library hall of the monastery he devoted whatever time he could, day in and day out, to reading the religious texts, and writing down on palm-leaves and *parabaiks* the thoughts and comments of his own. The Pali chronicles, the *Gandhavaṁsa* and the *Sasanavaṁsa*, as also authoritative works in the Burmese language, provide us with long lists of such monk scholars, and still longer lists of the works produced by them. But even these lists must represent only a fraction of the good and continuous work that was carried on in the net-work of monasteries spread all over the country. Though Buddhistic studies in all the different aspects demanded their most serious and careful attention, subjects like grammar, logic, rhetoric, prosody astrology, astronomy, medicine, polity, law, and so on claimed their time and labour, grammar of course being the most important subject that attracted the best of their attention, at least at the initial stage. In fact, the first known attempt at Pali scholarship by a Burmese author was a treatise on grammar. It was during the reign of Kyanzittha (1084–1112) that the Buddhist monk Dhammasenapati, who himself was attached to the Ananda temple of Pagan, wrote his *Kārikā*, a grammatical treatise in Pali.

But the really golden period of Burmese monastic scholarship began after Kyanzittha, particularly duing the reign of his great grandson Narapatisithu (1173–1210). The latter's teacher Aggavaṁsa wrote the *Saddanīti*, the voluminous treatise on Pali grammar, which established the reputation of Burmese scholarship in that age, and is still regarded as a classic. Thera Uttarajīva took a copy of it to the ancient Mahāvihāra monastery of Ceylon when he went on a pilgrimage to the island in 1180. The work was accepted with all admiration, and was declared superior to any work of the kind written by scholars of Ceylon.

Capata, known otherwise as Saddhammajotipala, an able disciple of Uttarajīva, was also interested in grammar, besides in the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma. He was the author of the *Suttaniddesa*, a grammatical treatise. Besides, he composed the *Samkhepavannana*, a commentary of the *Abhidhammatthasamgaha* of Anuruddha; the *Simalankaraṭīkā*, a commentary on a

Ceylonese work dealing with the boundaries and religious sites for ceremonies religious, the *Vinayasamutthanadipani*, an exposition of abstruse passages of the *Vinayapiṭaka* the *Namacaradipani*, the *Matikatthadipani*, the *patthananayadipani*, all the three dealing with Abhidhamma subjects, and the *Ganthisāra*, an abridged collection of important textual tracts.

It was Capata who introduced the Sihala Samgha in Burma. With the establishment of this monastic order, enthusiasm intensified among monks for scholastic work, and most of the treatises composed during the early days of its life in Burma were on grammar. Vimalabuddhi wrote the important grammatical work known as the *Nyāsa* or *Mukhamattadipani*, a commentary on the *Kaccāyanayoga*. Other grammatical treatises followed in quick succession, and we get the *Liṅgatthavivaraṇa* by Subhūticanda, the *Liṅgatthavivaraṇappakāsaka* of Nanasagara, the *Liṅgatthavivaraṇaṭikā* by Uttama. The last author also wrote a *ṭikā* on the *Balavatara*, the grammatical treatise written by Vacissara of Ceylon. Dhammadassi was another important grammarian of the time who wrote the *Vaccavacaka* on which the *ṭikā* was written by one Saddhammanandi. Thera Abhaya wrote his *Mahāṭikā*, a commentary on the grammatical work *Saddatthabhedacintā* of Saddhammasiri, and the *Sambandhacintāṭikā*, the commentary on the grammatical treatise *Sambandhacintā* of Saṁgharakkhita of Ceylon.

Scholastic activities in the Pagan monasteries continued unabated even after Narapatisithu. The study of Pali grammar was a necessary preliminary to the study of the Piṭakas, and the study was apparently not confined to the monks alone. Kings, ministers, and courtiers studied grammar religiously, and King Kyawswa's (1234–50) daughter was the authoress of the *Vibhattyattha*, a little work on Pali cases. Learning seemed to have thrived during the reign of Kyawswa who "read and became master of every book, held public disputations, and seven times a day instructed his household". Mabel Bode has aptly explained the attitude of the then interest in Pali grammar when she said: "To the orthodox, scriptural warrant is everything, in the settlement of religious difficulties. From the word of the ancient texts expanded in the *atthakathā*, and further expanded by *ṭikās* and *atthayojanas*, there is no appeal. So the actual 'word' becomes the rock on which the right believing and right living rest, and generation after generation of teachers devote themselves passionately to the study of Pali grammar. The 'science of words' is held to be vital to the cause of Truth, and the writing of grammatical treatises rises to the height of a religious duty."

The glorious days of learning at Pagan lasted for two centuries and a half. Then the city fell before the Mongol invasion in 1277, followed by the swamping of the entire northern country by the Shans, a race that was then rather new to Burma. From 1287 to 1531, Burma remained disunited. There grew up many principalities, the chief amongst them being Ava, Pegu and Toungoo. Though the period was turbulent politically, it did not seem to have affected the academic and cultural pursuits very much as the ruling families and men of means continued to protect religiously the interest of the Buddhist order, and loaded it with bounty.

About the end of this period of Shan suzerainty over northern Burma, Barmese literature, the seed of which was sown as early as the reign of Anawrahta in the eleventh century, now in the sixteenth produced its first harvest. The first authors in Burmese language were again Buddhist monks whose works show scuh polish and elegance that it is difficult to believe that composition in the vernacular had not been practised long before the century. From this time onwards, there developed side by side with Pali literature, a Burmese literature, both original works and translations from Pali, in prose, as also in verse, down to the present times. But that is a period with which we are not at present concerned.

A HYPOTHESIS ABOUT THE COMMON ORIGIN OF THE MORIYAS OF INDIA AND CEYLON AND THEIR ŚĀKYAN AFFILIATION

By

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR, RAVINDRAPALLI

The early history of the Moriyas, with which the Śākyas were connected in so many ways, is shrouded in great obscurity, as their early records are mainly legendary and traditional. It is therefore a hard task to disentangle the truth from the mass of fiction which sometimes contradict each other in the most disconcerting manner. As neither inscriptions nor foreign evidence come to our aid, until the third or 4th century B. C., it is an onerous task to shift evidence, reconcile contradictions, if possible, and wade warily through the maze of miracles and superstitions which beset the path at every step. A bewildered investigator cannot shun miracles altogether,[1] but recognise the basic facts underlying them and correlate the available results in a framework within the norm of historical prudence. I think it would be arbitrary to accept one part of a particular tradition and reject the other to suit either the investigator's preconceived notion or theory or simply explain it away as irrational. The idea has been admirably expressed by E. J. THOMAS thus:[2] "Evidently if this (i. e. legend) is to be judged from the point of view of its historical value, it must be taken as a whole, the most incredible and fantastic as well as the most seemingly veracious portion. We may reject unpalatable parts, but cannot ignore them without suppressing valuable evidence as to the character of our witnesses."

Keeping these points in mind, we may now study the history of the Śākya clan and see how far it can be considered as the parent stock, out of which originated the Moriyas of India and Ceylon. The study is however confined to the period anterior to *c.* 205 B. C., as further study is not absolutely necessary to establish the point we have in view. We should like to begin our study with an account of the origin of the Śākyas, which has been narrated in the *Mahāvastu*, the Tibetan Vinaya and in some places of the

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[1] There are supernatural elements in the story of Mahendra's journey to Ceylon, but nobody has seriously disputed his going to Ceylon on that ground.

[2] *The Life of Buddha*, p. 2.

Pāli commentaries. A summary of the story, based on Buddhaghoṣa's commentary,[3] is furnished below :

King Okkāka had four sons and five daughters born of his principal queen. After her death, he married another beautiful princess and a son born of this union was promised the throne. The disinherited princes and princesses started towards the Himalayas to build a city to live in. They selected for their habitation a locality which subsequently became famous under the name of Kapilavastu. Then arose the problem of the marriage of the princes and the princesses. They presented the problem before their advisers, thus "we find no daughters of Kṣatriyas who are like ourselves (9 in birth), nor Kṣatriya princes like our sisters, and through union with those of unlike birth the sons who are born will be impure either on the mother's or the father's side. Let us then consort with our sisters." Through apprehension of polluting caste, they set the eldest sister in the place of mother, and consorted with the rest. When their father hears how the princes had acted, he thrice exclaimed, "The princes are able in preserving the purity of our race; the princes are exceedingly able in preserving the purity of our race." The text uses the words *sakka* (able), *parama sakka* (exceedingly able), from which they came to be known as the Śākyas. A better explanation is that the princes cleared off a Śāka (*Shorea robusta*) i. e. Śāla-forest and hence they came to be known as ths Śākyas. Meanwhile it so happened that the eldest sister became afflicted with leprosy and her limbs became "like the Kovilāra flower". Her brothers fearing infection took her in a chariot to a remote forest-tract and placed her in an underground mansion furnished with all the necessaries of life. The king of Vārāṇaśī, named Rāma, who was perhaps a Kṣatriya prince of the Nāga-family was similarly afflicted. He came to the same forest-tract and got cured by using medicinal food procured from the forest. Now, on one occasion, by chance, he discovered the eldest daughter of Okkāka and cured her of the disease. He then married her and decided not to return home. He cleared the area of its Kola trees (*Nauclea cordifolia*) and founded therein the city which came to be known as Kolanagara. The progeny of king Rāma thus came to be known as the Koliyas.[4]

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[3] *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā*, Sinhalese edition, pp. 119 ff. There are however different versions, but their structure does not vary substantially. Some of the details may be studied in E. J. THOMAS, *op. cit.*, 6 ff.; B. C. LAW, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 245 ff.; HARDY, *A Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 130 ff.

[4] According to the version of the story recorded in the *Mahāvastu* I, p. 353, the king's name was Kola. In the introduction to the *Kuṇāla Jātaka*, the Koliyans were so called, because of their association with Kola (jujub)–trees, which they cleared off to found a city.

This is the story of the origin of the Śākyas and the Koliyas. They had a common ancestor, viz. king Okkāka, but in the next generation they branched off by the male and the female lines, the male line being continued in the family of Gautama Buddha and the female line in the family of Bhaddakaccānā, the consort of Gautama. A few years before the death of Buddha, a great catastrophe befell upon the Śākya-clan and this had a tremendous impact upon the later history of the clan. It refers to the all but complete destruction of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu. Buddhist traditions in India, Ceylon and Burma seem to be unanimous regarding this great event. A study of the salient features of this story, even as that of the previous one, is necessary to form a correct idea regarding the subject under review.

The story of the destruction of the Śākyas has been discussed in the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka*[5] and elsewhere, but the *Jātaka*-version is generally believed to contain the substance of the event. It may be briefly stated here, touching only those points which are necessary for a proper understanding of the subject we have in view. It has been stated that the Kośalan king Prasenajit wanted to marry a Śākyan maiden and hence he sent envoys to Kapilavastu for the purpose. The proud Śākyas who did not give their daughters in marriage to outsiders were on the horns of a dilemma. They deliberated thus: "We live in a place subject to the authority of the king of Kośala: if we refuse him a daughter, he will be very angry and if we give her, the custom of our clan is broken; what are we to do?" The Śākyan chief Mahānāma ultimately offered a clever but tortuous solution, stating that he had a daughter named Vāsabhakhattiya, sixteen years of age, by a slave-woman of the name of Nāgamuṇḍā, and she could be offered in marriage to Prasenajit. The envoys knew the haughty pride of the Śākyan nobility for the purity of the clan and suspected a fraud, but Mahānāma removed their suspicion somehow. Thus Vāsabhakhattiya became the chief queen of king Prasenajit. The story further tells us how, in course of time, a son was born to the king and he named him Viḍūḍabha. When the prince grew up to be sixteen he insisted on going to his maternal grand-father's house, where the indiscretion of a slave-woman, who was washing the seat on which Viḍūḍabha had sat, gave out the secret. Viḍūḍabha promised, "When I am king I shall wash the place with their hearts' blood."

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[5] Eng. tr. by Cowell, Vol. IV, pp. 91–95. The story has been somewhat differently told in the *Dulva* (Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 71 ff.), but scholars are generally inclined to accept the broad outline of the story as given in the *Jātaka* referred to above. The story was so well-known that Yuan Chwang had occasion to refer to it in his travels (Vide Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* I, pp. 395 f.)

On becoming king, Viḍūḍabha wrecked vengeance on the Śākyas for their past effrontery and massacred them in thousands.[6] Viḍūḍabha wroght particular vengeance on the Śākyan women and, according to tradition recorded by Yuan Chwang, 500 Śākya women were straightway killed and another 500 who refused to enter into the harem of the king were mutilated and thrown into a ditch. This event occurred a few years before the death of Buddha in 483 B. C. The Śākyas of Kapilavastu could not have been completely destroyed by Viḍūḍabha, as the *Dhammapada* Commentary[7] would make us believe, but those who unconditionally surrendered with blades of grass or reeds in their mouth were spared.[8] This is also proved by the fact that within a few years after this massacre, they appeared, shortly after Buddha's death, to claim the relics of their dead kinsman.[9] The Śākyas who had fled away from Kapilavastu settled down at Pipphalīvana and came to be known as the Moriyas, as the *Mahāvaṁsa* Commentary tells us,[10] and their capital city came to be known as Moriyanagara. It may be recalled that these Moriyas also came forward to claim the relics of Buddha after his death.

Now, one of the brothers of Śuddhodhana was Amitodana, also called Amṛtodana, Sakkapaṇḍu, the son of Amitodana,[11] also migrated on the massacre of the Śākyas referred to above. About him the *Mahāvaṁsa* says :[12] " Since he heard that the Śākyas would (shortly) be destroyed, he took his followers with him and went to another tract of land on the further side of the Ganges and founded a city there and ruled there as king. " The *Mahāvaṁsa*-Commentary[13] further enlightens us that the displaced Śākya princes proceeding towards the Himalayan region founded the settlement of Pipphalīvana ; its capital came to be known as Moriyanagara. These sets of circumstantial evidence make it obvious that Sakkapaṇḍu, the son of Amitodana, became the ruler of Pipphalīvana-Moriyanagara.

This tradition regarding the disposal of the Śākyas is preserved not only in the traditions of India and Ceylon, but also in those of Burma. Thus we read in a Burmese text[13a] that " ..Vitatupa[13b] marched with a great army and reached Kapilavatthu and slew the whole Sakiyan race, save those who dwelt with king Mahānāma, not sparing even suckling babies..Thereafter the Sakiyan princes took refuge in diverse places such as the cities of Moriya, Veddissagiri and Pandurāja...when thus the Sakiyan princes perished, Dhajarāja the Sakiyan king, moved with his followers from the Middle Country and first founded and reigned in Moriya."

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[6] Yuan Chwang (WATTERS, *op. cit.*, II. pp. 8–9) gives the number as 99,900,000 which is a fantastic figure. According to the *Avadāna Kalpalatā* and the *Dulva*, about 70 or 77 thousand Śākyas were killed on that occasion. The city of Kapilavastu might or might not have contained so many people, but there is hardly any doubt that there was a terrible massacre .

[7] Vide RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 11.

[8] MALALASEKERA, *Dictionary of Pāli proper-names*, Vol. 11. II, pp. 876–77.

[9] *Mahāparinibbānasutta.*

[10] Sinhalese edition, pp. 119 ff.

[11] *Mahāvaṁsa* II. 20.

[12] VIII. 18–19.

[13] Sinhalese edition, pp. 119 ff.

The Moriya of this account is not the Moriyanagara of Pipphlīvana, but a place in ancient Burma. It is the classic name of the Kubo Valley in Burma. It has been stated that Dhajarāja, the Śākya prince, went to Burma in 523 B. C. (or 519 B. C.) and ruled there in different places untill he finally settled down at Sạngasoarāttha or Sankissa of Abhi Rāja, another Śākya prince who is said to have migrated in...B. C.[13c] The dynasty established by Dhajarāja is said to have ruled in the region of Old Pagan up to the 6th century A. D.[13d]

Let us now revert to the story of Sakkapaṇḍu.

It is now interesting to note that this family of Sakkapaṇḍu contracted matrimonial alliance with the Sihapura royal family of West Bengal, to which Prince Vijayasiṁha, the first traditional ruler of Ceylon, belonged. As Vijaya had no legitimate son, Paṇḍuvāsudeva, who was the son of Vijaya's younger brother Sumitta, went to Ceylon and ascended on the throne there.[14] Now, the youngest daughter of Sakkapaṇḍu was Bhaddakaccānā who married, according to the Ceylonese Chronicles, Paṇḍuvāsudeva, the Celonese ruler from West Bengal. A study of the genealogies of the royal families of Amitodana of Kapilavastu and of Sīhabāhu of Sīhapura in West Bengal, as given in the Appendix A, will show that the two royal dynasties were united, in the third generation after Amitodana and Sīhabāhu, on the soil of Ceylon and all rulers after Paṇḍuvāsudeva could legitimately claim that they had Śākyan-Moriyan blood in their veins. This became pronounced when a direct grandson of Sakkapaṇḍu named Dīghagāmanī married princess Cittā, daughter of Paṇḍuvāsudeva, and their son Paṇḍukābhaya ascended on the throne of Ceylon in 377 B. C. Apart from the similarity in the marriage pattern among the royal houses of Kapilavastu, Sīhapura and Ceylon, as will be discussed more fully later on, there is another way of checking up the authenticity of these traditional marriages, and that is on the basis of data from a different set of evidence. It may be noted that Amitodana-Sakkapaṇḍu- Bhaddakaccānā form the counterpart of Sīhabāhu-Sumitta-Paṇḍuvāsudeva, thus making Amitodana of Kapilavastu and Sīhabāhu of Sīhapura contemporaneous, even as their descendants were. If we now place Amitodana living at *c.* 500 B. C. (Buddha having died at *c.* 483 B. C.), the succeeding two generations would bring us to *c.* 450 B. C., allowing 25 years for each generation. Similarly, the same criterion brings Sīhābahu's grandson prince Paṇḍuvāsudeva to about 450 B. C. In fact, according to GEIGER's calculation based on the probable date of Buddha's death and the duration of individual reigns given in the Ceylonese Chronicles, the reign of Paṇḍuvāsudeva has been assigned to the period 444–414 B. C., and this almost tallies with our calculation made above from a different set of data. This indicates the authenticity of the traditional evidence referred to above.

[13a] *Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 4.

[13b] i. e. Viḍūḍabha.

[13c] For details and references see GOGOI, *The Tai and the Tai Kingdoms*, pp. 112 ff.

[13d] For details of the dynasty with references therein see GOGOI, *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[14] *Mahāvaṁsa* VIII. 17.

One problem yet remains to be tackled. Northern tradition does not record any son of Amitodana under the name of Sakkapaṇḍu. It records, in one place, the names of Mahānāma and Anuruddha,[15] and in another place the names of Ānanda and Devadatta.[16] We come across the name of Sakkapaṇḍu in the Simhalese tradition, but here Devadatta has been assigned to the Devadaha line, being the son of Suppabuddha, a maternal uncle of Gautama Buddha. In the face of the diverse traditions referred to above, an investigator is naturally bewildered in finding out the truth. But one thing is clear, namely, that all but Mahānāma joined the Buddhist order and became *Arhats*.[17] So, after Śuddhodhana's death, Amitodana's son Mahānāma became king,[18] but at the time of Śākyan massacre by Viḍūḍabha, Mahānāma is reported to have committed suicide by drowning himself to avoid taking food with the Kośalan king. So, if the Simhalese tradition is to be believed, Sakkapaṇḍu is left severely alone to lead his followers away from this tragedy to settle the remnants of the Śākyas at Pipphalīvana-Moriyanagara. I believe in the veracity of the Siṁhalese tradition for several reasons. Firstly, the massacre of the Śākyas took place around 490 B. C. and Paṇḍuvāsudeva, who is generally considered to be a historical person, ruled in Ceylon within less than fifty years of that event. In royal marriages, the pedigree is a very important factor. Consequently, neither the chronicler, who had based his material on earlier *Aṭṭakathā*-literature, nor other interested parties seem to have forgotten this important association. Had this relationship been a fabricated affair, the data could not have been more or less consistent in their ramifications, and the pattern of marriage and other customs of the family of Paṇḍuvāsudeva, as far as these can be processed out at this distance of time, could not have been similar, if not identical, with those of the Śākyas and the Moriyas of India. We shall discuss this point presently.

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[15] See *Dhammapada Commentary* I, 133; IV, 124; *Aṅgut. Com.* I, 183, 292; *Jātaka* I, 87 : *Vinaya* II. 180. In Tibetan tradition, they are the sons Droṇodana. Vide ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[16] ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[17] HARDY, *op. cit.*, pp. 227 ff.

[18] *Ibid.* p. 283.

Let us now go back to the story of the royal house of Sīhapura in West Bengal. The dynasty was in all probability Śākyan-Moriyá. If wc remember the Śākyan pride, which would not permit a Śākyan maiden to be married even to a Kośalan king even in the face of complete disaster it would appear reasonable to hold the view that, unless the royal houses of Moriyanagara and Sīhapura were branches of the same clan, the dynastic marriage between the two royal houses occurring at about 444 B. C., thus within 50 years after the destruction of Kapilavastu, could not have taken place at all. The brother-sister marriage, monogamy and endogamy practised in the royal family of Sīhapura, as will be more adequately discussed later on, are identical with those of the Śākyas and these factors, along with others, stamp this dynasty to be a Śākya-Moriyan one. That the Moriyas also lived in West Bengal is also attested by the Jain Bhagavatī, which tells us of the story of a Moriyaputta of Tāmalitte, thus confirming from another source, though a belated one, that there were Moriyas in West Bengal. It is, however, difficult to say how the Moriyas of Sīhapura broke away from the Moriyas of Pipphalīvana. We cannot say how, but it seems very likely that the dispersal of the Moriyas of Sīhapura from their parent stock at Moriyanagara took place not long after the Śākyas had settled down at Pipphalīvana, because Sakkapaṇḍu, the migrant from Kapilavastu, and Sumitta, the Sīhapura king, were contemporaneous. Burmese Chronicles,[19] has stated above, also testify to the dispersal of this race to various places. If a guess can be hazarded it may be that a section of the Śākya-Moriyas, on their way to Burma, stayed behind in West Bengal and became, under the leadership of Sīha, the progenitor of the dynasty to which prince Vijaya, the first traditional ruler of Ceylon, belonged.[20] In this connexion, I wish to invite attention to some interesting facts. It may be recalled that prince Vijaya was in his early youth when Buddha died. Vijaya's grandfather Sīha was naturally a junior contemporary of Buddha's grandfather Sīhahanu. There is not therefore much difficulty in assigning the role of a migrant-leader to Sīha, who, according to tradition became the founder of this dynasty. I have explained later on that this Sīha did not signify Lion, the king of beasts, but a person named Sīha who was a member of the Lion-clan. It is interesting to observe in this connexion that in the days of Buddha, there was also a powerful Licchavi general of the name of Sīha and he was doubtless a historical person.[20a] It is well-known that the Licchavis of Vaiśālī were a cognate tribe of the Śākyas, practised brother-sister marriage at a certain stage of their social history and claimed, just like the Sākyas and the Moriyas, that they belonged to the Solar race. Now, on the destruction of the confederacy of Vaiśālī by Ajātaśatru,[20b] the Licchavi general Sīha might have left Vaiśālī for good and become the progenitor of the royal house of Sīhapura of West Bengal. Identity of the two names may not be accidental, because contemporaneity, the proximity of Vaiśālī to West Bengal, where the Vaṅga-princess was found by Sīha in the company of the caravan proceeding to Magadha, and similar marriage customs between the Licchavis and the royal house of Sīhapura might plead in favour of this hypothesis. Considering however the fact that the Śākyas were prepared to face complete disaster rather than give one of their daughters in marriage to a person of even royal status (king Prasenajit of Kośala) and remembering further that the marriage-link between the Śākyan-Moriyans and the royal house of Sīhapura is a proved fact, the probability is greater that these marriages took place between two branches of the Śākyan-Moriyan tribe. Indeed it has been clearly stated in the *Āryamañjarī-mūlakalpa* that the Licchavi general was of Śākyan origin. It is worthwhile to note that the practice of endogamic marriage in this clan was also taken by the Śākya Prince Dhaja Rāja when he esablished a new kingdom and in Burma, where he married the widow Nāga Seng of here same clan.[20c]

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[19] D. N. Roy, *Role of Indians in Ancient Burmese History* in *Prabuddha Bhārata*, 1952, p. 174; R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Hindu Colonisation and Hindu Culture in South-East Asia*, p. 2.

[20] I tried to prove in the *Journ. As. Soc.*, Vol. IX. no. 2 (1967) that the original homeland of Prince Vijaya was in Lāla (Rāḍha) of West Bengal, and discussion regarding this dynasty is based on that view-point.

Thus Amitodana's grand-daughter and Sīhabāhu's grand-son became queen and king of Ceylon respectively, thus initiating close contact between eastern India and Ceylon, which became deeper in the generations immediately succeeding them, as the genealogical tables in the appendices will show. The range of this relationship was further extended during the reign of emperor Aśoka of India and Devānaṁpiyatissa of Ceylon, This was due to Aśoka's desire to spread Buddhism in the island. The first batch of missionaries to leave for Ceylon for this purpose consisted of Mahendra (the son of Aśoka), *sāmaṇera* Sumana (Saṁghamitrā's son)[21] and Bhaṇḍuka (son of a daughter of the sister of Aśoka's wife Devī),[22] besides some other *theras* referred to in the *Dīpavaṁsa*.[23] When it became necessary to transport a sapling of the Bodhi tree from Bodh Gaya to Ceylon, a second batch started for the island under the leadership of *therī* Saṁghamitrā. Other members of the party consisted of eighteen persons from the royal families[24] who were apparently members of the Mauryan royal family of Pāṭaliputra. The *Mahābodhivaṁsa*[25] also informs us that some relatives of Aśoka came to Ceylon in the reign of Devānaṁpiyatissa and settled down in different parts of Ceylon. Of them, Aśoka's relative Sumitta is believed to have been the founder of the Lambakaṇṇa clan which ruled in Ceylon for several centuries.[26] Dhammagutta, another prince accompanying the Bodhi-sapling to Ceylon, got the title of Moriyaseṭṭhi and a fief, which came to be known as Moriya-raṭṭha, was assigned to him, but its location is uncertain.[27]

[20a] Vide *Vinaya Texts*, SBE, Vol. XVII, pt. II. pp. 108 ff.

[20b] Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 781–82.

[20c] Gogoi, *the Tai and Tai Kingdoms* p. 111.

[21] *Mahāvaṁsa* XIII. 4–5.

[22] *Ibid.* XIII, 16–17.

Let us now, for a moment, turn our attention to the Mauryas of India and study their relationship with the Moriyas of Pipphalīvana. I have already stated that the Śākya migrants who had escaped the massacre at Kapilavastu had settled down at Pipphalīvana. It has been stated that Pipphalīvana was always resonant with the shrill cries of the peacocks and hence these settlers in this forest came to be known as the Moriyas. Other explanations have also been offered, for example, that the buildings of the new settlement were made of stone resembling peacocks' necks or that the word *moriya* is derived from the term *modīya* i. e. pleasing, signifying that the new settlement had pleasant surroundings. Scholars have generally accepted the first interpretation given above. The name Pipphalīvana obviously referred to the forest of Pipphalī or Banyan trees, but the capital which gradually emerged out of this forest-world earned the name of Moriyanagara. Its ruler was, as I have stated already, prince Sakkapaṇḍu. The association of this place with the Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra is stated in unambiguous terms in the Pāli Chronicles and in the Buddhist legends. The *Mahāvaṁsa* clearly states that Candragupta "was born in a family of Kṣatriyas called Moriyas." The *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā*, also known as *Vaṁsatthapakāsinī*, goes a step further and says that Candragupta's father, a ruling Moriya prince, was attacked by a *Sāmantarāja* i. e. a feudatory chief and killed; the widowed queen,[27a] escorted by his brothers, fled in disguise from the Moriya capital to Puṣpapura i. e. Pāṭaliputra in an advanced state of pregnancy and gave birth to Candragupta there in destitute circumstances. More details are furnished in the *Mahābodhivaṁsa*, where we read : " Prince Candragupta, born of a dynasty of kings (*narīndakulasambhava*) hailing from the city known as Moriyanagara built by the Śākyaputtas, being supported by the Brāhmaṇa (*dvija*) Cāṇakya, became king at Pāṭaliputra. "[28] This is a direct testimony bearing on the homeland of Candragupta. It is obvious that an arrogant orthodox Brahmin of the type of Cāṇakya would not have consecrated Candragupta as a king, unless the latter really belonged to the Kṣatriya-tribe.

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[23] XII. 7–8.

[24] *Mahāvaṁsa* XIX. 1.

[25] P.T.S. edition, pp. 154 and 163 ff. Quoted by S. PARANAVITANA in *Inscriptions of Ceylon* I. p. XCI.

[26] *Pārakumbāsirita*, verses 10–26, quoted by PARANAVITANA in *Ibid*.

[27] *Mahābodhivaṁsa*, P.T.S. edn., p. 166.

[27a] She might have been called Morā (corrupt form Mupā) being of the Moriya-clan. As she was in advanced state of pregnancy when she reached Pāṭaliputara, local scandals, probably attributed the birth of prince Candragupta to the Nanda King.

Now, the *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā* was composed in the first half of the 10th century A. D. and the *Mahābodhivaṁsa,* written by Upatissa, in the second half of the 10th century A. D. Both of these works were based on much older materials contained in the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* and the *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā*. The former is believed to be the work of Aśoka's son Mahendra and his companion-monks from Magadha, but their works are no longer available, though these have been partly incorporated in the *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā*, by the dissenting heterodox Uttaravihārins or Dharmarucikaṣ.[28a] The author of the *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā* elucidates the position by stating : " All the particulars connected with Candagutta, both before his installation and after, are recorded in the *Aṭṭhakathā* of the Uttaravihāro priests. Let that work be referred to by those who are desirous of more detailed information. We compile this work in an abridged form, without prejudice to its perspicuity. " The traditions referred to above thus revert to the third century B. C. when Aśoka was on the throne of Pāṭaliputra, thus very near to the time of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty. A Jaina tradition recorded in the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra relates that Candragupta was born of a daughter of the chief of a village community who were known as " rearers of royal peacocks. "[29] If the Jaina tradition is to be believed, one has to assume that the " daughter of the chief of the village Community " was married to a ruling chief of Moriyanagara, who was killed in a fray with a feudatory ruler and the widow had to flee away in the manner described above.

I have stated earlier that Sakkapaṇḍu, a son of Gautama Buddha's paternal uncle, was the first ruler of Moriyanagara, possibly ruling between 475–450 B. C. Theoretically it is possible to assume a change of the dynasty of Sakkapaṇḍu at Moriyanagara between 450 and 350 B. C., but all circumstances indicate that this did not happen. It may be recalled that, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa*,[30] one of the sons of Sakkapaṇḍu did not accompany his other brothers to Ceylon, apparently with the intention of ruling the country after his father's death. Now, if this Moriya prince ruled after his father's death, his reign should cover the period between, say, 450 and 425 B. C. If Candragupta's father had died when Candragupta was yet in his mother's womb, we can place that event at about 350 B. C. Thus the real gap in our knowledge regarding the dynasty of Sakkapaṇḍu is of about 75 years. This assessment of the situation receives support from the assertion of the Buddhists that Aśoka and Buddha were of the same family, as the former was descended from Candragupta Maurya who was a son of the queen of a king of Moriyanagara.[31] To recall this association of earlier days, the Moriyans built, as the *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā* tells us.[32] in their capital peacock-palaces, which were filled with peacocks and resounded with their shrill cries. All these details, which belong to different works of different times from different countries, cannot be easily brushed aside.

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[28] Ed. STRONG, p. 98.

[28a] Vide R. K. MOOKERJI, *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times*, pp. 15–16.

[29] VIII. 230.

If the above analysis of facts and phenomena be accepted as plausible, it would appear that the Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra and the Moriyas of Ceylon belonged to the same parent stock. It is not unlikely that Aśoka and his Ceylonese contemporary knew about this racial connexion. That is why they have addressed each other as friend. It may not be quite accidental that the epithet borne by Tissa was Devānaṁpiya the same title as was borne by members of the Mauryan royal family. It may be recalled that in Rock Edict VIII,[33] Aśoka's predecessors have also been attributed the same title. It is also on record that Aśoka's grandson Daśaratha had the same royal title.[34] The assumption of this title by Tissa of Ceylon, in addition to other reasons, seems to underline the close racial tie subsisting between these two branches of the Moriya people, which history had rent asunder but whose memory was not possibly entirely forgotten.

II

Now, the question is : if the Moriyas of Sīhapura, Ceylon and Pāṭaliputra had all originated from the clan of the Śākyas, it is obvious that their pedigrees and social customs should at least be similar, if not identical. Let us now study the question from this point of view.

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[30] IX. 6.

[31] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World I.* Introd., p. XVII.

[32] *Vaṁsatthapakāsinī* I, p. 180.

[33] Vide in this connexion Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d'Asoka*, p. 111.

[34] D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* I, p. 77; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 271.

First of all, we shall discuss the question of race of all these people. It is not easy to change people's social customs which were deeply embedded in religion and taboo, but it was comparatively less difficult to integrate the royal dynasties in the frame-work of the Solar and Lunar dynasties. A study of the genealogies of the forefathers of the Śākyas, as given in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and the *Mahāvaṁsa*, reveals the fact that these are somewhat similar to those of the *Purāṇas*[35] and important ancestors of the clan, such as Māndhātā, Sagara, Bhagīratha, Dilīpa, Aja, Daśaratha and Rāma are stated by these diverse traditions to have belonged to the Ikṣvākuvaṁśa. Although complete identity of all the rulers cannot be established in all these cases, the deviations are not however of much significance. The obvious inference is that at a certain stage, the early mythological sector of the Śākyan history was integrated with the later Kośalan history of Ayodhyā-Sāketa. The immediate progenitor of this Śākya-race was king Okkāka, as described at the beginning. He is sometimes believed to be the same as king Ikṣvāku[36] of the Solar dynasty as known to Paurāṇic tradition, but this is denied by others.[37] In any case, this Okkāka is, according to the Buddhist tradition, a member of the Solar race and progenitor of the Śākyas. Regarding the pedigree of the Śākyas, the *Mahāvastu* tells us[38] that Śuddhodhana, the father of Buddha, was born in the Ikṣvāku family; in another place, the same work describes Buddha as a member of the Ikṣvāku family and belonging to the Solar race.[39] We may remember in this connexion that in the *Mahāvagga*[40] the Kośalan kings have been designated Ādiccas by family and Śākyan by birth. In another place, Buddha has been given the designation of Ādityabandhu i. e. kinsman of the Sun. In brief, the Pali Chronicles and Commentaries in their mythological genealogies down to Buddha's time make the Śākyas a branch of the Kośalan royal house of the Solar race, the whole legend being available in the *Mahāvastu* and the Tibetan Vinaya, but the details vary materially in different traditions.[41] It is therefore clear that the Śākyas claimed descent from the Solar race. The Mauryas are also represented in certain medieval Mysore inscriptions as Kṣatriyas who sprang from Māndhātā of the Solar race.[42] This is in accordance with the studies we have made above and what follows. A study of the *gotras* (clan-designation) of the Śākyas and the Moriyas of India and Ceylon would have been very helpful, but want of sufficient data bearing on the *gotras* of the Moriyas preclude any fruitful work in this direction. If a study of their *gotras* does not help us much, a study of the marriage customs of all these people definitely does so. Indeed, the custom, so far as the present data go, is startlingly similar, if not identical, thus underlining that my basic assumptions about the common origin of the people referred to above are correct. The position may be explained now.

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[35] *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, pt. IV, 22.3; *Matsya*, 270. 12; *Vāyu*, 37. 283–84.

[36] B. C. LAW, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 246.

[37] PATHAK, *History of Kośala*, p. 247.

[38] *Le Mahāvastu* (Ed. SENART), III, pp. 246–47.

[39] *Ibid.* p. 246. Vide also *Majjhima Nikāya* II. 124; *Suttanipāta*, 422–23.

[40] *Sacred Book of the East*, Vol. X. p. 69.

[41] *Mahāvastu* I, 338 ff.; *Dīpavaṁsa* III. *Mahavaṁsa* II. Vide also HARDY.

[42] *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 222.

I have already drawn attention to the fact that the Sākyas married their own sisters in the beginning, but the Koliyas subjected them to ridicule, as they cohabited with their sisters " like dogs ".[43] This custom of marriage between brother and sister or between mother's brother's son or daughter, as the case may be, is repugnant to Hindu *Dharmaśāstras* since the Vedic period. In the Ṛgvedic period, brother-sister sex-relations were considered proper in the " ancient period " i. e. in the still earlier period,[44] but were considered highly improper in the Ṛgvedic period. Even cross-cousin marriage with mother's brother's daughter given in the *Ṛgveda*[45] was frowned upon, which is why the hymn was not included by Sāyaṇa but commented upon by Yāska.[46] Baudhāyana stated that it was practised by the southerners, but was not allowable elsewhere.[47] Some exceptional cases of this nature have however been recorded in the *Mahābhārata*,[48] but it stands to reason that Vedic and post-Vedic Brahmanism has not condoned *sagotra* (consanguinary) marriages or marriages within the prohibited degrees as regular. The Śākyan and Koliyan marriages therefore violated the cherished Hindu laws in this regard,[49] and they practised this type of marriages among themselves at least down to Buddha's time. Such marriages were, as far as the present data go, always with mother's brother's son or daughter, as the case may be. A study of the Śākyan and Koliyan genealogy as given in appendices (B & C) will show that Sihahanu, Yaśodharā, Śuddhodhana, Amitā, Siddhattha, Añjana, Kaccānā, Suppabuddha, Māyā, Pajāpaṭī, Bhaddakaccānā all married their mother's brother's son or daughter, as the case may be. All such marriages were, of course, within the prohibited degrees of Hindu marriage Law.

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[43] Vide the Commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* I, pt. I. p. 145; see also *Mahāvastu* II. 115

[44] *Ṛgveda* X. 10. 17.

[45] VII. 55–8.

[46] *Nirukta* 14–31.

[47] *Dharmaśāstra* I. 1–19 and 21.

[48] For a more detailed discussion, vide K. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA, *Ancient Indian Cultural Contact and Migration*, pp. 9 ff.

[49] *Manusaṁhitā* III. 5.

Another peculiarity of these Śākyan marriages is that these were monogamous, as a general rule. This is interesting in view of the fact that, according to the Buddhist records from Tibet, the Śākyan law prescribed monogamy,[50] whereas polygamy was the general rule among the Kṣatriya rulers. We can test the authenticity of this tradition by a reference to recorded facts. If we study the genealogy of the ancestors of Buddha as given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (vide appendices B & C), it would appear that the Śākyas and the Koliyas (of Devadaha) had only one wife each, but an exception was made in the case of Śuddhodeana, because, the Śākyan Santhāgāra (Council) had allowed him an additional wife in recognition of his services against the hillmen of the Pāṇḍava-tribe.[51] It is true that the Tibetan and the *Mahāvastu* traditions have manipulated the name of Māyā, the wife of Śuddhodhana, in various ways, such as Mahāmāyā, Atimāyā, Anantamāyā, etc. The very fact that these are merely playing upon words indicates that the source is corrupt. Scholars have generally admitted that Śuddhodhana had only two wives. In the case of prince Gautama also, the several names ascribed to his wife[52] really refer to one person only. Monogamy was thus strongly entrenched in the royal families of Kapilavastu and Devadaha. In view of all those facts, one may postulate that (1) the Śākyan royal family practised marriage with mother's brother's son or daughter, as the case may be and (2) that the marriages were uniformly monogamous, with the sole exception of that of Śuddhodhana.

The Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra also observed these practices, but enviromental circumstances at Moriyanagara and Pāṭaliputra due to greater Aryanisation of eastern India perhaps introduced some amount of relaxation of the practice, but the contour is clear enough. I am not however sure whether this supposed relaxation is really due to our insufficient knowledge regarding Mauryan marriages. It is very likely that some of the wives were really concubines enjoying the near-status of queens. With these brief observations, let us now get into the details and study the marriage customs of these peoples.

Indeed, the marriage customs of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu and the Moriyas of Pāṭaliputra, Sīhapura and Ceylon are quite instructive, as they have many features in common. I have already referred to the phenomenon of brother-sister marriage, monogamy and endogamy among the Śākyas. If the same features are found to be common among the tribes referred to above, it would be reasonable to hold the view that they are racially connected, even as literary evidence tend to make them out to be. I shall first of all discuss the practices of the royal houses of Sīhapura and Ceylon in this respect. The brother-sister marriage, which was already a passing phenomenon among the Śākyas long before the time of Buddha, persisted for sometime in the fifth century B. C. in the royal houses of both Sīhapura and Ceylon. It may be recalled that princess Susīmā's son and daughter by her first marriage, namely Sīhabāhu and Sīhasīvalī, intermarried.[53] Now, prince Vijaya, son of Sīhabāhu carried the practice to Ceylon, where his son and daughter by the Yakṣa lady Kuvaṇṇa married each other,[54] but when brother-sister marriage fell into disuse in both India and Ceylon, endogamy still persisted. It may be recalled that when princess Susīmā returned to Vaṅga from the habitat of her first husband Sīha, she met at the frontier the commander of the Vaṅga-army who married her, as she was his "uncle's daughter".[55] When prince Vijaya needed royal consecration and this could not be sanctified with a Yakṣa lady as consort, Vijaya married the daughter of the Paṇḍu-king of Madhurā in south India. This was done under special circumstances, because the *Mahāvaṁsa* itself a dmits that "the means were difficult" for such an arrangement,[56] but the selection of the bride from the Pāṇḍya country should not cause any surprise, because it has been stated in the Glass Palace Chronicle that some members of Śākyan royal house had migrated to the cities of Paṇḍu-rāja (i. e. Pāṇḍya-rāja) after the destruction of Kapilavastu by the Kośalan king Viḍūḍabha. It may also be noted that Vijaya's younger brother Sumitta, one of whose sons became the ruler of Ceylon after Vijaya, had also married the daughter of the Madda-king i. e. the king of the Madras-region. The second marriage of Vijaya with the daughter of the Paṇḍu-king of Madhurā, near Madras, therefore, brings the two brothers, in their marriage-relations, to Sakya families or their kith and kin in the region of Madras. It may be recalled in this connexion that the Ikṣvāku-family, to which the Śākyas and the Moriyas belonged, had matrimonial connexions with the Madra royal house of the Punjab region. The *Kusa Jātaka*, for instance, refers to marriage of king Okkāka's son, the crown-prince Kusa, with Pabhāvatī, the Madra king's daughter. These Madras of Upper India perhaps constituted the parent stock of the Madra-people of the South, and this facilitated present marriage of the two brothers. In any case, prince Vijaya's successor Paṇḍuvāsudeva did a bit better, because he married a direct descendant of king Okkāka's family, namely princess Bhaddakaccānā, a grand-daughter of Śuddhodhana's younger brother Amitodana. Paṇḍuvāsudeva's daughter was Cittā, who also married her mother's brother's son (vide Appendix A) named Dīghagāmani who was a direct grandson of Buddha's cousin Sakkapaṇḍu.[57] As far as the present indications go, all these marriages were monogamous and generally speaking endogamous, as in the case of the Śākyas and the Koliyas.

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[50] ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] For a detailed discussion of the names vide E. J. THOMAS, *op. cit.* pp. 49–50.

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[53] *Mahāvaṁsa* VI. 36–37.

[54] *Ibid.* VII. 67–68.

[55] *Ibid.* VI. 15–20.

[56] *Ibid.* VII. 48–50.

Although brother-sister marriage would be unthinkable in the Mauryan royal house of Pāṭaliputra centuries after this was discontinued among the Śākyans themselves, the practice of endogamy and perhaps monogamy persisted in the dynasty established by Candragupta Maurya, at least for some generations. There are references in Buddhist tradition that some of the Maurya princes married within the prohibited degrees. It has been stated, for instance, in the *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā*, that Candragupta's wife was the daughter of his eldest maternal uncle. It is very likely that this maternal uncle was no other than the person who had accompanied Candragupta's widowed mother from Moriyanagara to Pāṭaliputra. One may perhaps be permitted to surmise that this maternal uncle's daughter was Durdharā who has been mentioned in the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra.[58] It is true that classical writers refer to the marriage contract of Candragupta with Seleucus Nikator, but the statement is vague, as it does not specify[59] whether the bride was meant for Candragupta or his son Bindusāra or whether a Maurya lady was given in marriage to a prince of the Greek royal family. In any case, the marriage would be hard to justify from the view-point of Hindu *śāstras* and would prompt the law-givers to dub the Maurya prince concerned as a vrātya, vṛṣala or even Śūdra.[60] We may recall in this connexion the general remark of Megasthenes that "no one is allowed to marry outside of his own clan."[61] In the light of the evidence of Megasthenes and the injunctions of the Hindu law-givers, the marriage of Candragupta or Bindusāra with a Greek princess (perhaps a Graeco-Persian princess) would make the status of the princess anomalous, for which reason classical writers have not been more explicit than they have been. Indian writers have also been completely silent over the matter. If we accept this position, the only valid marriage of Candragupta Maurya was with his mother's brother's daughter, as referred to above, in the best traditions of the Śākyas. But even then, such marriages were not permissible for Hindus of northern India. For the sake of completeness we should also refer to another marriage narrated in the same *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* mentioned above, but this romantic marriage between a daughter of the deposed Nanda-king and Candragupta Maurya is hardly likely, as the Nanda dynasty is universally considered by ancient tradition to be of base origin. Consequently, a marriage of this type between a proud Kṣatriya prince of Moriyan origin and disreputable dynasty[62] seems to be out of tune.

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[57] *Ibid.* IX, 6 ff.

[58] VIII. 439–43.

[59] R. C. MAJUMDĀR, *Classical Accounts* (Strabo), p. 98.

[60] In Act III and several other places of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, the term *vṛṣala* is used to mean "One who is a *vṛṣa* (bull) among kings" i. e. the best of kings, but in VI. 6 the term is used in a derogatory sense. Vide R. K. MOOKERJI, *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times*, pp. 10–11. In this connexion vide *Manusaṁhitā* X. 43. In III. 115, Manu clearly states: "The twice-born who in their foolishness marry woman of lower caste bring their families and their descendants rapidly to the position of Śūdras." Cf. also Vasiṣṭha I, 25–29; Āpastamba I, 18–33, etc. How the Kṣatriyas are relegated to the status of Vrātyas or Śūdras may be illustrated from the Licchavis. They were pure Kṣatriyas of the Vasiṣṭha-*gotra* and claimed to belong to the Solar race, but in the days of Manu, the Licchavis were treated as vrātya Kṣatriyas.

[61] Vide Diodorus II. 40.

Now, regarding Bindusāra, the second ruler of the Maurya dynasty, the Pali Chronicles tell us that he had 16 consorts and 101 children. One may question if some of them were not concubines. The *Dīpavaṁsa*, *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Samantapāsādikā* are however silent regarding Aśoka's mother, but the *Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā* tells us that she was princess Dhammā and that she was a Moriyan Kṣatriya (*Moriyavaṁsajā*),[63] being apparently a daughter of Bindusāra's maternal uncle. In the *Aśokāvadāna*, however, a consort of Bindusāra is called Subhadrāṅgī ('one who has an well-formed body'), the daughter of a Brahmin of Campā,[64] whose two sons were Aśoka and Vigatāśoka. As Dhammā was a Kṣatriya princess of the Moriya clan and Subhadrāṅgī a Brahmin lady of Campā, both of them cannot be the mother of Aśoka and in this regard, one of the sources must be corrupt. In view however of the fact that the Mauryas were likely to marry in a family of the Moriya clan and since Aśoka had an elder brother named Susīma, I think it likely that Dhammā was the first queen of Bindusāra and mother of Susīma. Aśoka's mother was possibly Subhadrāṅgī. The second marriage, that between Bindusāra, a Kṣatriya prince, and a Brahmin lady was, in the eyes of the Hindu law-givers, a *pratiloma* marriage[65] and hence invalid. Besides, this marriage was not between equals nor with a princess of the Kṣatriya lineage, whereas the first marriage with princess Dhammā of the Moriyan royal family fulfilled all the conditions of royal marriages with consecration rites and was therefore valid from all points of view. It is possible therefore that

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[62] PARGITER, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 24 ff. Vide also Curtius in R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Op. Cit.*, p. 129; Diodorus in *Ibid.* p. 172, etc.; Hemacandra, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, VI. 231–32.

[63] Vide *Vaṁsatthapakāsini* IV, p. 125; V pp. 189, 193.

[64] Vide PRZYLUSKI, *La Legende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, p. 329.

[65] *Manusaṁhitā* X. 11 & 17.

Suśīma's claim to the throne was legally and morally valid, whereas Aśoka's claim, in the circumstances narrated above, was not. If my arguments stated above be considered reasonable, the marriage of Bindusāra, as far as we can ascertain, on the basis of positive names and details available till now, was thus monogamous, the other consorts being concubines or were irregularly married. It is, however, fair to state that this is an assumption on my part, but this is warranted by the nature of the Śākyan and Moriyan marriages, including that of Candragupta Maurya. As regards Aśoka's queens, indications of his direct connexion with the Śākyan clan, of which the Moriyas constituted a sub-division, are also available. In the *Mahābodhi-vaṁsa,*[66] Devī, the first queen of Aśoka, is not only honoured as a Vidiśā-mahādevī, but also as a Śākyānī and Śākyakumārī i. e. daughter from the Śākya clan. It is probable that a Śākya-family had settled at Vidiśā and Devī was a member thereof. This view is confirmed by an independent tradition from Burma. In the Glass Palace Chronicle (p. 4.), it has been stated that after the destruction of Kapilavastu, the Śākyas took refuge in Moriyanagra Vedissagiri and Pandurāja. This evidence buttresses the trustworthiness about the Śākyan origin of the Vidisa-mahādevī. Scholars ignoring the Burmese evidence, have however thought that Aśoka's connection with the Śākyan lady was fabricated to raise the status of Mahendra who went to propagate Buddhism in the island of Ceylon, but Mahendra being the son of a king was already a person of sufficiently high status to need a Śākyan pedigree. Secondly, Aśoka's marriage with Devī, the Śākyan lady, was facilitated on account of the Śākyan-Moriyan origin of the dynasty as broadly discussed earlier. Even the Inscriptions of Aśoka seem to endorse the view that he belonged to the Śākyan-Moriyan clan. I refer to the Rūpnāth and Māski inscriptions.[67] In the Rūpnāth edict occur the terms *pākāsa śake* which have been explained by some as 'an open or avowed Śākya.' The phrase may be elucidated by stating that he was all along a Śākyan, the Moriyas being a sub-division of the Śākyas, but that he had now an opportunity to proclaim it formally by adopting the Buddhist faith. Similarly in the Māski edict, we come across the term *Budhaśake* which may signify 'a Buddhist Śākya'. An avowed Śākya or a Buddhist Śākya can hardly be appropriate terms to denote a Buddhist, unless we admit the mistake of the copyist, as supposed by some,[68] but if we think there is no mistake, the phrases will have illuminating sense in the context of the view propounded above. Like some of the Mauryas king of Pāṭaliputra Sudohā Tissa, a descendant of king Devānāṁpiya Tissa of Ceylon, is styled Devānaṁpiya Mahārājā Gamini Tissa in the inscriptions (*Cambridge History*, p. 252, fn. 6).

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[66] p. 116. Devī is also referred to in the *Dīpavaṁsa* VI, 15–16 and in *Mahāvaṁsa* XIII, 6–9.

[67] D. C. SIRCAR, *Op. Cit.*, p. 47; A. C. SEN, *Aśoka's Edicts*, p. 53 and note 14; S. BHATTACHARYA, *Select Aśokan Epigraphs*, p. 17 and note *a* on p. 18.

[68] Discussion in BARUA, *Aśoka and his inscriptions*, p. 29.

But let us now return to the problem of Mahendra and Saṁghamitrā, as their historicity would also increase the credibility of Devī in the light of her status in the Ceylonese Chronicles. Scholars who doubt the fact of Mahendra's Śākyan origin do not however doubt his historicity,[69] though they are not inclined to extend the same honour to Saṁghamitrā.[70] It appears to me arbitrary to accept one part of the tradition and reject the other part, as both are part and parcel of the same tradition. The historicity of Devī does not however depend on the question of legitimacy or otherwise of Mahendra and Saṁghamitrā, whom I consider to be the legitimate children of Aśoka. The marriage of prince Aśoka with the Śākyan lady Devī was quite in consonance with the traditions of Moriya and Śākyan clans, besides its being explicitly stated in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. Moreover, both Mahendra and Saṁghamitrā are essential figures in the church history of the island. The list of the succession of the Vinaya teachers of the thera-class since Mahendra's time and that of the therī-class since Saṁghamitrā's time could not have been drawn up with fictitious persons at the top. Besides, a study of the *Cullavagga* relating to the duties of the bhikṣuṇīs would indicate that Saṁghamitrā's presence was highly desirable from the view-point of conversion of the royal ladies and others. An indirect support to her historical existence is also provided by the fact that Aśoka's sister's son Agnibrahmā married the former's daughter Saṁghamitrā, the whole matter representing the set pattern of the Śākyan-Moriyan marriages i. e. marriage with mother's brother's daughter. All these things taken together signify that Aśoka married the Śākyan lady Devī and that there is hardly any reason to doubt the authenticity of the Ceylonese tradition in this regard.

Now, if Devī and her son and daughter are historical figures, the temptation is great to identify Devī with Asandhimittā, the *piyā aggamahisī* ('beloved first queen') of Aśoka for the major part of his reign. It is very likely therefore that the consort by the side of Aśoka at his coronation was

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69. V. A. Smith accepts the historicity of Mahendra (*Asoka*, p. 50). He draws our attention to the statement of Fahien (Beal, *Buddhist Records* etc, new. wen., 1957, Vol. I, p. 34) about Aśoka's "hermit brother" and identifies him with Mahendra–I think wrongly, because Aśoka's uterine brother Tissa (*Mahāvaṁsa* V. 33) had himself entered into the "houseless state" and Fahien obviously referred to him. The reference to Mahendra as Aśoka's brother by Yuan Chwang (Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 228) after about 860 years of Aśoka's death must be due to a mistake. If Mahendra was Aśoka's brother there was not much point in the former's going to Vidiśā to bid farewell to Devī who was there at that time. It was filial affection which drew him there.

70. *Aśoka*, p. 52,

no other than the Vidiśā-mahādevī. Since Devī means 'Queen' and Mahādevī 'the great or principal queen' it is not unlikely that her real name was Asandhimittā or that she assumed this name at the time of her consecration as the queen of Aśoka during coronation time. Queen Asandhimittā died in the 30th year after Aśoka had ascended on the throne, i. e. *c.* 243 B. C. Four years thereafter Aśoka raised 'the treacherous Tissarakkhā to the rank of queen' (*Mahāvasma* XX. 3). Tradition does not assign any other queen to Aśoka during the life time of Asandhimittā, but theoretical considerations lead us to suppose that Padmāvatī, the mother of Kuṇāla, might have been, if not Devī-Asandhimittā herself, a junior queen of Aśoka or his concubine. If Tissarakkhā's attempt to seduce prince Kuṇāla be correct, it presupposes that he was already a young man when the treacherous queen Tissarakkhā was raised to the status of a queen around 239 B. C. This would mean that Padmāvatī's son Kuṇāla was born while Devī-Asandhimittā was yet alive. The fact that Kāluvākī (Kāruvākī i. e. one with beautiful or ornamental speech), the mother of Tīvara, has been designated in a late Aśokan inscription as *dutiyāye deviye* i. e. the second queen and Tissarakkhā has been placed in the *Mahāvaṁsa* in the position of the second queen, Kāravākī may be identified with Tissarakkhā. In either case, Aśoka's queen did not exceed two at any time. As Aśoka's uterine brother Tissa and others of the royal family, such as Mahendra, Saṁghamitrā, Agnibrahmā, Sumana had all accepted the 'houseless state' and other male members had declined to accept the office of the crown-prince, the remaining choice was Kuṇāla, whom Tissarakkhā probably blinded to get her son Tīvara on the throne after Aśoka's death, but her scheme did not materialise. That is why probably that both Tissarakkhā and Tīvara vanish from the scene after Aśoka's death.

It would appear from the study made above that: (1) the first three Maurya emperors had Moriya or Śākya queens (2) that the marriages seem to be confined to mother's brother's son or daughter, as the case may be, (3.) that the marriages were both endogamous and possibly also monogamous (4) that, where doubt exists about the number of wives, these do not seem to exceed two.

III

I have tried to show above from literary evidence that as far as present indications go, the Moriyas of Pipphalīvana, Pāṭaliputra, Sīhapura and Ceylon were off-shoots of the parent Śākyan clan. The same inference may be drawn if we approach the question from the view-point of totemsim and endogamy. The endogamy practised by these people ran in strong opposition to the ruling conceptions of Hindu *dharmaśāstras*; it must have had therefore a base too strong to be shaken by these laws. It seems to me that this endogamy flourished on the matrix of taboo and totemism. A careful consideration of the common factors pertaining to these people leads us to believe that Lion served as the totem of these clans. It plays a prominent role in the life of Buddha from birth to death. Fahien writing about 900 years after the death of Buddha, says that the lions and white elephants abound in the neighbourhood of Kapilavastu and people had to be on guard. It is natural therefore that these majestic animals should play an important role in Buddhist literature and tradition. It seems very probable that, of these two noble animals, the lion was deemed to be the protector of the Śākya clan and served as its totem. It is well-known that totemistic clans regard every member to be descended from, and thus akin to, his totem and would always show respect to it. In the eyes of a clan-member, the totem is 'the same flesh with him and to injure any of the species is physically to injure the man whose totem it is.' 'Indeed, FRAZER has further stated that 'the natural and original system of totemism was one in which men and women of the same totem regularly cohabited with each other.' These peculiarities are reflected, to a great extent, in the social customs of the early Śākyas who religiously followed the rules of endogamy and are reported to have 'cohabited like dogs' with their sisters, at least in their earliest phase.

Now, endogamy among the Śākyas and their respect for the lion and its identity with the chief of the clan certainly arrest attention. According to totemistic practices, the name of the totem is incorporated in the name of the individual. We accordingly come across, among the names of the ancestors of Buddha, names with lion-element in them, such as Sīhavāhana, Sīhassara, Sīhahanu, etc.[71] Regarding Sīhahanu it has been stated that he was so called 'because his cheek bones were like those of a lion.'[72] The explanation of the name might be due to the ingenuity of a later writer, but the point is that the name, even as those of others, has a lion element in it, and this afforded, according to totemistic practices, greater protection to the holder of the name. It may also be recalled in this connexion that the *Mahāpadāna suttanta*[73] says about Vipassi, a past Buddha, that "the front half of his body is like a lion's" and that "his jaw is as a lion's". Identification of the man with his totem is thus according to the best pattern of totemistic traditions. So we find that at the conception of Śuddhodhana's wife, "the lions set forth the thunder of their voices",[74] as if to proclaim that a new member has been born to the totem clan and that they acclaim it. It may also be noted that in the body- *lakṣaṇas* of Gautama Buddha, the 17th (" the front-part of the body is like lion's ") and the 22nd *lakṣaṇa* (' a lion-jaw ') are in consonance with the guide-lines of totemism.[75] It has been appropriately remarked by R. J. THOMAS that the thirty-two bodily-marks of Buddha ' indicate most clearly the borrowing of popular belief '[76] and although THOMAS has not specified the nature of these popular beliefs, these should refer to totemistic practices. Such ideas persist in Buddhist works. It is worth noting that in the *Jātaka* also, Buddha appears ten times in the form of a lion.[77] Among other Buddhist works, we read in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, which probably dates from the third century A. D.,[78] the following : " As the Lord Śākyamuni, the Lion of the Śākya race, after he had occupied his seat on the terrace of the enlightened, raised his lion's roar....'[79] Similarly, on the eve of his *mahāparinirvāṇa*, he lay down in the lion-attitude on his right side. It thus appears that, apart from his predecessors, Buddha also, from birth to death, was identified with the lion, almost as completely as the totemistic practices would demand. The identification of some of his emanations with the lion is also reflected in iconography, for example, in the conception of Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara and some other Bodhisattvas, found in Magadha and elsewhere. It also seems to be affiliated to the Śaivite-Buddhist conception of the Kāla-motif (a grotesque lion-head, called *Kīrtimukha* by COOMARASWAMY and *Kālamakara* or *Banaspati* by Dutch Archaeologists) found usually over the gateway, in the centre of an enclosing arch, in both India and Greater India, as a protection-motif, thus spelling out the same idea as is inherent in the constitution of the lion-totem, the protector of the individual and the clan. It seems to me that, with the greater Aryanisation of folks with non-Aryan practices, many of the totems were absorbed in the *vāhanas* of Hindu gods and goddesses, such as lion (Durgā), crocodile (Gaṅgā), peacock (Kārtikeya), swan (Brahmā), Garuḍa (Viṣṇu), etc.

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[71] *Mahāvaṁsa* II. 13–15,

[72] HARDY, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[73] 32 (18). Vide RHYS DAVIDS, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 15.

[74] HARDY, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

Let us now study the case of the Moriyas of Sihapura. Here also the lion-element plays an important part, but since the members of this family were not perhaps connected with the Buddhist religion, the details preserved in Buddhist literature are rather meagre. Even then, these scanty data reveal clear indications of totemism. The story of the cohabitation of the Vaṅga-princess with Sīha (i. e. lion) which is impossible in a biological sense has been rationally explained to denote a member of the lion-clan. The popularity of personal names having the component Siṁha is rather striking. One can compare, for example, such names as Sīhabāhu, Sīhasīvalī, Vijaya-siṁha, etc. Indeed, the progenitor of this branch of the Moriya dynasty of Sīhapura is called Sīha i. e. Lion. The *Mahāvaṁsa* says on this point: "But the king Sīhabāhu, since he had slain the lion, (was called) Sihala and by reason of the ties between him and them, all these (followers of Vijaya) were also called Sihala."[80] This may be a crude way of explaining the origin of the name of Siṁhala, but tradition has kept intact the lion element associated with the Moriya-family of Sīhapura. In fact, the identification of the person with the totem, as required under totemism and endogamy, is here complete. Even the personal name has incorporated the name of the totem, as it affords greater protection to the holder of the name.

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[75] *Dīghanikāya* II, 17; III, 142. The order is somewhat different in some other Buddhist works.

[76] E. J. THOMAS, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[77] HARDY, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

[78] KERN, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (S. B. E.), Introd., p. XXII.

[79] *Ibid.* p. 320.

The story of the lion grandfather of prince Vijaya has exercised the mind of scholars regarding the authenticity of the story. A rational explanation has been given by S. C. PAUL and that is in accordance with the interpretation we have offered above. He says:[81] "A common sense view of all these legends and traditions of the Ceylonese Chronicles would be to regard Vijaya as having been a descendant of a race of people called Siṁhas whose name or totem was the lion. A romantic marriage took place between a princess of Vaṅga and a prince of the Siṁha-race." I broadly concur with this view, but cannot follow the writer when he wants to identify this Siṁha race with the people bearing the surname Singh (not Siṁha) in western or north-western India. In fact, such surnames attached to the names of the followers of the Sikh religion established by Guru Nanak Singh were in use only in the late medieval period, whereas such names in Bengal revert to a totemistic past. The study of the subject of totemistic Bengal has hardly begun, but I may point out that Siṁha is not only a clan-name in West Bengal, but has a substantial number of members and is considered in West Bengal to constitute an aristocratic class. The society of West Bengal (Rāḍha) had a totemistic matrix, as there are other surnames current even now ending with, for example, Hāti (elephant), Bag(h) (tiger), Ghorāi (Ghorā=horse), Nāga (serpent), Mahiṣa (māhiṣya: buffalo community) Cingri (prawn fish), etc.

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[80] VII. 42.

[81] *JRAS* (Cey. Br.), Vol. 31 (1929) pp. 289–90. Another Ceylonese scholar SENAVERATNA (*The Story of the Simhalese*, 1923, Vol. I, p. 7) however thought that the so called Lion was really a bandit who went by the name of Siha.

Let us now take up the story of the Vaṅga-princess again. Since a Lion was her husband, she did not like the idea of killing it, but prince Sīhabāhu did it. The reason is again embedded in totemism. Indeed, if the totem is an animal, a clan-member will not, as a rule, kill or eat it. FRAZER says[82] that "a Bechuana will kill his totem only if it be a hurtful animal, e. g. a lion, but not without apologising to the animal:" Similar was the circumstance regarding the encounter between Sīhabāhu and his father, the Lion. The killing of the Lion in prince Vijaya's legends may also figuratively signify that Sīhabāhu cut himself off from his totemistic association and accepted the Aryan way of life which was rapidly spreading over eastern India. In view of all the details furnished above, it may perhaps be admitted that lion was a totem in the family of prince Vijaya, even as it was in the Śākya-clan.

Now, if the Moriyas belonged to the sept of the Śākyas, as I have tried to make acceptable here, it stands to reason that the same lion-element as a totem-symbol should also figure prominently in Mauryan relics and literature bearing on the subject. There are, however, some difficulties in the study of the subject. The Imperial Mauryas were far removed from the days of their tribal ancestors and were Aryanised to a large extent. Consequently such traces of totemism are not pronounced in the literature we have of them. Besides, they date from a later period. The position is, however, different in the field of sculpture, particularly in regard to the emblems of peacock and lion.

Regarding peacock as a totem of the Mauryans, the following points deserve consideration. If the Moriyans were sub-clan of the Śākyas, as I have tried to prove above, the totem should be the lion and not the peacock. The association of the Mauryas with peacocks is, as I see the problem, due to a different reason, namely, their association with Moriyanagara-Pipphalīvana which always resounded with the cries of peacocks. It may be recalled that in the days of Candragupta Maurya, same peacocks were kept, as AELIAN tells us,[83] in the parks of the royal palace. In the days of Aśoka, the peacocks were regularly slaughtered in the royal kitchen[84] –perhaps a palate since the days of his ancestors at Moriyanagara which abounded in them. The regular slaughter of these birds in fairly a big scale would be unthinkable if peacock was a totem of the Mauryas. Indeed, FRAZER has stated[85]: "Believing himself to be descended from and therefore akin to his totem, the savage naturally treats it with respect. If it is an animal, he will not as a rule kill nor eat it." Consequently, we can hold the view that at least the peacocks were not the totems of the Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra.

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[82] *Totemism*, p. 19.

[83] R. C. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

[84] D. C. SIRCAR, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[85] FRAZER, *Totemism*, p. 7.

The field is thus left clear for lion, the magnificent beast at the summit of some monolithic pillars,[86] on which Aśoka inscribed his edicts. It is not certain if all these pillars were constructed by Aśoka or he utilised some of the existing pillars of his predecessor(s) for the purpose of inscribing his rescripts. In any case, the legends connected with the life of Candragupta has also lion-elements, which underline lion as a protector of the clan or individual member thereof. We may recall in this connexion the story described by JUSTIN,[87] who says that when Candragupta was fleeing from the camp of Alexander, he was much fatigued and fell into a sleep, when a lion licked off the sweat oozing out from his body. It is not therefore surprising that a lion has found room in Aśokan pillars, but these animals are found there either singly, as at Lauriya Nandangarh, or quadrupedly, as at Sarnath. It has been suggested that the animals on the pillars, such as the lion, bull, elephant and horse, represent the cardinal points.[88] This seems doubtful to me, as their position on the abacus does not conform to the prescription in literature or iconography. For instance, in the Pāli account of the Anotatta lake,[89] the lion outlet is in the East, the Elephant outlet is in the West, the Bull outlet in the North and the Horse outlet is in the South, but in the *Cetiya Jātaka*, the location of the animals at the northern and the southern gates remain the same, but those on the East and the West change their places. They do not therefore seem to refer to the cardinal points. It is interesting to note in this connexion that while travelling in India, Fahien[90] saw a Saṁghārāma in the country called Dakṣiṇa (Ta-Thsin). Here it was constructed out of a great mountain of rock, hollowed to a proper shape and had five stages. It was consecrated to the former Buddha Kāśyapa. At the base, it had elephant figures, then the second had lion shapes, the third one with horse shapes and the fourth one ox shapes while the fifth had dove shapes. It may then be readily admitted that these animal figures do not refer to cardinal points, but represent other types of sacred association. An alternative and more reasonable suggestion would therefore be that they represent stages in the life of Lord Buddha. For instance, the Elephant represents the well–known story of the white elephant's entry into the womb of Māyā before her conception, the bull stands for the zodiacal sign of Taurus i. e. Bull which was dominant at the time of Buddha's birth; the Horse represents Chandaka which carried Siddhārth away from Kapilavastu at the time of his great renunciation and the Lion represents Buddha as a great preacher.[91] The lion-element is twice represented at Sarnath, once on the abacus and again at the summit where four lions sit back-to-back facing the four cardinal points. The double representation of the lion requires explanation. I suppose the lion on the abacus represents Buddha the preacher and that on the capital is the totem symbol, common to Śākyan-Moriyan clan, holding aloft on their heads the *dharmacakra* (the Wheel of Law), protecting both the clan and the Wheel of Law. An additional reason for my supposition is that columns with objects on the capital have usually sacred association with magico-religious significance. It may be recalled that a relief from the Śuṅga-period, now at the Museum of Lucknow, depicts a couple circumambulating a column of Mauryan type, which clearly indicates that these columns were venerated.[92] It may not be without significance that the Lauriya Nandangarh Pillar (near Nepal) with lion atop set up in 243 B. C. marked the site of a royal cemetary of pre-Mauryan date.[93] Similarly, when the stūpa at Piprāvakot, 14 miles South-East of the ruins of Kapilavastu, was excavated,[94] it yielded some relic vessels containing bones and, among others, square pieces of gold leaf with the carving of a lion-figure. The relics have been supposed to refer to Buddha, but redeposited in the third century B. C., as the script on the relic vessels testifies. The lions on Aśokan capitals seem therefore to reflect the totem of the Śākyan-Moriyan clan, as symbolised in the person of Buddha, the Lion of the Śākya-race (Śākya-siṁha).

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[86] It is not certain whether all the Maurya columns were actually erected under Aśoka or whether some of them set up by others were appropriated by this sovereign for religious purposes. Vide ROWLAND, *The Art and Architecture*, p. 42. Fahien (BEAL, *op. cit.* p. 35) and Yuan Chwang (BEAL, *op. cit.*, II, p. 230, p. 309; III pp. 261, 306) believed that at least some of them were counstructed by Aśoka. Some scholars think that Alexander of his text should be replaced by Nanda.

[87] R. C. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[88] V. A. SMITH, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 2nd edn., p. 18 f. n. 1 and notes to chap. 2 on p. 19. It may be noted that from Vedic period to the Epic-Paurāṇic period, the guardians of different quarters have not remained the same : there are slight variations, but neither the Hindu nor the Buddhist tradition would allow any set of combination, in which the deities of the cardinal points could be considered as riders of the animals (elephant, horse, bull and lion) represented on the abacus of the Aśokan columns. Indra, Sūrya and Īśvara (Śiva) may have as their respective *vāhanas* the elephant, horse and the Bull but, Durgā, the rider of the lion, is not a *dikpāla* in pre-Christian iconography and literature of India. Vide in this connexion, J. N. BANERJI, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 519 ff.

[89] *Paramattha-Jotikā*, II pp. 437–39.

[90] BEAL, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 43.

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[91] For details see A. C. SEN, *Aśoka's Edicts*, pp. 41 ff.

[92] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1935, facing p. 136.

[93] ROWLAND, *op. cit.*, p. 258, f. n. 7.

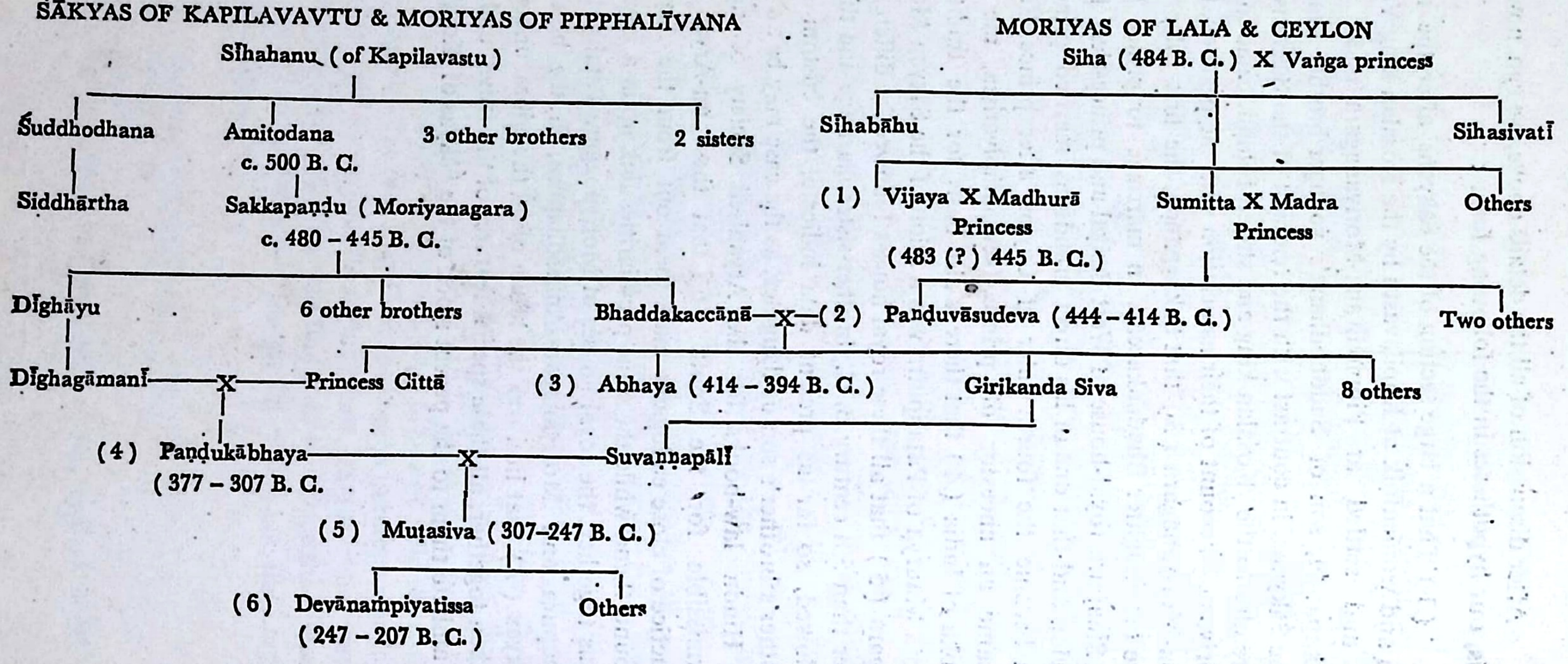
[94] *JRAS*, 1898, p. 387. BARTH in *Journal des Savants*, 1906, p. 541, translated in *Ind. Ant.* 1907, p. 117.

After discussion of all the details above, we can now frame, on their basis, our hypotheses in the following form :

(1) That a large section of the Śākyans, after the massacre of their men and womenfolk at Kapilavastu by the Kośalan king Viḍūḍabha, left the city and settled at Pipphalīvana-Moriyanagara under the leadership of Sakkapaṇḍu, son of Śuddhodhana's younger brother Amitodana (2) that these Śākyans, in contrast with the remnant of the Śākyans who made abject surrender to the Kośalan king and stayed behind, came to be known as the Moriyas on account of their association with the peacock, fauna of Pipphalīvana-Moriyanagara (3) that Sakkapaṇḍu, the first ruler of Moriyanagara, gave his daughter Bhaddakaccāiā in marriage to prince Paṇḍuvāsudeva of the Sīhapura royal-house of West Bengal and prince-elect for the throne of Ceylon and that one of his direct grandsons married princess Cittā, whose son became the fourth ruler of Ceylon after prince Vijaya and thereby became an ancestor of prince Devānaṁpiyatissa, the contemporary of Aśoka of India (4) that there is also basis for the tradition that Candragupta Maurya of Pāṭaliputra was a scion of the Śākyan-Moriyas of Moriyanagara (5) that all these royal houses followed, at different times, but not later than 5th century B. C., brother-sister marriage and thereafter uniformly followed, so far as present data indicate, the custom of marriage with mother's brother's son or daughter, as the case may be : a practice repugnant to Hindu law-books for the Aryanised Society of northern India but permissible for the South (6) that these un-Aryan customs and the practice of close endogamy mark them out from the Aryanised society all around them, while the same peculiarities link up in a close tie, for generations together, the royal houses of Moriyanagara-Pāṭaliputra, Moriyanagara-Sīhapura and Moriyanagara-Anurādhapura, in the best traditions of the Śākyas (7) that lion was the totem of all the tribes under discussion. (8) Taken together, all these special features of the tribes under discussion tend to affiliate them to the parent stock of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu.

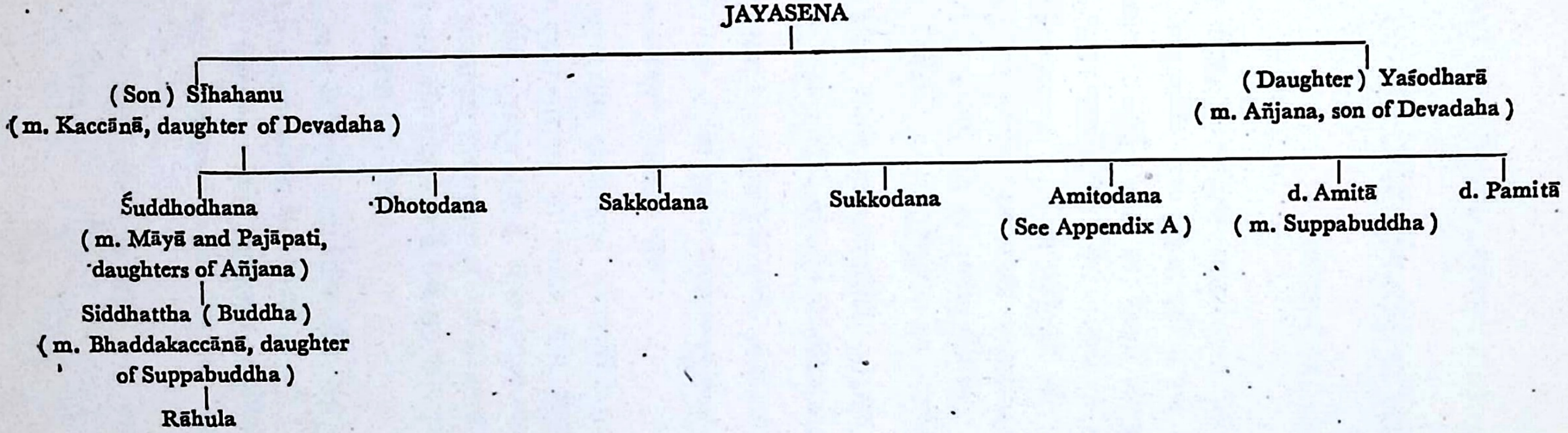
APPENDIX – A

Genealogies of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu (*Mahāvaṁsa* VIII. 18–20) and the Moriyas of India and Ceylon


ŚĀKYAS OF KAPILAVAVTU & MORIYAS OF PIPPHALĪVANA
Sīhahanu (of Kapilavastu)
Śuddhodhana
Amitodana
c. 500 B. C.
3 other brothers
2 sisters
Siddhārtha
Sakkapaṇḍu (Moriyanagara)
c. 480 – 445 B. C.
Dīghāyu
6 other brothers
Bhaddakaccānā—X—(2) Paṇḍuvāsudeva (444 – 414 B. C.)
Dīghagāmanī—X—Princess Cittā
(3) Abhaya (414 – 394 B. C.)
Girikanda Siva
8 others
(4) Paṇḍukābhaya—X—Suvaṇṇapālī
(377 – 307 B. C.
(5) Muṭasiva (307–247 B. C.)
(6) Devānaṁpiyatissa
(247 – 207 B. C.)
Others
MORIYAS OF LALA & CEYLON
Siha (484 B. C.) X Vaṅga princess
Sīhabāhu
Sihasivatī
(1) Vijaya X Madhurā Princess
(483 (?) 445 B. C.)
Sumitta X Madra Princess
Others
Two others

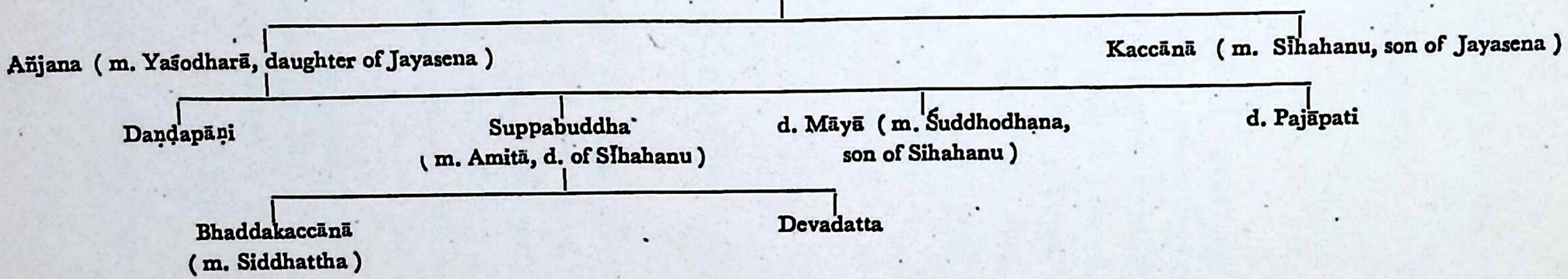
APPENDIX – B

Genealogies of Śākyan families of Jayasena & Devadaha
(according to *Mahāvaṁsa* II. 15 – 24)


JAYASENA
(Son) Sīhahanu
(m. Kaccānā, daughter of Devadaha)
(Daughter) Yaśodharā
(m. Añjana, son of Devadaha)
Śuddhodhana
(m. Māyā and Pajāpati,
daughters of Añjana)
Dhotodana
Sakkodana
Sukkodana
Amitodana
(See Appendix A)
d. Amitā
(m. Suppabuddha)
d. Pamitā
Siddhattha (Buddha)
(m. Bhaddakaccānā, daughter
of Suppabuddha)
Rāhula

APPENDIX – C

Devadaha, the Śākyan..


Añjana (m. Yaśodharā, daughter of Jayasena)
Kaccānā (m. Sīhahanu, son of Jayasena)
Daṇḍapāṇi
Suppabuddha
(m. Amitā, d. of Sīhahanu)
d. Māyā (m. Śuddhodhana,
son of Sihahanu)
d. Pajāpati
Bhaddakaccānā
(m. Siddhattha)
Devadatta

MALAVI AND HINDI LITERATURE AND CULTURE SECTION

काव्यगत जीवन-भंगिमाओं का विश्लेषणात्मक अध्ययन

गोपीवल्लभ नेमा, झाबुआ

मनोविज्ञान ने व्यक्तिकी अनेक जीवन भंगिमाओंका (Roles) अध्ययन प्रस्तुत किया है[1]। ये व्यक्ति की अनेक वर्गों या दलों के साथ मानसिक एकता के फलस्वरूप भिन्न भिन्न अवसरों पर व्यक्त होती हैं। परंतु यह एकता अंधानुकरण नहीं है। इसमें व्यक्ति विशेष के संकल्प, विवेक व भावों का योग है। काव्य में भी इसका अपना वैविध्यपूर्ण अस्तित्व है। उदाहरण के लिये लक्ष्मण की जीवन-भंगिमाओं को 'मानस' में देखिये। उनके जनक के प्रत्युत्तर में कहे गये शब्दोंसे प्रकट उनका उत्साहमय आवेग एक विशेष भंगिमा बताता है और राम के प्रति सर्वस्वसमर्पण की भावना (मैं सिसु प्रभु सनेह प्रतिपाला) दूसरी। केवटके शोकको दूर करनेवाली उनकी सुविचारणा इन दोनोंसे पृथक् भूमिका पर है–

> 'देखिए, सुनिअ, गुनिअ मनमांहीं। मोहमूल परमारथ नाहीं ।।'

व्यक्ति विशेष की भंगिमाओं में परिवर्तन निम्नांकित कारणों से होते हैं:-

१. भिन्न भिन्न व्यक्तियों से उसके संबंधों की भिन्नता के कारण।
२. भिन्न परिस्थितियों में प्रतिक्रियारूप संलग्न भिन्न चित्तवृत्तियों की उत्तेजना के कारण।
३. व्यक्तित्व विकास के कारण।

यहां शास्त्रीय दृष्टिसे काव्य भंगिमाओं के पृथक् नामकरण पर प्रश्न किया जा सकता है। क्योंकि इनकी और रस की आधार भूमि संबंध भावना ही है। परंतु संबंधरचनाकी दृष्टिसे इन दोनोंमें मूलभूत अंतर है जिस सम्बन्ध भावना में विभाव, अनुभावों और संचारियों का व्यापार अनिवार्यतः साधारणीकृत हो वह रसरूपता प्राप्त करती है। इनमेंसे किसीका अभाव होनेपर उसे भावध्वनि कहा जाता है। ये सब व्यंग होती है। इसलिये इनमें पुनः मनोवैज्ञानिक वर्गीकरण की पात्रता नहीं होती।

परंतु काव्य भंगिमाएँ भाव, विवेक और संकल्प के अनुरूप मनोवैज्ञानिक विशिष्टताएं लिये रहती हैं। इनमें अभिधा की प्रधानता रहती है। क्योंकि व्यक्तित्वकी रेखाएं ही इनकी सर्वस्व हैं। उदाहरणके लिये वैज्ञानिकता, दार्शनिकता, प्रेरकता, यथार्थवादिता और अतीतपरता। इनमें वस्तुस्थितिके अंकनकी चेष्टा है। इसलिये इन्हें एक ओर भावध्वनि अथवा

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[1] ह्युमन बिहेवियर अँड सोशल प्रोसेस, सं० आर्नाल्ड एम्. रोज, राउटलेज अँड़ पाल, १९६२ पृ० २३–३१

रस से और दूसरी और गुणीभूत व्यंग्य से पृथक् स्थान मिलना चाहिये। ये आधुनिक काव्य में संघर्षमय जीवन की समर्थ वाहिका है। इनसे पात्रगत वैशिष्ट्य का पता तो चलता ही है साथ ही अनेक जीवनदृष्टियों के चितेरे कविकी प्रतिभाशक्तिका भी प्रत्यक्षीकरण होता है। रस, भावध्वनि और गुणीभूत व्यंग आस्वादनका स्पष्टीकरण करते हैं और काव्य भंगिमाएं सृजन की व्याख्या करती हैं।

काव्यगत जीवन भंगिमाओं का आधार—

जिस प्रकार एक परमात्मा अपनी कृति-जीवमें बैठकर कभी उसे विश्लेषणमें, कभी स्वरूपदर्शनमें, कभी समाज सेवामें, कभी दुखसुख के अनुभवमें और कभी नीतिनिर्धारण में प्रवृत्त करता है[२] उसी प्रकार साहित्यकार भी अपनी कृतिमें इन भंगिमाओंको स्वरुचि अनुसार व्यक्त करता है। साहित्यकारकी संवेदना ऐंद्रिय संवेदनासे उच्चतर होती हुई भी मनुष्यकी चित्तवृत्ति, शारीरिक चेष्टा व बौद्धिक प्रवृत्तिको भिन्न भिन्न अनुपातोंमें संयुक्त करती है जिसके कारण भंगिमागत विविधता आ जाती है। तभी वह जीवन और जीवनकी सम्भावनाओंके आरपार देखने में समर्थ होती है। तभी उसका तटस्थ विश्लेषण जीवनके क्रमभंग को बतला कर पाठकको वस्तुस्थितिकी पकड़ करनेकी क्षमता देता है। कभी उसका स्वरूप-दर्शन चिन्मयकी सत्तासे साक्षात्कार कराता है और कभी उसकी सामाजिक और वैयक्तिक भावनाएं रचनात्मक महत्त्वकी होती हैं।

आधुनिक काव्यमें भी ये सूक्ष्म संवेदनोंसे निर्मित हुई है। ये संवेदन प्रायः रस की संपूर्ण सामग्री संजोये विना ही व्यक्त किये जा रहे हैं जिसे सुधी जन संवेदनका दोष न मानकर युगीन शैली मानते हैं।

इन संवेदनाओं में वैज्ञानिक जीवन शैलीके साथ स्वरूप साक्षात्कारके लिये भी स्थान है जो इस युगकी अनेक कमियोंके बीच एक उपलब्धि मानी जायेगी। इसी प्रकार सामाजिक दायित्वके अछूते स्थलोंकी ओर भी आधुनिक कवि ने दृष्टि डाली है और विश्व की समकालीन हलचलोंको भी अभिव्यक्ति दी है।

इस संदर्भ में राष्ट्रीय काव्यभूमिकाका प्रश्न भी जुडा हुआ है। इस प्राचीन परम्परा के विकसित रूपको भंगिमाओंके अध्ययन द्वारा ही स्पष्ट किया जा सकता है। हमारे प्राचीन साहित्य में उपद्रष्टाकी भंगिमा बीज रूपमें ही थी पर वह आज एक सघन वृक्षके रूपमें आ चुकी है। इस विकास पर निष्कर्ष रूप में कुछ कहना यहाँ अभीष्ट नहीं, यहां तो उसका परिचय देकर उसकी विशेषताएं बताना ही हमारा उद्दिष्ट है। आधुनिक कविताके उद्धरणोंसे इनमें व्याप्त विवेक, भावनाओं व संकल्पोंकी सप्राणता ज्ञात हो सकेगी।

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२. उपद्रष्टानुमन्ता च भर्ता भोक्ता महेश्वरः।
परमात्मेति चाप्युक्तो देहेऽस्मिन् पुरुषः परः॥ गीता, अध्याय १३ श्लोक २२
उपद्रष्टा–तटस्थ, अनुमंता–प्रेरक, अनुमोदक, भर्ता–पालक,
भोक्ता–स्वयं उभपोग करनेवाला, महेश्वर–आत्मलीला का स्रष्टा

उपद्रष्टा भंगिमा के विवेचन का पूर्वपक्ष और नवीन प्रतिपत्ति—

आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त ने काव्य में शांतरस का विवेचन करते हुए निम्न तथ्यों को प्रस्तुत किया है[3]—

१) शांतरस के स्थायी के रूप में आत्मस्वरूपज्ञान अथवा तत्त्वज्ञान की गणना।
२) शांतरस में व्यापारशून्यता।
३) ईश्वरानुग्रह – विभाव।

यहां पर दो आधारों को मिला दिया गया है – जगत के विश्लेषण के लिये आग्रह और जीवन की परमतत्त्व से ऐक्यता की मांग। आधुनिक जीवनसंवेदना इन दोनों की पृथक् आलोचना की मांग करती है। श्री जे. एस. फिंडले ने तटस्थ विश्लेषण का बटलरियन अथवा स्मिथियन नाम से प्रतिपादन करते हुए उसको व्यावहारिक एवं सामाजिक मनुष्य के लिये अनिवार्य माना है। उन्होने इसकी तीन विशेषताएं बताई हैं[4]—

१) सामान्य नियमों के प्रति अनुकूलता।
२) तात्त्विक विचारणा एवं तथ्यों के निर्णय की क्षमता।
३) तटस्थ भूमिका।

एक उदाहरण इसे स्पष्ट कर सकेगा—

सत्य का कुछ रूप यों ही है
कि अकलुष रिक्तता में हाथ आता है।
युगयुगों की प्यास के अनुतप्त कोषों को,
अनकहे सौंदर्य की रसस्निग्धता से पूर जाता है।[5]

इसमें सौंदर्य प्राप्ति के संकल्प का सीधा विनियोग हुआ है। इसी संकल्प के कारण प्रतिबिंब रूप में प्रस्तुत रेत का कथ्य पकड़ में आ सका है। भावना और विवेक इस संकल्प के सहकारी हैं। फिर भी वेग की मात्रा संकल्प में मंद, भावना में सम और विवेक में तीव्र होने के कारण विवेक ही अधिक संवेद्य हो रहा है। व्यक्तिगत जीवन की भांति युगजीवन का भी तटस्थ विश्लेषण इसके अंतर्गत आता है। वैसे विश्लेषण तो इतिहासमें भी होता है परन्तु काव्य में विश्लेषण के साथ विवेक और संकल्प भी अन्तर्भूत रहते हैं। जैसे—

प्रसवपीड़ा से विकल है
अजन्में सूर्य के पहले की लालिमा।
कठोर सत्य का पहाड़
अपाठ्य शिलालेख की तरह अभाष्य है।

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[3] हिन्दी अभिनवभारती, भाष्यकार–आचार्य विश्वेश्वर, १९६० प्रथम संस्करण, पृ० ६२७–६३३.

[4] लैंग्वेज, माइंड अँड वेल्थ – जार्ज एलन अँड अनविन, लंदन, १९६३, पृ० १७६–१८१.

[5] शब्ददंश–रेत की लहरें, पृ० ७५–जगदीश गुप्त.

कुछ है जो है
न जाने क्या है जो है
जिसका जन्म होगा ?[६]

इस विश्लेषण में युग पीड़ा, असफलता, हतोत्साह और अनिश्चय के साथ भावी की स्वीकृति भी है जिसके कारण विश्लेषण में वेधक सूच्यता आ गई हैं।

आत्मस्थ भंगिमा-विवेचन का पूर्व-पक्ष एवं नवीन प्रतिपत्ति—

आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त ने अन्य ज्ञानोंसे पृथक् आत्मज्ञान का उल्लेख किया है। योगका आचार ग्रहण कर वे आत्मज्ञान का लक्षण निर्विशेष एवं अनिर्वचनीय आनंद बताते हैं। अनुभव की इस परंपरा में संत काव्य आता है जिसमें यह अनुभव अतीन्द्रिय कहा गया है। परंतु नवमर्मीकाव्य का स्वर विश्वमानस का माध्यम स्वीकार करता है।[७] क्योंकि पारमार्थिक जीवन संसार में दिव्यता प्रसरित करता है। उसका यह विवेक साधारण विवेक से भिन्न होता हुआ भी शुद्ध मानवीय है। भावना में अतीन्द्रियता का आग्रह उसकी सबसे बड़ी विशेषता है। इस उदाहरण से यह स्पष्ट हो सकेगा—

" व्यथा सबकी
निबिडतम एकांत
मेरा।
कलुष सबका
स्वेच्छया आहूत
सद्यःधौत अन्तःपूत
बलि मेरी।
ध्वांत इस अनसुलझ संसृति के
सकल दौर्बल्य का,
शक्ति तेरे तीक्ष्णतम निर्मम अमोघ
प्रकाश सायक की।" [८]

भक्तों के लीलाकाव्यों में भी आत्मस्थ भंगिमा की अभिव्यक्ति हुई है परंतु तनिक भिन्नता के साथ। क्योंकि यहां निर्विशेषता का आग्रह नहीं है। आग्रह है शुद्ध सत्त्व का। 'श्री हरिभक्तिरसामृतसिंधु' में रागानुगा भक्ति को भक्ति में विकसित करने के लिये तन्मयीभाव को महत्त्व दिया गया है[९]। इस अवस्था में अहं के स्थान पर दिव्य संबंध की भावना आ जाती है। यही शुद्ध सत्त्व की अवस्था है। लक्ष्मण का उदाहरण दिया जा

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[६] युगबोध (केदारनाथ अग्रवाल)।

[७] दी फ्यूचर पोएट्री, १९५३ प्रथम संस्करण, पृ० २५५–श्री अरविंद।

[८] आंगन के पार द्वार–भारतीय ज्ञानपीठ, काशी, प्रथम संस्करण, १९६१ पृ० ६६, अज्ञेय।

[९] श्रीहरिभक्तिरसामृतसिंधु–रूपगोस्वामी, प्रकाशक – अच्युतग्रंथमाला कार्यालय, काशी, १९८८ वि० प्रथम संस्करण, पृ० ८८।

चुका है। उनमें दास्य का आदर्श सजीव हो उठा है। महेन्द्रनाथ सरकार के शब्दों में : दास्य भावना में जीव की असहायता के स्थान पर दिव्य संबंधजनित सुरक्षा आ जाती है।[१०] इसी प्रकार वात्सल्य, सख्य एवं कांत संबंध भी दिव्यता लिये रहते हैं।

आधुनिक युग की विशिष्ट कविताओं में उपर्युक्त भूमिका से तनिक भिन्न भावभूमि है। क्यों कि इनमें संकेतित दिव्य संबंध एक निश्चित परिपाटी में पल्लवित होता दिखाई नहीं देता। फिर भी संबंध की अनुभूति के क्षणों में सावयव परम शक्ति की जो सत्ता भक्तों के काव्य में झलकती रही है वह यहां भी देखी जा सकती है—

> ‘ शब्द से मुझको छूओ फिर,
> देह के ये स्पर्श दाहक हैं
> एक झूठी जिंदगी के बोल है
> उद्घोष हैं छल के :

+ + +

> इन्हें इनका रूप असली दो
> सत्य से मुझको छूओ फिर। ’[११]

पूर्वपक्ष द्वारा प्रतिपादित ज्ञान-योग-समन्वित भक्ति का आजीवन व्याप्त आधार आज विरल है परंतु उसको अनुमति के विशेष क्षणों में जिया गया है। इस कविता में सत्य, स्पर्श और रूप क्रमशः ज्ञान, भावना और संकल्प की ओर संकेत करते हैं।

भर्त्ता भंगिमा–

यह काव्यनिबद्ध जीवनबोध है। यह जीवनबोध वस्तुस्थिति की पकड़ एवं उसके नियोजन के लिये प्रयत्नशील व्यक्ति के संपूर्ण व्यक्तित्व की प्रक्रियाओं से विनिर्मित है। इसके ज्वलंत उदाहरण ‘ मानस ’ के भरत हैं। उनका नाम ही इस भंगिमा का बोध कराता है। पारिवारिक एवं राजनैतिक उथलपुथल को समझते हुए उनके व्यक्तित्व ने ऐसी प्रतिक्रियाएं की जो इन वात्याचक्रों को सीमित कर सकी। यही बात इसके मूल सिद्धान्त के रूप में जान हालावे ने कही है कि इसमें व्यक्त जीवनानुभूति कोरे तथ्यनिर्देश पर आधारित नहीं होती, वह तो स्वयं जीवनशक्ति की क्रियाशीलता पर आधारित होती है।[१२]

इसमें निश्चित संकल्पों से युक्त विवेक और समगतिशील भावनाओं का सौन्दर्य है। विवेक से भावी का वरण और भावनाओं से वर्तमान का वहन सुकर हो पाता है। भावी का वरण अपने आपमें एक पक्ष है जिसे विद्यमान अवांछित से लड़ना है। इस उदाहरण से यह पक्षधरता स्पष्ट हो सकेगी—

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[१०] कम्पॅरेटिव्ह स्टडीज इन वेदांतिझम–महेन्द्रनाथ सरकार, १९२७, पृ० १० (भूमिका)

[११] शब्ददंश–स्पर्शगीत, पृ० ३२, जगदीश गुप्त

[१२] द कलर ऑफ क्रेरिटी, जान हालावे, राउटलेज अँड पाल, लंदन, १९६४, पृ० ९४

'धरती के विकासी द्वंद्व क्रम में एक मेरा छटपटाता वक्ष,
स्नेहाश्लेष या संगर कहीं भी हो
कि धरती के विकासी द्वंद्व क्रम में एक मेरा पक्ष
मेरा पक्ष निःसंदेह '।।[१३]

यह पक्षधरता विवेकपुष्ट और संकल्पप्रेरित होने के कारण सर्वजनग्राह्य है और मानवीयता के लिये समर्पित भी है। जैसा इस उदाहरण से स्पष्ट होगा—

'ज़मीने साफ करती है
दिवालों की दरारें परती-भरती,
व सीती फटे कपडे, दिल रफ़ू करती,
किन्हीं प्राणांचलो पर वह कसीदा काढती रहती
स्वयं की आत्मा की फूल पत्ती के नमूनों का '।।[१४]

यहां पूछा जा सकता है कि इसमें विवेक की, पक्षगत सिद्धांतों के रूप में, क्या आवश्यकता है? क्योंकि अनावश्यक सिद्धान्त काव्य में आने पर आरोपित लगते हैं और काव्य के प्रभाव को बहुत घटा देते हैं। जैसा कहा जा चुका है, इस भंगिमा में अवांछनीय का तिरस्कार कर भावी व्यवस्था के प्रतिष्ठापन की प्रवृत्ति है। रूढियां एवं व्यवस्थाएं, जो गत युगों की मान्यताएं एवं सिद्धान्त लिये रहती थी इन मान्यताओं के अंग होने के कारण ही अवांछनीय हो जाती है। उदाहरण के लिये 'मानस' में आई यह व्यवस्था कि राजा जिसे राज्य दे वही राज्य का अधिकारी। इसमें प्रजापक्ष ही नहीं न्याय का आधार भी राजा का नियामक था जो भुला दिया गया। अतः एक बडी भूल ने 'जीवन के सत्य' को ही उसके राज्य से निर्वासित कर दिया। ऐसी भूल को और उसके द्वारा उपेक्षित सत्य को दिखाना ही विवेक का कार्य है।[१५] जहां तक विवेक यह कार्य करता है वह आरोपित नहीं वरन् सहज है।

दुर्भाग्यसे ऐसे काव्यमें ध्वंस की प्रवृत्ति मानी जाती है क्योंकि वह वर्ण आदि बंधनों पर कटु प्रहार करता है। वस्तुतः भर्ता भंगिमा नवसृजन पर बल देती है। उसमें बताई गई भूले, कमियों का ज्ञान कराने के लिये ही है ताकि सामाजीकरण—मानवीकरण की इन बाधाओं को दूर किया जा सके।[१६]

ऐसी पीठिका पर प्रतिष्ठित भावनाएं रचनावादीशक्ति से क्या कम है? अतः भर्त्ता भंगिमा का अपना सौंदर्य है।

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१३. चांद का मुंह टेढा है – अंतःकरण का आयतन, पृ० २०४ – ग० मा० मुक्तिबोध।
१४. चांद का मुंह टेढा है, पृ० २०३
१५. चांद का मुंह टेढा है, पृ० १४० – ओ काव्यात्मन फणिधर।
१६. द्रष्टव्य – कामायनी; एक पुनर्विचार, ग०मा० मुक्तिबोध, हिमांशु प्रकाशन, जबलपुर, १९६९, पृ.२८

भोक्ता भंगिमा –

इसका पूर्वपक्ष रसशास्त्रगत संचारी भावों और अनुभावोंके विवेचनमें देखा जा सकता है। स्थायी भावोंमें रति और शोक, इसके सर्वाधिक निकट है। यह जगतके कार्य-कलापोंकी प्रतिक्रियास्वरूप उत्थित होती है। इसके उद्रेकके कारण इस प्रकार हैं—

(अ) जब भावकी दीप्ति बड़ी तीव्रतासे हो।

(ब) जब काल विशेष से निजता स्थापित की जाय।

(स) जब कल्पक-प्रवृत्ति और वायवीयता की प्रधानता हो। [१७]

स्पष्टताकी दृष्टिसे प्रत्येक स्थितिका परिचय इस प्रकार है।

(अ) भावकी तीव्र दीप्तिः—

विषयीपूरक विचारणाकी स्थितिमें जब व्यक्ति अपने जीवनकी कुछ घटनाओंको ही जीवन की प्रतिनिधि समझकर सुखदुख से अभिभूत होने लगता है तब सुखदुखकी दीप्ति होने लगती है। वैसे भय, घृणा, आश्चर्य, हास्य आदिकी स्वतंत्र दीप्तिको भी हम मान्यता देते हैं परंतु सुविधाकी दृष्टिसे इनको उपर्युक्त दो वर्गोंमें रखा गया है। संबंधित व्यक्ति संसारके व्यवहारकी समीक्षा कर प्रतिक्रिया रूपमें इसे प्रगट करता है इस प्रतिक्रिया में विवेक एवं संकल्प भी सम्मिलित रहते हैं। जैसे—

खेल कहां था जीवन धूप–छांव का ?
कोहरे की धुंध, धुंआ नगर–गांव का ?
दहक उठा–सा तनहा ?
महक उठा–सा लमहा ?
पथरीला पंथ थकन–बिंधे पांव का ?
खेल कहां था जीवन धूप-छांव का ? [१८]

यहां कवि कोहरेकी धुन्ध और धुंवांके प्रतीकोंके सहारे नगरकी भीड और यांत्रिकता से पृथक् जीवन संधानका भावमय परिचय उपस्थित करता है। उसकी यह व्यक्ति-विशिष्ट अनुभूति भोक्ताके रूपको स्पष्ट करती है। उसके अनुसार जीवन धूपछांवकी तरह हलका नहीं वरन् शक्तिमयी और स्थायी अनुभूतियों वाला है।

(ब) कालविशेष से निजता—

भोक्ताके लिये अतीत, स्मृतियों का, वर्तमान, विद्रोहों का, और भविष्य, स्वप्नोंका वाहक बन कर आता है। ये स्मृतियां, ये विद्रोह और ये स्वप्न प्रतिक्रियाओंका अनन्तवृत्त बनाते हुए काव्य में संकेतरूप में अभिव्यक्त हो पाते हैं।

यह निजता जगत्की सक्रियतासे कटी नहीं रहती वरन् उसे प्रतिभाके द्वारा आकर्षण और सप्राणता से युक्त करती है। क्योंकि कालविशेषकी अनुभूति कालातीत बन कर वर्तमानको

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[१७] पृथक् विवेचनके लिये दृष्टव्य – ए हिस्ट्री ऑफ मॉडर्न क्रिटिसिज्म, भाग २, रेने वेलक।
[१८] जानकीवल्लभ शास्त्री, धर्मयुग, ६ नवम्बर १९६६, पृ० २३

शेष दोनों कालोंसे अवियुक्त बना देती है। कामायनीके आनंद सर्गमें और मुक्तिबोधकी अंतःकरणका आयतन कवितामें इसी उन्मेषकारी कालसे निजताका परिचय मिलता है।

(स) कल्पक प्रवृत्ति और वायवीयता—

भोक्ता वस्तुस्थितिको ज्यों की त्यों स्वीकार नहीं करता। वह उसे अपनी मनःस्थिति के सन्दर्भमें रूपांतरित कर अपनाता है। इससे उसकी शक्ति और उसके निश्चयका पता लगता है। यहां व्यष्टिगत जीवनके सुखदुख सहानुभूति और मानवीयकरणके द्वारा विराटता ग्रहण कर लेते है। इस रचनात्मक प्रवृत्तिके द्वारा जीवनका नया आकल्प (पैटर्न) तैयार होता है। इसमें विवेक तात्विकता लाता है। विवेकके द्वारा वासना सृष्टिसहचरी का रूप लेती है और मृत्युबोध नयी सृष्टिका चित्रकार बनता है।

कल्पक प्रवृत्ति तथा आवेगकी तीव्रताके कारण भोक्ताके संकल्प वायवीय होते हैं। यद्यपि इन संकल्पोंका जन्म बन्धनोंसे मुक्तिकी आकुलतामें होता है परंतु मुक्तिकी यह कामना फलीभूत होनेके लिये आवश्यक ठोस आधारोंसे वंचित होनेके कारण एक वायवीय दर्शनका सहारा ले लेती है। इस एकांगिताके होते हुए भी इन संकल्पोंमें कर्मके बीज रहते हैं। क्योंकि इनके द्वारा आनंद, नवचेतना और नवनिर्माणके आदर्श प्राप्त होते हैं। ये प्रतिभाकी अपूर्वताके परिचायक हैं और कोरे यथार्थके पूरक है। ये कविकी ही नहीं सामाजिककी आस्थाके आराध्य बन सकते हैं।

अनुमंता भंगिमा—

काव्यकी सृजनात्मकता व्यावहारिक जीवनके विकासके संकेत भी प्रदान करती है। इसे अनुमंता भंगिमा मानना उचित है।

उपद्रष्टा भंगिमा स्थिति विश्लेषण तक सीमित रहती है। वह विवेककी जागृतिकी सूचना तो है परंतु विवेककी व्यावहारिकताकी नहीं। यह व्यावहारिकता विश्लेषणसे प्राप्त प्रश्नों और समस्याओंके समाधान ढूंढ निकालनेमें निहित है। यहाँ समाधानकी विशदता पर बल नहीं उसकी प्रक्रियाका आग्रह है। इस दृष्टिसे देखने पर प्रश्न स्वयं बोलता है—

मैं स्वयं युग की भुजा चेतन चिरंतन,
नींद हूं मैं जागरण की, संचरण की :
मैं स्वयं हूं सूझ की अंगडाइयों में,
प्राणवलि की खाइयों में खेलता हूं। [१९]

काव्यगत सार्वजनीन सत्य, व्यक्ति और समाजकी समंजसित अभिव्यक्ति ही है। अनुमंता भंगिमामें इस सत्यकी पूर्ण प्रतिष्ठा है। वैयक्तिक श्रम समाजकी वेदीपर न्योछावर होकर महिमामंडित हो उठता है अन्यथा स्वकेंद्रित एवं स्वबद्ध होकर वह ठूंठ ही बनेगा। 'काठ की घंटियां' कवितामें ये दोनों पक्ष प्रस्तुत किये गये हैं:—

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[१९] प्रश्न हंसकर कह उठा–माखनलाल चतुर्वेदी, धर्मयुग, १४ अगस्त १९६६, पृ० १०

शायद कल
किसीके कंधों पर चढ़ कर
फिर मेरा बौना अहं
विवश हाथ फैलाये —— (स्वबद्धता)
शायद कल
मेरे गूँगे स्वरों के सहारे
कोटि कोटि कंठों की खोयी शक्ति बोल दे[२०] (स्व का विस्तार)

इस प्रत्यक्ष स्वरूपके अतिरिक्त इसका अप्रत्यक्ष स्वरूप व्यंग काव्यमें मिलता है। आधुनिक कविता इस विषयमें पूर्वकी अपेक्षा अधिक समृद्ध है। इससे पता चलता है कि हमारे भटके संकल्प,[२१] भटके विचार[२२] और भटके भाव[२३] आजकी सबसे बडी व्याधियां है। लेकिन यथार्थ जगतमें ये ही गरिमामय नामोंसे अभिषिक्त है। परंतु यह इन नामोंकी तहमें जाकर वस्तुस्थितिका मौन अनावरण कर देती है।

इसकी अपनी विशेषता यह है कि इसमें विवेककी अन्विति बराबर बनी रहती है। यदि कहीं उस पर भाव हावी हो गये तो यह अन्विति भंग हो जाती है। संकेत दिशाहीन हो जाते हैं और प्रभाव विच्छिन्न हो जाता है। विंटर्स ने फ्रास्टकी एक कविता (A Masque of Reason) में इस प्रकारके दोषको बताया है।[२४] यहां इतना निवेदन यथेष्ट होगा कि भोक्ता भंगिमामें भावका रंगीन वैभव झलकानेका पर्याप्त अवकाश है। परंतु यहां भंगिमागत विशेषता भावकी समन्जसित स्थिति चाहती है। इससे समाज सापेक्षताका उदय होता है। यह सापेक्षता अपनेमें बडी प्रेरणा लिये रहती है और इसके द्वारा ही अभीप्सित जीवनकी ओर बढ़ा जा सकता है।

काव्य भंगिमाओं की सीमाएं—

काव्यभंगिमाएं आलोचनाकी दृष्टिसे महत्त्वपूर्ण होते हुए भी जीवन संवेदनाकी सीमामें अवस्थित है। परंतु काव्यमें ऐसे प्रयोग भी होते है जिनमें उक्तिविशेषका चमत्कार अथवा पूर्व संदर्भ का अर्थपूर्ण संकेत ही प्रमुख होता है। उक्तिविशेषका चमत्कार तुलसीकी इस कल्पना में देखा जा सकता है–ह्वे है सिला सब चंद्रमुखी... :। पूर्व संदर्भका उदाहरण अज्ञेय द्वारा अनूदित यह हाइकू है।

‘ ताल पुराना
कूदा दादुर
— गुडुप्।’[२५] (बाशो)

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[२०] तीसरा सप्तक–सर्वेश्वरदयाल सक्सेना, पृ० ३९१, द्वितीय संस्करण, १९६१
[२१] वहीं–चांद की चाह–विजय नारायण साही, पृ० ३११–१३
[२२] समयका शव और इन्सान–केदारनाथ अग्रवाल, धर्मयुग, १४ अगस्त १९६६, पृ० १९
[२३] तीसरा सप्तक :: सम्पाती :: कुंवरनारायण, पृ० २७८
[२४] द फंक्शन ऑफ क्रिटिसिझम –योर विंटर्स, राउटलेज एंड पाल लंदन, १९६२, पृ० १७३–१७६
[२५] अरी ओ करुणा प्रभामय, पृ० १०६

इसमें साधक अपनी साधनोज्ज्वल स्थितिकी तुलनामें इससे पहलेकी जडिमाग्रस्त स्थितिका वर्णन कर रहा है। अतः यहां संदर्भ ही प्रधान है।

इन दो उदाहरणों के द्वारा दो सीमाएं प्रस्तुत करते हुए यह संभावना भी स्वीकार की जा रही है कि विचार करने पर और भी सीमाए निकल आयें। इन सीमाओंकी मान्यता देकर काव्यभंगिमाओंका वैशिष्ट्य अधिक अच्छी तरह आंका जा सकता है।

निष्कर्ष—

१. यह निवेदन किया जा चुका है कि काव्यभंगिमाएं, विवेक–भावना और संकल्पका विशिष्ट वेग एवं विशिष्ट प्रभाव रखती है। इन प्रभावोंमें निसर्गता, व्यावहारिकता, विवशता, भावुकता, भावविनिमयशीलता, जड़ता, दृढता, स्थिरता, और विवैयक्तिताकी गणना है।

२. प्रत्येक भंगिमा अपनी आधारभूत सामग्रीके रूपमें संसारकी एक स्थितिको लेती है और प्रतिक्रियारूपमें अभिव्यक्त होती है। भिन्न प्रतिक्रियाके कारण भंगिमागत परिवर्तन संभव हो पाता है। प्रबन्ध काव्यमें भंगिमाएं विभिन्न पात्रोंके माध्यमसे मुखरित होती हैं और गीतिकाव्यमें प्रायः कविकी अनुभूति द्वारा।

३. एक कवितामें एकसे अधिक भंगिमाएं रह सकती हैं। उदाहरणतः ग० मा० मुक्तिबोधकी 'अंतकरण का आयतन' कविता में भोक्ता और भर्त्ता भंगिमाएं। अतः कविकी समस्त काव्य रचनाओंके आधार पर उसके काव्यकी प्रमुख भंगिमाका निर्णय किया जा सकता है।

४. इनका अध्ययन जीवन संवेदना युक्त काव्यमें ही किया जा सकता है।

अपभ्रंश और खड़ी बोली

देवेन्द्रकुमार जैन, इंदौर

'हिन्दी' वैसे 'हिन्द' से बना विशेषण है परन्तु अब वह खड़ी बोली और उसकी बोलियों के समूह के लिए प्रयुक्त होता है। 'हिन्दी' राष्ट्र की सम्पर्क भाषा है। उसके विकास के सम्बंध में दो मुख्य मान्यताएँ हैं : (१) हिन्दी वस्तुतः एक भाषा नहीं, वह राष्ट्र की सामान्य भाषा है। जिसके विभिन्न क्षेत्रों और वर्गों में विविध रूप पाए जाते हैं। इनमें से कुछ भाषाएँ विभिन्न लिपियों और साहित्योंमें आबद्ध (सीमित) होकर स्वतन्त्र हो गई हैं, जब कि कुछ (राजस्थानी, विहारी और खड़ी बोली आदि) हिन्दी में। (२) खड़ी बोली कुरुक्षेत्र की मूल बोली है जो विभिन्न कारणों से एक व्यापक सम्पर्क भाषा बन गई है।

उक्त दोनों मान्यताओं की वास्तविकता को परखने के लिए 'अपभ्रंश भाषा' एक-मात्र ऐतिहासिक कसौटी है। यह प्रायः सभी भाषाविद् स्वीकार करते हैं १३ वीं शती के आते आते अपभ्रंश के सहारे ही 'पूर्व और पश्चिम' के प्रदेशों ने अपनी अपनी बोलियों का रूप प्रकट किया, अतः हिन्दी का उद्भव यहीं से माना जा सकता है। यहाँ वस्तुतः हिन्दी के विकास के अध्ययन की उतनी कठिनाई नहीं है कि जितनी उसके मूलस्वरूप और रचना प्रक्रिया के निर्धारण की।

खड़ी बोली (हिन्दी) के विकास के सम्बंध में सुप्रसिद्ध भाषाविद् डॉ० चटर्जी का कथन है– "यह मालूम नहीं पडता कि हिन्दी ठीक कौन सी बोली है, परन्तु यह संभव है यह व्रज भाषा या पाश्चात्य कालीन हिन्दुस्तानी के सदृश न होकर १३ वीं सदी में प्रचलित सर्व-साधारण की साहित्यिक अपभ्रंश से रहा हो। क्योंकि १३–१४ वीं शती तक हिन्दुस्तानी के दर्शन नहीं होते।" कुछ विद्वान् जब हिन्दी का विकास ईसा की ७ वीं सदी से मानते हैं तो उनकी इस मान्यताके मूल में अपभ्रंश ही होती है। उत्तरकाल में अपभ्रंश के तीन भेद माने गए हैं – पश्चिमी, पूर्वी और मध्यदेशीय अपभ्रंश। इनमें हिन्दी के विकास का सम्बंध मध्यदेशीय अपभ्रंश से जोड़ा जाता है। एक विद्वान् ने तो यहां तक लिख डाला है कि किसी समय वह (हिन्दी) सारे भारत का प्रतिनिधित्व करती थी जो अब केवल उन भाषाओं का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है जो सहर्ष उनमें सम्मिलित हैं, अन्यथा सच पूछा जाय तो गुजराती और पंजाबी हिन्दी के अधिक निकट हैं अपेक्षा पूर्वी हिन्दी के। यों अवधी मैथिली से उसका उतना ही सम्बंध है जितना असामी और बंगाली से। "अतः हिन्दी किसी एक भाषा का नाम नहीं–भाषा समूह का नाम है। इन मतों को देखते हुए 'खड़ीबोली' हिन्दी के सम्बंध में निम्नलिखित प्रश्न उठते हैं:–

१. हिन्दी यह नाम बोली विशेष का है, या बोली समूह अथवा भाषा समूह का?

२. खड़ी बोली के विकास की सही भूमिका क्या है ? क्या वह अपनी बोलियों या समकालीन भा० आर्यभाषाओं के समान क्षेत्रीय स्तर पर विकसित हुई। या उसकी विकास प्रक्रिया का आधार अलग है।

३. एक बोली के रूप में उसका विकास कबसे माना जाय ?

जहाँ तक पहले प्रश्न का सम्बंध है ‘ हिन्दी ’ शब्द का ऐतिहासिक अर्थ या प्रयोग कुछ भी रहा हो, अब वह ‘ खड़ी बोली ’ के लिए व्यवहृत है, चूंकि खड़ी बोली हिन्दी है, इस लिए उसका बोली–समूह भी इसकी अर्थसीमा में आ जाता है। ‘खड़ी बोली ’ यह नाम उसकी प्रयोगशीलता का बोधक है न कि प्रादेशिकता का, जैसे गुजराती, मराठी, सिंधी, बंगला आदि। यही स्थिति उसकी बोलियों,(बांगरू, ब्रज, कन्नौजी, बुंदेली, छत्तीसगढ़ी, अवधी बघेली) की है। ‘ खड़ी बोली ’ के पूर्व अवधी और ब्रज बोली में साहित्य अवश्य मिलता है, परन्तु इसका अर्थ यह नहीं कि उनके पूर्व खड़ी बोली का अस्तित्त्व नहीं था। खड़ी बोली का सम्बंध किसी क्षेत्र विशेषसे न होने के कारण भी, अन्तःप्रान्तीय संचार से शून्य उस युग में उसकी पहचान असंभव थी। अवधी और ब्रज भाषाएँ केवल सांस्कृतिक अभिव्यक्ति को पद्यात्मक माध्यम थी वे उस रूप में व्यापक सम्पर्क की भाषाएँ नहीं थीं जिस रूप में खड़ी बोली है। इस बात को दूसरे ढंग से भी समझा जा सकता है। मान लीजिए खड़ी बोली की जगह अवधी या ब्रज ही राष्ट्र की सम्पर्कभाषा बन जाती, तब उसका नाम क्या होता। मेरे विचार में उसे अवधी बोली समूह, या ब्रज बोली समूह कहते। ‘ खड़ी बोली ’ को हिन्दी इस लिए कहा गया क्यों कि उसका नामकरण किसी जनपद के आधारपर नहीं था, हिन्दी उसकी सार्वदेशिकता का बोधक है। जो लोग उसका नाम ‘ कुरुजनपद ’ से जोड़ते हैं वे भी उसे ‘ कौरवी हिन्दी’ कहते हैं ‘ कौरवी बोली ’ नहीं। जब कि वास्तविकता यह है कि ‘ कौरवी बोली ’ और खड़ी बोली एक बात नहीं।

भारतीय भाषाओं के इतिहास से भी इस तथ्य की संपुष्टि होती है। संस्कृत से लेकर हिन्दी तक जो भी भाषा व्यापक राष्ट्रीय अभिव्यक्ति और सम्पर्क की भाषा रही है उसका प्रादेशिक नाम कभी नहीं रहा। वैदिक भाषा युग में ‘ संस्कृत ’ को लोकभाषा कहा जाता था, ‘ संस्कृत ’ नाम बाद का है। ‘ पाणिनि ’ ने उसे ‘ संस्कृत ’ नाम नहीं दिया। उन्होंने लोकप्रचलित भाषा का ही विवरण लिखा है। भाष्यकार जब यह क़हते हैं कि “ एकैकस्यैव शब्दस्य बहवः अपभ्रंशा यथा गावी गौणी ‘ गोता ’ गोपोतलिका ” तो वे संस्कृत को केन्द्र में रखकर उससे भिन्न शब्दों को गिनाते हैं, वैसे ये हैं आर्यभाषा के ही शब्द। ये आर्येतर भाषाके शब्द नहीं जैसी कि अभीतक धारणा है। संक्रृत के समानांतर लोकभाषा को प्राकृत कहा गया अपभ्रंश मूलरूप में आभीरोक्ति थी पर व्यापक साहित्य भाषा बनने पर अपभ्रंश कहलाई। यही स्थिति खड़ी बोली और हिन्दी की है।

साहित्य और लिपि का भेद भाषा भेद का सूचक नहीं है। और न इसकारण हिन्दी से गुजराती, मराठी आदि भाषाएँ अलग हुई हैं। उनकी रचना प्रक्रिया और प्रकृति ही भिन्न है। वियोगात्मक स्थिति में ऐसा होना अनिवार्य था। प्रश्न है कि हिन्दी (खड़ी बोली) और

दूसरी भा० आर्यभाषाओं की अपभ्रंश से विकास की क्या प्रक्रिया है ? इस प्रक्रिया को समझाने के पहले उस अपभ्रंश की छानबीन करनी होगी कि जिससे इसका विकास हुआ। यह मध्यदेशीय अपभ्रंश क्या है ? क्यों कि यह एक अनुमित कल्पना है कि प्रादेशिक अपभ्रंशों से आ० भा० आर्यभाषाओं का विकास हुआ, क्यों कि वर्तमान हिन्दी क्षेत्र से उसका क्षेत्र व्यापक था और उसके अन्तःप्रांतीय रूपों में उतना विखराव नहीं था जितना कि आज है। साधारण रूप से 'मध्यदेशीय अपभ्रंश' यानी शौरसेनी अपभ्रंश से इनका विकास माना जाता है, परंतु शौरसेनी अपभ्रंश के पूर्व महाराष्ट्री प्राकृत का विकास हो चुका था, उससे शौरसेनी अपभ्रंश की तुलना भी आवश्यक है। जब हिन्दी के विकास में अपभ्रंश के योगदान की चर्चा की जाती है तो उससे खड़ीबोली के विकास को विशिष्ट संदर्भ में नहीं देखा जाता। विकास की सामान्य प्रवृत्तियों का उल्लेख भर कर दिया जाता है, इसके मुख्य दो कारण हैं एक तो 'खड़ी बोली' के मूलरूप की परिकल्पना का अभाव और दूसरे उसका सम्बंध 'कौरवी बोली' से जोड़ना। आखिर वे कौन सी ऐतिहासिक प्रवृत्तियाँ हैं जिनके कारण 'खड़ी बोली' राष्ट्रीय अभिव्यक्ति के माध्यम बनने की प्रतियोगिता में अपनी समकालीन दूसरी बोलियों से आगे निकल जाती है ? वह कौनसी अपभ्रंश है जिससे हिन्दी के विकास को जोड़ा जाय ?

'खड़ी बोली' हिन्दी की प्रकृति आकारान्त है और अपभ्रंश की उकारान्त, अवधी की ह्रस्वान्त और व्रजादि की ओकारान्त। प्रकृतों की प्रकृति का यह विवेचन प्रथमा विभक्ति के एकवचन के रूप के आधार पर किया जाता है। संस्कृत में 'रामः' इसका 'मूलरूप' है, राम के विसर्ग के आ ओ उ आदि रूप हो सकते हैं अतः प्राकृत अपभ्रंश शब्दों की प्रकृतियाँ प्रायः विसर्ग की विकृतियाँ हैं। अपभ्रंश यद्यपि 'उकार बहुला' है, परन्तु उसमें संस्कृत के उकारान्त, एकारान्त, ऋकारान्त और हलन्त शब्दों को अकारान्त बनाने की प्रवृत्ति बहुत व्यापक है, इस प्रकार वह, परसर्गों द्वारा सम्बंधबोध कराने के लिए पुरानी जमीन तोड़ती है, ताकि आनेवाली भाषाओं की विभिन्न आकृतियाँ गढ़ी जा सकें। प्रकृति की इस एकरूपता ने असमान प्रत्ययों को जोड़ने की सुविधा प्रदान कर दी। शब्दों और प्रयोगों में यह 'आकारान्त प्रवृत्ति' जितनी परिनिष्ठित अपभ्रंश में मिलती है उतनी दूसरी भाषाओं में नहीं। बहु उदाहृत निम्नलिखित दोहे में

"भल्ला हुआ जु मारिया बहिणी म्हारा कंतु
लज्जे जंतु वयं सियहुं जइ भग्गा घरु एंतु"

'अपभ्रंश और खड़ी बोली' शिव पार्वती की तरह मिलीं हुई हैं, संज्ञाएं ही नहीं, सर्वनाम और क्रियाओं में भी आकारान्त, उकारान्त प्रवृत्तियाँ हैं, भूतकृदन्तों में सहायक क्रिया और जोड़ दें तो खड़ी बोली हो जाय। लिङ्ग-अव्यवस्था, कृदन्तक्रिया आदि प्रवृत्तियाँ हिन्दी में इसी माध्यम से आईं। अपभ्रंश में विभक्तियाँ और परसर्ग दोनों का प्रयोग है, हिन्दी ने केवल परसर्गों का प्रयोग करना उचित समझा। हिन्दी 'हुआ' अपभ्रंश में भी हुआ है, भया भयल आदि उसमें नहीं। ये विशेषताएँ उक्त दोहे में ही नहीं हैं प्रत्युत पुष्पदन्त की काव्य भाषा में भी हैं। १० वीं सदी के मध्य में जन्मे इस महान अपभ्रंश कवि के भाषा में ऐसे रूप और प्रयोग

हैं कि जिनके आधार पर ' खड़ी बोली ' का ढांचा खड़ा किया जा सकता है, सर्वनाम के कुछ उदाहरण लीजिए ' जणणी न मेरी ' तेरी सुय ' ढोइय ' ' मेरइ करि ' महु कन्तहु तहि केरी '। उक्त अंकित रूप विशुद्ध रूपसे खड़ी बोली के रूप हैं। इससे यह मान्यता खंडित हो जाती है कि ' खड़ी बोली ' कुरुक्षेत्र की बोली थी या यह कि उसका विकास १३ वीं शतीसे हुआ। कमसे कम व्रज अवधी के समकालीन और इनके पहले उसका अस्तित्व था।

' खड़ी बोली ' इस नाम के मूल्य में ' खड़ा होना ' धातु है जो खड़ी बोली को छोड़कर उसकी किसी दूसरी बोली में नहीं मिलती। ' खड़ी बोली ' की रचना प्रक्रिया के वीज परिनिष्ठित अपभ्रंश में विद्यमान हैं। वह १३ वीं सदी तक बोलचाल के रूप में अस्तित्व में आ चुकी थी, जिसे डॉ० चटर्जी ने साहित्यिक अपभ्रंश कहा है, वह वस्तुतः यही भाषा थी, परन्तु उसका नामकरण होना बाकी था जिन ग्राम्य अपभ्रंशों को उस समय ' देशी ' कहा जाता था वे प्रादेशिक भाषाएं थीं जैसे कि गुर्जर, गुर्जर अपभ्रंश से ही संतुष्ट, थे किसी दूसरी अपभ्रंश से नहीं। विद्यापति ने अपनी गीत भाषा को ' देशी वचन ' कहा है, पर खड़ी बोली देशी नहीं है। खड़ी बोली की विकास-कथा की कुंजी यद्यपि, उसके मूल स्वरूप की खोज में है फिर भी इसमें दो मत नहीं कि उसका बीजरूप परिनिष्ठित अपभ्रंश में जितना सुरक्षित है, उतना किसी दुसरी बोली और भाषा का नहीं। इसके अतिरिक्त उसने संस्कृत से भी कई प्रवृत्तियाँ ग्रहण की, कम से कम वे प्रवृत्तियाँ तो की हीं जो उसकी सार्वदेशिक एकरूपता के लिए आवश्यक थीं, जैसे ऱ्हस्व ए, ओ का अभाव, ऱ्हस्वादेश की प्रवृत्ति, क्रियारूपों में कृदन्त क्रिया का प्रयोग, संस्कृत शब्दों का प्रयोग, व्यंजनलोप की प्रवृत्ति से बचना, क्रिया में करइ, घरइ, जाइ, करै, घरै, जावै के स्थान में करता, धरता, जाता है आदि रूपों का प्रयोग। स्वर और व्यंजनों की सुरक्षा लोप के विषय में उसकी अपनी व्यवस्था है। जहां तक खड़ी बोली के विकास का सम्बंध है उसका बहुत कुछ विकास व्यापक और परिनिष्ठित अपभ्रंश से हुआ, परन्तु वह ऐसी सामान्य केन्द्रीय भाषा नहीं है कि जिसके क्षेत्रीय रूपों की कल्पना की जाय, क्यों कि ये रूप उसके समकालीन रूप हैं, यह कहना भी भाषा वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से गलत है कि एक भाषा का दुसरी भाषा में विलय हो गया। ' खड़ी बोली ' यदि कुरुक्षेत्र की बोली थी तो उसके रूप मान्यखेट में लिखित अपभ्रंश में कैसे पहुँच गए। अतः यह अनुमान निराधार नहीं हैं कि अपभ्रंश के रूप के साथ उससे बोलचाल की ऐसी बोली का स्वरूप विकसित हो रहा था कि जिसकी झलक परिनिष्ठित अपभ्रंश में मिल जाती है। जिस समय प्रांतीय और स्थानीय बोलियाँ अपना विकास कर रहीं थीं उस समय यह बोलचाल में थी ' परन्तु ' क्षेत्रीयता के उस युग में इसकी ओर किसी का ध्यान नहीं जा सका। ' खड़ी बोली ' के " मूलरूप " की प्रामाणिक खोज के बाद, इस तथ्य को और अधिक स्पष्ट किया जा सकेगा।

पण्डितपरिषद्

मेघदूतपाठभेदविमर्शः

विश्वनाथ भट्टाचार्य, शान्तिनिकेतन

कालिदासीय–मेघदूतसञ्ज्ञातस्य पूर्वमेघस्य तस्मिन्नद्रावित्यादिकस्य द्वितीयपद्यस्य तार्तीयीकपादादौ आषाढस्य प्रथमदिवसे प्रशमदिवसे चेति सुचिररूढः पाठभेदो मातृकापरम्परानुसारिणां टीकाकृताम् अनुवादकानां च ग्रन्थेषु दृश्यत इति नैतन् नूतनं निवेदनमनूचानेषु ।

अस्मिन् शोधनिबन्धे तावत् परस्परविसंवादिनोः प्रथमप्रशमपाठयोः साधकबाधकप्रमाणपुरस्कारेण आपेक्षिकम् औचित्यं पुनर्विगणय्य सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया यथान्यायं सिद्धान्तयिष्यते ।

पाठभेदविचारादौ व्याख्यातॄणां पञ्च पक्षा उपस्थाप्यन्ते–

१. प्रथमतः **शुक्लप्रतिपत्पक्षः**। **प्रथमदिवसे** इति पाठमनुसरता प्रथमशब्दस्याऽऽद्यार्थकत्वमभ्युपेत्य **मल्लिनाथेनायं** पक्षः समाश्रितः। **ऋषिपुत्रपरमेश्वरेण भरतेन** चापि प्रथमशब्दस्याऽऽद्यवाचित्वमङ्गीकृतम् । **क्षेमेन्द्रेणापि** प्रथमदिवसे इति पाठः स्वीकृतः।

२. द्वितीयतः **शयन्येकादशीपक्षः**। विष्णुशयनकालस्यादिमतिथावित्यर्थे **प्रथमदिवसे** इति पाठमनुसरता **चारित्रवर्धनेनैषः** पक्षः स्वीकृतः ।

३. तृतीयतः **पूर्णिमापक्षः**। **प्रथमदिवसे** इति पाठं समर्थयमानैः प्रथमशब्दस्य कर्षणाद्यनुकूलत्वात् प्रधानार्थकत्वं व्याकुर्वाणैः **मोटाजिद्-विजयसूरि-जनार्दनव्यासैः** पक्षोऽयं संश्रितः।

४. चतुर्थतः **अमावास्यापक्षः**। **प्रथमदिवसे** इति पाठमनुसृत्यापि प्रथमशब्दस्य कर्षणाद्यनुगुणत्वात् प्रधानार्थवाचकत्वं व्याचक्षणेन **चारित्रवर्धनेनायमपि** पक्षः पिशुनितः।

वस्तुतस्तु प्रथमदिवसपदेनान्तिमतिथिबोधनं चारित्रवर्धनव्याख्यानचातुर्यं प्रथयप्रशमयोरापोषणं कुरुते ।

५. अन्ततः **अवसानादिवसपक्षः**। **प्रशमदिवसे** इति पाठमभ्युपेत्य प्रशमशब्दस्यावसानार्थसमर्पकत्वं व्याकुर्वता **वल्लभदेवेनायं** पक्षः समर्थितः। **शाश्वतेन** च पक्षोऽयमुपाश्रितः।

सुमनःश्रियापि भोटानुवादे (*rdzogs pahi ñin la*) इत्यनेन प्रशमदिवसे इति पाठ आस्थितः ।

आस्तां तावत् सुविदितं पक्षपञ्चकम् । अधुना पुनर्विचारे प्रवर्तेमहि ।

प्रथमदिवसे प्रशमदिवसे चेति संदिह्यमानं पाठद्वन्द्वं “ प्रत्यासन्ने नभसि दयिताजीविताल‍म्बनार्थी जीमूतेन स्वकुशलमयीं हारयिष्यन् प्रवृत्तिम् ” [१.४] “ शापान्तो मे भुजगशयनादुत्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ शेषान् मासान् गमय चतुरो लोचने मीलयित्वा । पश्चादावां विरहगुणितं तं तमात्मा-

भिलाषं निर्वेक्ष्यावः परिणतशरच्चन्द्रिकासु क्षपासु " [२.४७] इति मूलग्रन्थप्रमाणद्वयानुषक्तम् एतत्प्रमाणद्वयविश्लेषणेनैव समीचीनः पाठो निर्णेष्यते ।

कार्तिक्याः शुक्लद्वादश्या एव यक्षस्य वर्षभोग्यः शापकाल आरब्धः । तस्यास्तिथेराषाढीं शुक्लदशमीं यावदष्टौ चान्द्रा मासा व्यतीताः । प्रबोधन्यां च शापावसानम् ।

अतः शयन्याः प्रबोधनीं यावत् शिष्टाश्चत्वारश्चान्द्रामासा विष्णुशयनकालेनैव संगच्छन्ते ।

शयनी च समासन्नं वर्षणकालं सूचयति । कतितिथिभ्य ऊर्ध्वम् आषाढ्याः कृष्णदशम्याः कृष्णत्रयोदशीं यावदम्बुवाची । ततोऽमावास्यानन्तरं नभ आरम्भः । श्रावणो भाद्रश्चेति मासद्वयं वर्षणकालः । तत आश्विनः कार्तिकश्चेति मासौ शरत्कालः । प्रबोधन्याः परं परिणतशरच्चन्द्रिकासु क्षपासु यक्षस्य वध्वा पुनर्मेलनम् । यक्षेण चान्द्रगणना कृतेति स्फुटम् । अतः सौरगणनाक्लेशो मुधा ।

अतः कल्याण्यां शयन्यामेव कामी यक्षो रामगिरिकूटे पिण्डायमानम् अम्बुगर्भं मेघं ददर्श । मेघालोकश्च विप्रलम्भशृङ्गाररसस्य शापजप्रवासे यक्षस्योन्माददशायामुद्दीपनविभाव एव । प्रत्यासन्ने नभसि धारासारो यक्षवध्वा दुर्भरं विरहज्वरं प्रवर्ध्य मूर्छां मृतिं चावहेदि-त्याशङ्क्य व्याकुलो यक्षः सति रतिच्छेदे करुणपर्यवसानममङ्गलं परिहर्तुमन्यापन्नां स्ववधूं, भर्तुः कुबेरस्य शापेनास्तंगमितगगनगमनमहिमा सन् रामगिरेः क्रमेणोत्तरस्यामलकायां यक्षालयपर्यन्तगामिना मेघेनैव स्वकुशलमयप्रवृत्तिप्रेषणेन अचिरभाविपुनर्मेलनाशया च समाश्वासयितुमियेष । यक्षेणालकायां स्ववधूसमीपे मेघस्य दौत्यायोपच्छन्दमित्यहो मनोरमो भ्रान्तिमानलङ्कारः ।

शुभसन्देशप्रेषणाय तावदाषाढी शयनी सर्वथोचिता प्रतिभाति । अस्यां माङ्गलिक्यां तिथौ शृंगारदैवतश्रीविष्णुनामस्मरणेन पापक्षयकरप्रायश्चितेन दम्पत्योः पुनर्मेलनं निश्चीयते ।

अतो यक्ष आषाढस्य शुक्लायां प्रथमैकादश्यां शयन्यां प्रावृषेण्यं मेघं ददर्शेति निर्णयात् " प्रथमदिवसे " इति पाठः साधीयानिति सिद्धान्तयामः । चारित्रवर्धनेन चायं पक्ष उपन्यस्तः । किन्तु आषाढादिकार्तिकान्ताश्चत्वारो वार्षिका मासा इति तस्य व्याख्यानं प्रकृते नोपपद्यते – परिणतशरच्चन्द्रिकासु क्षपासु पुनर्मेलनासम्भवात् ।

नान्यत् किमपि व्याख्यानं प्रस्तुते उपयुज्यते – शिष्टशापकालस्य ह्रासेन वर्धनेन वा समाश्वासनवैयर्थ्यापत्तेः ।

अतः " प्रशमदिवसे " इति पाठो नैव युज्यते । देवनागरलिप्यां थकार-शकारयोराकृतिसाम्यदर्शनान् मुग्धैर्लिपिकैर्भ्रमात् प्रथमशब्दस्थाने प्रशमशब्दः पठित इत्युत्प्रेक्षितुं शक्यते । स चायमपपाठः टीकाकृद्भिरनुवादकैश्च स्वीकृत इति शम् ॥

शाब्दबोधः

अनन्तरामशास्त्री घाणेकर, ग्वालियर

शाब्दबोधस्तावत् न्यायादिदर्शनेषु अभेदान्वय-भेदान्वयभेदेन प्रतिपादितः । तथाहि तार्किकशिरोमणिभिः श्रीगदाधरभट्टाचार्यैः स्वीये व्युत्पत्तिवादे " शाब्दबोधे चैकपदार्थे " इत्यादिना ग्रन्थारम्भं कृत्वा अभेदान्वय एव विस्तरेण प्रथमतो वर्णितः । तथापि वैयाकरणैरभेदस्य संसर्गत्वानङ्गीकारेण केवलमत्र भेदसंसर्ग एव विचारितः । (अभेदस्य संसर्गत्वे संयोगादिवत् तस्यापि विशेष्यविशेषणभावनियामकसम्बन्धान्तरत्वकल्पने गौरवात् ।) अत एव ' आद्यन्तवत् ' -सूत्रे राहोः शिर इत्यादौ षष्ठ्युपपादनाय व्यपदेशिवद्भाव इति भाष्य उक्तम् । किंच तस्य सम्बन्धत्वे नीलो घट इत्यादौ षष्ठ्यापत्तिः । भेदसम्बन्ध एव षष्ठी इत्यर्थस्य सूत्रतोऽलाभात् । न चाकाङ्क्षालभ्यः स इति वाच्यम् । तस्य वाक्यार्थत्वेन वाक्यशक्तिलभ्यत्वात् । अत एव प्रातिपदिकार्थसूत्रे वीरः पुरुष इत्यत्र विशेष्यविशेषणभावस्याधिकस्य प्रतीत्या प्रथमा न प्राप्नोतीत्याशङ्क्य यदत्राधिकं स वाक्यार्थ इति समाहितम् । अपिच अभेदस्य संसर्गत्वे – कृत्तद्धितसमासेभ्यः सम्बन्धाभिधानं भावप्रत्ययेन इति सिद्धान्तात् – राजपौरुष्यमितिवत् नीलोत्पलत्वमित्यादौ तदभिधानापत्तेः । तस्मात् अभेदान्वय इत्यस्य संसर्गानवच्छिन्नविशेष्यविशेषणभावः इत्येवार्थः । नीलो घट इत्यस्य नीलविशिष्टो घटः इत्येवार्थः । केवलं विशेष्यविशेषणभाव एव । नत्वभेदसंसर्गको बोधः ।

भेदान्वयश्च– तण्डुलं पचति चैत्र इत्यादौ । अत्रेत्थं पदार्थव्यवस्था । तण्डुलपदार्थः प्रसिद्ध एव । तदुत्तरामर्थः प्राचीनमते– आश्रयः । नव्यमते– कर्मत्वशक्तिमान्, क्रियाकारकभावसंबंधश्च । आद्यो द्योत्यार्थः । द्वितीयो वाच्यार्थः । क्रियाकारकभावस्य विभक्त्यर्थत्वेऽपि संसर्गत्वेन भानं लाघवात् । तदुक्तं समर्थसूत्रे भाष्ये– राज्ञः पुरुष इत्यादौ राजपुरुषयोः संबंधस्य षष्ठी वाचिका । कष्टंश्रित इत्यत्र क्रियाकारकयोरभिसंबंधस्य द्वितीया वाचिका । एवं च विभक्त्यर्थस्य संसर्गत्वमेव स्वीक्रियत इति । पच्धात्वर्थो विक्लित्त्यनुकूलो व्यापारः । तिबर्थः–कर्ता–वर्तमानत्वमेकत्वं च । तत्र वर्तमानत्वं व्यापारे । संख्या च कर्तरि अन्वेति । समभिव्याहृतचैत्रादिपदार्थेन समं कर्तुरभेदान्वयः । भावप्रधानमाख्यातमित्यादिनिरुक्तप्रामाण्येन वैयाकरणमते व्यापारमुख्यविशेष्यकः शाब्दबोधः । तथा च तण्डुलनिष्ठविक्लित्त्यनुकूलश्चैत्राभिन्नैककर्तृको वर्तमानो व्यापार इति शाब्दबोधः कर्तृप्रत्ययसमभिव्याहारे । पूर्वोक्तनिरुक्तप्रामाण्यात् कर्मप्रत्ययस्थलेऽपि व्यापारमुख्यविशेष्यक एव शाब्दबोध इति प्राचीनवैयाकरणाः । नव्यास्तु कर्मकृदन्ते पक्वस्तण्डुल इत्यादौ फलस्य व्यापारं प्रति प्राधान्यं दृष्टमिति कर्मतिङन्तेऽपि तस्यैव (फलस्यैव) मुख्यविशेष्यत्वं युक्तमित्याहुः । अत्र प्रमाणं तु " सुप आत्मनः क्यच् " इति सूत्रस्थं भाष्यमेव। तत्र हि इष्यते पुत्रः, इष्टपुत्र इत्यर्थे पुत्रीयतीति न प्रयोगः भिन्नार्थत्वात्, किन्तु पुत्रमिच्छतीत्यर्थ एव । वाक्ये फलं विशेष्यम् । वृत्तौ तु व्यापार इति भिन्नार्थत्वं कैयटेनोक्तम् । इत्थं च भावनाजन्यैकाश्रयिका वर्तमाना विक्लित्तिरिति कर्मप्रत्ययस्थले बोधः ।

भाट्टमीमांसकमते – फलानुकूलो व्यापारो धात्वर्थः। आख्यातार्थो भावनापरपर्याया कृतिः। तादृशाख्यातार्थमुख्यविशेष्यकः शाब्दबोधः। मण्डनमिश्रमते तु वीक्लित्त्यादिरूपं फलमेव धात्वर्थः। तदनुकूलफूत्कारादिरूपो व्यापारसंघस्तु सर्वोऽपि व्यापारत्वेन प्रत्ययार्थः। फलस्य च तं प्रति प्रकारत्वम्।

नैयायिकमते – फलानुकूलो व्यापारो धात्वर्थः। आख्यातार्थः कृतिः। यत्नो वा। यत्नार्थककरोतिना विवरणात्। कृतौ शक्तिस्वीकारे लाघवाच्च। कृतिमतः कर्तृत्वेन तत्र शक्तौ गौरवात्। प्रथमान्तपदेनैव तल्लाभाच्च। "प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ सहार्थं ब्रूतः" इति न्यायेन आख्यातार्थे धात्वर्थो विशेषणम्। आख्यातार्थः प्रथमान्तार्थे विशेषणम्। अनुकूलत्वमाश्रयत्वं च संसर्गः। तथाच तण्डुलं पचति चैत्र इत्यत्र तण्डुलनिष्ठविक्लित्त्यनुकूलव्यापारानुकूलकृतिमाँश्चैत्र इति प्रथमान्तार्थमुख्यविशेष्यकः शाब्दबोधः। रथो गच्छतीत्यादौ व्यापारे, आश्रयत्वे वा लक्षणा। जानातीत्यादावाश्रयत्वे, नश्यतीत्यादौ प्रतियोगित्वे च निरूढा लक्षणा। चैत्रेण सुप्यते। गगनेन स्थीयत इत्यादि भावाख्यातस्थले तु न प्रथमान्तार्थविशेष्यकः, किन्तु आख्यातार्थविशेष्यक एव शाब्दबोध इति तार्किकाः।

(१) अत्रैवं विचारणीयम् – कृतेराख्यातार्थत्वे युष्मदस्मदोर्लकारेण सामानाधिकरण्याभावात् पुरुषव्यवस्थानापत्तेः। पचन्तं चैत्रं पश्य, पचते देवदत्ताय देहीत्यादौ शतृशानजादीनामपि तिबादिवल्लादेशत्वेन तेभ्यः कृतिमात्रबोधापत्तेः। न चेष्टापत्तिः, आश्रयत्वसंबंधेनान्वयस्य सुलभत्वात् इति वाच्यम् नामार्थयोरभेदान्वयबोध इति व्युत्पत्तिभंगापत्तेः। एतद्दोषपरिहाराय शत्रादीनां कर्तरिशक्तिः। तिबादीनां कृतावेवेत्युच्यते, तर्हि स्थान्येव वाचको लाघवात्। आदेशानां बहुत्वेन तेषां वाचकत्वे गौरवमिति तार्तिकमते लकार एव सत्त्वेन शत्राद्यन्ते कर्तृबोधकत्वं तिबाद्यन्ते कृतिबोधकत्वमिति वैषम्ये बीजाभावात्। अन्यायश्चानेकार्थकत्वमिति न्यायात्।

(२) अपिच प्रथमान्तार्थमुख्यविशेष्यकशाब्दबोधांगीकारे "पश्य मृगो धावति" इत्यत्र दोषो दुरुद्धर एव। तथाहि–शाब्दिकनये पश्य मृगो धावति इत्यत्र मृगकर्तृकं धावनं दृशिक्रियायां कर्म। प्रधानं च दृशिक्रियैव। तथाच–मृगकर्तृकधावनकर्मकं प्रेरणाविषयीभूतं त्वत्कर्तृकं दर्शनमिति बोधः। तत्र मृगो धावतीत्यत्र विशेष्यभूत-धावनरूपार्थवाचकस्य धावतीत्यस्य प्रातिपदिकत्वाभावान्न द्वितीया। कर्मत्वं तु संसर्गमर्यादया भासते। एवं पचति भवतीत्यत्र पचिक्रियाकर्तृका सत्तेति बोधः। पच्यादयःक्रिया भवतिक्रियायाः कर्त्र्यो भवन्तीति भूवादिसूत्रस्थभाष्यात्। उक्तंच हरिणा–

सुबन्तं हि यथानेकं सुबन्तस्य विशेषणम्
तथा तिङन्तमप्याहुस्तिङन्तस्य विशेषणम्। इति।

तार्किकमते तु – अन्यदेशसंयोगानुकूलधावनानुकूलकृतिमन्मृगकर्मकं प्रेरणाविषयीभूतं यद्दर्शनं तदनुकूलकृतिमाँस्त्वमिति बोधः। तत्र विशेष्यभूतार्थवाचकमृगशब्दस्य प्रातिपदिकत्वात्, दृशिक्रियाकर्मत्वाच्च द्वितीयापात्तौ धावन्तं मृगं पश्येतिवत् पश्य मृगं धावतीत्यापत्तेः। अप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे शतृशानचोर्नित्यत्वादेवं प्रयोगविलयापत्तेश्च। ननु विशिष्टार्थवाचकस्य धावति मृग इति वाक्यस्य, तदर्थस्य वा कर्मत्वेऽपि पृथक् मृग इत्यस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य कर्मत्वाभावान्न द्वितीयेति चेन्न। अनभिहित इत्यधिकार सूत्रप्रकरणे अभिधानं च तिङ्कृत्तद्धितसमासैः इत्येतत्परिगणन-

प्रत्याख्यानभाष्यरीत्या द्वितीयापत्तेः । तत्रहि–परिगणनाभावेऽपि कटोऽपि कर्म, भीष्मादयोऽपीत्युक्तं भाष्ये । तत्र कटनिष्ठकर्मत्वोक्तावपि भीष्मत्वादिगुणविशिष्टकर्मत्वानुक्तेः । तस्मात् द्वितीयेति तदाशयः । एवमिहापि धावति मृग इत्यत्रोभयोः कर्मत्वे धावतीत्यस्य प्रातिपदिकत्वाभावात्, विशेषणत्वेनान्यत्र निराकांक्षत्वाच्च द्वितीयोत्पत्त्यभावेऽपि मृगशब्दात् द्वितीया दुर्वारैव ।

शाब्दिकनये तु धावनक्रियाविशेषणत्वेन इतरार्थे निराकांक्षत्वात् मृगशब्दान्न द्वितीया । तार्किकमते तु विशेष्यार्थवाचकात् मृगशब्दात् राज्ञः पुरुषमानयेतिवत् द्वितीया दुर्वारैव । नच पश्य इत्यत्र तमिति कर्माध्याहार्यम् । वाक्यभेदप्रसंगात् । उत्कटधावनक्रियाविषयस्यैव दर्शनकर्मतयाऽन्वयस्य प्रतिपिपादयिषितत्वात् । अध्याहारेऽनन्वयापत्तेश्च । नच तार्किकमतेऽपि न द्वितीयापत्तिः । धावनक्रियाविशिष्टमृगस्यैव कर्मतासंबंधेन दृशिक्रियायामन्वयो न तु केवलमृगस्य । विशिष्टस्य शुद्धादनतिरेकेऽपि मृगत्वावच्छिन्नविषयत्वापेक्षया धावनविशिष्टमृगत्वावच्छिन्नविषयताया भिन्नत्वात् इति वाच्यम् । नीलादिविशिष्टघटादेः कर्मत्वबोधे नीलं घटमित्यत्र द्वितीयानापत्तेः प्रथमापत्तेश्च ।

(३) अपिच – शाब्दिकनये कर्तृकर्मणोराख्यातार्थत्वे समानाभिधानश्रुतेर्वाक्यापेक्षया बलवत्त्वात् आख्यातार्थसंख्यायाः समानपदोपात्तकर्तृकर्मणोरेवान्वयो भवति । तार्किकमते तु संख्याया एकपदोपात्तयोरेकार्थान्वयित्वन्यायेन प्रथमान्तार्थ एवान्वयात् - आख्यातार्थसंख्याप्रकारकबोधे प्रथमान्तपदजन्योपस्थितिः कारणमिति कार्यकारणभावो वाच्यः । सोऽपि चन्द्र इव मुखं दृश्यते, देवदत्तो भुक्त्वा व्रजतीत्यादौ चन्द्रक्त्वार्थयोराख्यातार्थानन्वयादितराविशेषणत्वघटित इत्यतिगौरवम् । अत आख्यातार्थः कर्तृकर्मणी । धात्वर्थभावनामुख्यविशेष्यकः शाब्दबोध इति सर्वं सुस्थमिति वैयाकरणमतनिष्कर्षः ।

भेदान्वयविषये–प्रकारता–संसर्गतावादावपि विचारितौ विस्तरेण गदाधरभट्टाचार्यैः स्वीये ग्रन्थे । दिङ्मात्रमिह प्रदर्श्यंते । राजा पुरुष इत्यादौ भेदान्वयबोधवारणाय–नामार्थनिष्ठभेदसंबंधावच्छिन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितविशेष्यतासंबंधेन शाब्दबोधं प्रति विशेष्यतयाप्रत्ययजन्योपस्थितिः कारणमिति कार्यकारणकल्पनेन राज्ञः पुरुष इत्यादौ राजनिरूपितषष्ठ्यर्थस्वत्वप्रकारकपुरुषविशेषकः शाब्दबोधो भवति । अयमेव प्रकारतावादः । विभक्त्यर्थस्य प्रकारतया भानमिति तात्पर्यम् । नामार्थनामार्थयोरिति व्युत्पत्तिमनादृत्य राज्ञः पुरुष इत्यत्र राज्ञः स्वत्वसंबंधेन साक्षात् पुरुष अन्वय एव संसर्गतावादः । स्वत्वं संसर्गतया भासतेऽपदार्थत्वात् । विभक्तिः साधुत्वार्था इत्यभिप्रायः । वैयाकरणैस्तु षष्ठ्यर्थस्य पदार्थत्वेऽपि पूर्वोक्तसमर्थसूत्रस्थभाष्यात् संसर्गत्वमेवाङ्गीकृतं न प्रकारत्वमिति विशेषः । पदोपस्थितस्य प्रकारत्वमेवेति न नियमः, अपितु पदादनुपस्थितस्य प्रकारत्वमित्येव नियमः । राजपुरुष इत्यादिसमासे तु लुप्तविभक्तिस्मरणं विनापि शाब्दबोधोदयेन राजपदस्य संबंधिनि लक्षणायामभेदान्वय इति तार्किकाः । वैयाकरणैस्तु विशिष्ट एकार्थीभावस्वीकारेण न परस्परमन्वयः, किन्तु समुदायशक्त्या (अवयवशक्तिसहकृतया) राजनिरूपितस्वत्ववान् पुरुष इति बोध इति संक्षेपः ।

महाकवि-नीलकण्ठदीक्षितानाम् अमुद्रितं काव्यं

मुकुन्दविलासम्

के. रा. जोशी, नागपूर

महाकविना श्रीनीलकण्ठदीक्षितेन रचितं मुकुन्दविलासकाव्यं नाद्यापि मुद्रापितं तिष्ठति। तस्य काचित् अपूर्णा प्रतिलिपिः थिऑसफिकल सोसायटीद्वारा प्रवर्तिते मद्रासवर्तिनि अड्यारग्रन्थालये एल. टी. आर. ३२८ इति क्रमाङ्केन चिह्निता उपलभ्यते। अस्यां प्रतिलिप्यां प्रथम-द्वितीय-तृतीयसर्गाः पूर्णाः, चतुर्थसर्गस्य तु केवलाः १५ श्लोकाः एव निर्दिष्टाः सन्ति। श्लोकसंख्या सर्गक्रमेण ७६, ८५, ८०, १५ च इति षट्पन्चाशदधिकद्विशतमिता तिष्ठति। अनेनैव महाकविना रचिते नलचरितनाटके सूत्रधारेण नाटककर्तुः ‘अयं तु मुकुन्दविलासकाव्यस्य निबन्द्धा’ (न. च. १-३) इति शब्दैः कृतः निर्देशः लभ्यते। अतः नीलकण्ठदीक्षितेन इदं मुकुन्दविलासकाव्यं नलचरितनाटकपूर्वं रचितं सत् विख्यातमासीत् इति अनुमितं भवति। अतः अस्य काव्यस्य पूर्णा प्रतिलिपिः क्वचित् उपलब्धा स्यात् इति कल्पने बाधा नास्ति।

नीलकण्ठविजयचम्प्वनन्तरं निर्मितिः

स्वीये नीलकण्ठविजयनाम्नि चम्पूकाव्ये श्रीहरिहरयोः ऐकात्म्यं कविना वर्णितम्। एतच्चम्पूगतं श्रीविष्णुवर्णनं मुकुन्दविलासगतमङ्गलश्लोकगतेन वर्णनेन तुल्यं भासते। नीलकण्ठविजयचम्प्वां ब्रह्मदेवः अम्बिकानिर्माल्यसमुल्लङ्घनापराधं दूरे कर्तुं समुपायं ब्रूते – नारायणीप्रसादतिरस्कारजोऽयमपराधो नारायणीयप्रसादपुरस्कारेण समाधेय इति। तथाहि

यदेतद्वामाङ्गं घनजघनकेशस्तनभरं।
कदाचित्तच्छम्भोर्भवति कमलाकौस्तुभधरम्॥ (नी. च. २.२०)

मुकुन्दविलसस्थं मङ्गलस्मरणं तु इत्थं विद्यते—

श्रीकान्तवेधोगिरिशास्त्रयोऽपि श्रीगर्भकोशे शयिता यदीये।
तामद्वयानन्दचिदेकरूपां शैवीं परां शक्तिमनुस्मरामः॥
नारायणीयेति श्रुतिमङ्गलेन नाम्ना यदाविष्कृतमागमेषु।
तत्पौरुषं तामरसायताक्षं तस्यास्तुमो रूपमशेषरूपम्॥ मु. वि. सर्ग १

उभयत्र सच्चिदानन्दस्वरूपा शिवशक्तिः गृहीतविष्णुरूपा इति भावना समा। नीलकण्ठदीक्षितैः शिवोत्कर्षपरं चम्पूकाव्यं विरचय्य नारायणीस्वरूपस्य शिववामाङ्गस्य श्रीविष्णोः वर्णनं मुकुन्दविलासरचनया विहितम्। तदर्थम् अधर्मनाशकः धर्मसंस्थापकः पूर्णावतारः भगवान् श्रीकृष्णः काव्यनायकत्वेन परिगृहीतः। मुकुन्दविलासेति काव्यसंज्ञातः कंसस्य खलनायकत्वेन च विशेषवर्णनतः समुपलब्धकथाभागतः च कंसवधान्तमिदं काव्यं स्यादिति तर्कः न खलु अप्रसन्नः स्यात्। प्रकृतकविरचितगङ्गावतरणकाव्यवत् इदमपि अष्टसर्गात्मकं स्यात्।

कथाविस्तरः- प्रथमः सर्गः—

उत्तरस्यां दिशि वर्तते मेरुपर्वतः । तत्रत्यायां देवसभायां पृथ्वी देवैः सह ब्रह्मदेवं शरणमुपगता । ब्रह्मदेवः सर्वैः सह श्रीविष्णुं प्राप्तः । श्रीविष्णुना कुशले पृष्टे पृथिवी स्वखेदं निवेदितवती । ततः अवतारग्रहणसंकल्पेन श्रीविष्णुना सा समाश्वासिता ।

द्वितीयः सर्गः—

अस्ति खलु मधुरानाम्नी विशाला, समृद्धा, सविमाना, उद्यानशोभिता मोक्षपुरी। तत्रासीत् राजा धर्मात्मा नाम्ना उग्रसेनः । राजा स्ववृद्धत्वे स्वपुत्रं कंसं सिंहासने प्रतिष्ठापयामास । दुःस्वभावेन कंसस्य सर्वत्र महाक्षोभः प्रासरत् । उग्रसेनेन स्वकन्या देवकी वसुदेवाय दत्ता । वरयात्रासमये अष्टमः देवकीपुत्रः त्वां हन्यादिति आकाशवाण्या देवकीं हन्तुं समुद्यतः कंसः वसुदेवेन युक्त्या निवारितः । ततः कारागृहे वधुवरौ कृतनिगडौ । तयोः षट् पुत्राः कंसेन निर्दयं हताः । सप्तमः गर्भः मायया रोहिण्याः उदरे स्थापितः ।

तृतीयः सर्गः —

भगवतः कृष्णस्य अवतारः । तस्य गोकुले नयनम् ।

चतुर्थः सर्गः—

गोकुले कृष्णजन्मोत्सवः ।

मुकुन्दविलासस्य रचनाकालः—

नीलकण्ठविजयचम्प्वनन्तरं मुकुन्दविलासकाव्यं कविना रचितं स्यादिति संभावयामः । नीलकण्ठविजयचम्पूः कविना

> अष्टत्रिंशदुपस्कृतसप्तशताधिकचतुः सहस्रेषु ।
> कलिवर्षेषु गतेषु रचितः किल नीलकण्ठविजयोऽयम् ॥

इति निर्देशम् अनुसृत्य ख्रैस्ते १६३७ मिते वर्षे रचितः भवति । मधुरावर्तिनां प्रासादानां चारुवर्णनं दक्षिणस्यां मधुरायां निवसतो नीलकण्ठदीक्षितस्य स्वानुभवमिति पश्यामः। ततः १६३७ मिते ख्रिस्ताब्दे नी. वि. चम्पूरचनानन्तरं समतीतेषु कतिपयवर्षेषु मुकुन्दविलासं रचितं स्यादिति मतिर्भवति । तथाहि १६३७ मिते वत्सरे मधुरानगरी न खलु पाण्ड्यदेशे राजधानीपदम् अलंकरोति स्म । तिरुमलनायकः स्वं शासनं तदा त्रिचनापलीतः प्रवर्तयामास । पश्चात् कतिपयवर्षानन्तरं मधुरां राजधानीं कृत्वा सः राज्यं शशास । अयं परिवर्तः १६४० तः १६४४ मिते कालखण्डे अभूद् इति ऐतिह्यविदः चिन्तयन्ति (नायकाज ऑफ मदुरा–सत्यनाथ अय्यर) । तदानीं मधुरां राजधानीत्वेन कर्तुं शिल्परचनाकोविदः तिरुमलनायकः विविधैः शिल्पकर्मभिः तां नवयोगभूषितां विधाय मधुरायाः सौन्दर्यम् उपयोगितां च वर्धयामास । अद्यत्वे शेषः राजसभाभवनांशः सर्वथा रमणीयस्य प्रासादस्य सौन्दर्यं सूचयति । तेन सुन्दरेश्वरमीनाक्षीमन्दिरे नवयोगार्थं रचितानि शिल्पकर्माणि वसन्तमण्डपो वा अद्यापि नयनोत्सवं जनयन्ति । इदं सर्वं मधुरावासिभिः श्रीदीक्षितैः साक्षात्कृतम् आसीत् । अतः मुकुन्दविलासे वर्णितानि मधुराभवानि

सप्तभूमिकानि हर्म्याणि, उत्तुङ्गगोपुराणि, विशालाः पन्थानः, रमणीयान्युद्यानानि, ऋद्धाः पण्यवीथिकाः, सुखिनः कलाकोविदाः धर्मप्रियाः नागरिकाः नूनं वस्तुभूताः इति मतिर्भवति। अतः मुकुन्दविलासं खिस्तवर्षं १६३७ तः अनन्तरं १६४४ तः च पूर्वं रचितं भवेदिति प्रतीमः।

काव्यमूलम्—

प्रकृतकाव्यं श्रीमद्भागवतकथांशमाधारीकृत्य रचितमिति पश्यामः। श्रीमद्भागवते- दशमस्कन्धे आद्याध्यायत्रये वर्तमानेन कथांशेन संप्रत्युपलब्धः काव्यांशः संवदति। कथासूत्रं केवलं मूलग्रन्थतः स्वीकृत्य तत्र समुचितानां नैकेषां प्रसङ्गानां विस्तरेण रसमये चित्रणे कवेः विशेषः प्रकाशते। पृथिवी ब्रह्मदेवं शरणं गच्छति इति प्रसङ्गः श्लोकद्वयमात्रेण चित्रितः (भा. स्क. १० अ. १ श्लोक १७-१८) परं मुकुन्दविलासे पृथिव्याः गमनस्य ब्रह्मदेवेन सह तस्याः भाषणस्य च किमपि सरसं वर्णनं कविना निबद्धम्।

अलकाविजयिनी मधुरा—

कालिदासेन अलकानगरी वर्णिता मेघदूते। तद्वतं वर्णनं मुकुन्दविलासे १ तः ३० मितश्लोकपर्यन्तं कृतेन मधुरावर्णनेन तुलयितुं शक्यम्। कालिदासवर्णिता अलका समृद्धा सती भोगभूमिः अस्ति। मधुरा यद्यपि भोगसमृद्धा विलासप्रिया च तथापि सा धर्माविरुद्धौ अर्थकामौ साधयतां नागरिकाणां निवासस्थलमिति मोक्षपुरी अस्ति।

काशी पुरस्तादिति दक्षिणस्यां काञ्चीपुरी द्वारवती परस्तात्।
मायोत्तरस्यामिति मध्यदेशे राज्ञी परा सैव तु मुक्तिदानाम्॥ (मु. २.२७)

अलकायाः साक्षादुल्लेखं कृत्वा नी० दीक्षितः वर्णितवान् –

यावद्धनं यक्षपतेः पुरासीदद्यापि चाहुर्ननु तावदेव।
अतो वृधा(था) भूरलकेति वेश्या हसन्ति नित्योपचिता यदीयाः। २.१८

मधुराया स्वर्भूसंगमः —

स्वर्लोकभोग्यादपि सुन्दराणि वस्तूनि लभ्यानि यदापणेषु।
स्वर्भोग एव स्वयमीप्सितश्चेत्सोऽप्यत्र तोयव्ययमात्रलभ्यः॥ २.१२

प्रासादानाम् उत्तुङ्गतां सूचयितुं तैः विमानभङ्गाः वर्णिताः —

सौधाग्रघातात् पतितान् यदीयरथ्यासु दृष्ट्वा शतशो विमानान्।
कर्मान्तिकाः श्रद्दधते न विश्वकर्माणमप्यादिगुरुं मयं वा॥

समर्थाः नागरिकाः —

क्रीणन्ति कैवल्यमपीह विप्राः क्रीणन्ति वैश्या धनदं च दासम्।
क्रीणन्ति साक्षात् कुसुमास्त्रमेव वाराङ्गना वाग्भिरपाङ्गितैर्वा॥ २.२८

मेरुपर्वतः—

मेरुप्रदेशः नाम उत्तरध्रुवस्थानम्। सर्वेषामेव वर्षाणां मेरुरुत्तरतः स्थितः इति प्रसिद्धिः। कालिदासकृतेन कुमारसंभवगतेन हिमालयवर्णनेन नीलकण्ठकृतं मेरुवर्णनं यथायथत्वम्, अपूर्वप्रतिभामयत्वं वा विशेषं मनसि कृत्य तुलयितुं शक्यम्। नीलकण्ठदीक्षितः मेरुपर्वतं वर्णयन् प्राह—

निर्मातुकामो भवनानि वेधा निधाय मन्ये किलशङ्कुमेनम् ।
पाशं यमादौ पुरतश्चकर्ष जम्बूनदी सा जलधिं प्रविष्टा ॥ १.२१

कालिदासेन कुमारसंभवे ' पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधी वगाह्य स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः ' देवतात्मा, हिमालयः, यथा वर्णितः तथा स्वर्भूसंगमयोजको मेरुः नीलकण्ठेन वर्णितः ।

आस्ते भुवो भूषणमद्रिराजः सर्वोत्तरो मेरुरिति प्रतीतः ।
अधित्यका यस्य पुरी सुराणामुपत्यका सागरनेमिरूर्वी ॥ (१–४)

उभयोः अर्धदिव्यं स्वरूपं समानं प्रतीयते ।

मेरोः सुवर्णमयत्वं (मु. १.१३), तदीयं पार्थिवतैजसत्वं (मु. १.१४), षण्मासमिता दिवसाः षण्मासमिताः रात्रयः (१.२६), तत्रत्यः सन्धिप्रकाशः इति सर्वं मननीयमास्ते ।

ब्रह्मदेवं गता पृथिवी—

मुकुन्दविलासे पृथ्वी ब्रह्मदेवं शरणं गच्छतीति प्रतिपादयितुं कविना कृतं वर्णनं संयमेन, औचित्येन, प्रमाणेन च युक्तं पश्यामः ।

चरितचित्रणम्—

मुकुन्दविलासगतानि सर्वाण्येव व्यक्तिचित्राणि सरसानि । पृथिव्याः व्यथाः (मु. १.५० तः ५८), ब्रह्मदेवस्य दयालुता (मु. १.४९), श्रीविष्णोः गरिमा (मु. १.६९, ७०), वृद्धस्योग्रसेनस्य परिस्थितिहतत्वम्, कंसस्य क्रूरत्वम् (मु. ३.५७), वसुदेवस्य चातुर्यं, नन्दस्य आनन्दः वा कविना कौशलेन वर्णितः ।

मानवोचितचित्रणम्—

मनुष्येषु नहि सर्वदा कोऽपि क्रूरः सर्वदा वा दयालुः अस्ति । कंसः क्रूरहृदयः परं तस्य भगिनीप्रेम कविना वर्णितं कुतूहली हर्षकृते भगिन्याः कंसः स्वयं सारथिकर्म चक्रे (२.५१)

संदर्शयन्निर्झरकन्दराणि संभावयन् जानपदोपहारैः ।
आनन्दयन् प्रेमकिरा गिरा तौ निनाय रम्येण पथा नृपालः ॥(२.५२)

वसुदेवः श्रीविष्णोः आज्ञया यदा नाम नवजातं शिशुं देवक्याः पुरतः अवालोकयत् तदा तस्य मनोद्वैधं कविना वर्णितम्—

समतिक्रमितुं हरेर्वचो सहसा नेतुमिमं च बालकम् ।
क्षणमप्रभविष्णुतां गतो वसुदेवः पुनराददे बलात् ॥ ३.५७

अपि स्वकालिकराजकीयोदन्तानां निर्देशः अस्ति ?

पुरातनाः कवयः विशेषतः संस्कृतकवयः प्रायेण देशसमाजस्थितिमनवदधानाः कल्पनाविश्वे अरमन्त इति प्रायो वादः । परं श्रीनीलकण्ठदीक्षिताः तत्र अन्यादृशाः इति लक्षयितुं वयं प्रभवामः ।

ब्रह्मदेवेन पृथिवीमुद्दिश्य कृताः प्रश्नाः, पृथिव्या प्रकाशिता स्वमनोव्यथा, उग्रसेनस्य वृद्धावस्था, उग्रसेनम् अगणयतः कंसस्य अविनयः तदानीन्तनीं देशस्थितिं सूचयन्ति । तदानीं

विजयनगरसाम्राज्ये अस्तं गते शेषेषु कतिपयेषु तदीयसामन्तराज्येषु प्रवृत्ताः कलहाः स्वैरशासनप्रवत्तिश्च अत्र सूचिताः इव भान्ति । तथाहि तदानीं परस्परं हिन्दुनृपेषु हिन्दुनृपैः यवननृपैश्च सह प्रवृत्तानि नैकानि युद्धानि कलहाश्च इतिहासग्रन्थेषु वृद्धभावमापन्नं पितरमगणयित्वा कारायामपि प्रक्षिप्य पुत्रः राजसिंहासनमङ्गीकरोतीति परंपरा उग्रसेनकंसकालतः अथवा ततोऽपि पुराणतरा इति वयं पश्यामः । स्वयं कालिदासेन रघुवंशे इयं प्रवृत्तिः सूचिता—

दुरितैरपि कर्तुमात्मसात् प्रयतन्ते नृपसूनवो हि यत् ।
तदुपस्थितमग्रदहीजो पितुराज्ञेति न भोगतृष्णया ॥ ६ ॥

तिरुमलस्य राज्यकाले उत्तरस्यां १६५८ मिते ख्रिस्ताब्दे शहाजहानं कारायां निक्षिप्य, दाराप्रभृतीन् भ्रातृन् हत्वा अवरंगजेबः राज्यसूत्रं स्वहस्ते जग्राहेति वृत्तान्तः प्रसिद्धः । परं तत्पूर्वमपि यवनानाम् इतिहासे राज्ञो वार्द्धक्ये इदं नैकवारं घटितं राजनि यमदूतायमानेन व्याधिना कवलिते । स्वयं राजनीतौ वर्तमानः नीलकण्ठदीक्षितः तथा कमपि वृत्तान्तं स्वयं ज्ञातवान् आसीद् इति मतिर्भवति । एवं तदानीं पूर्वं क्रमशः सिंहासनमधिरूढयोः पितृपुत्रयोः जहांगीरशहाजहानयोः चरितनिरीक्षणेन कमपि ज्ञानप्रकाशं लभामहे । अकबरराजः १६०५ मिते ख्रिस्तवत्सरे पैगंबरपदं गतः। तदनु युवराजः सलीमः जहांगीरपदं गृहीत्वा सिंहासनमलंचकार । अस्मिन् दिल्लीम् अधिशासति नूरजहानराज्ञी यैः यैः प्रयत्नैः षण्णां स्वसापत्नपुत्राणां नृशंसतया हनने बुद्ध्या प्रयतितवती ते प्रकाराः कंसेन षण्णां देवकीपुत्राणां नाशार्थं कृतैः प्रयत्नविशेषैः तुलामधिरोहन्ति । तदनन्तरं राज्ये उपस्थितः तदायतिः शहाजहानः राजनीतिगतायां नृशंसतायां पितरमपि अतिशेतेतराम् । (मुसलमानी रियासत, भाग २, पृ. १५९) (१) आरूढसार्वज्ञपदैः (२) हिंसानृतेर्ष्यारुचिभिः इति सविशेषं प्रयुक्तानि विशेषणानि तेषां विषये निःसंशयं प्रयोक्तुं शक्यानि । समकालिकयोः जहांगीरशहाजहानयोः ज्ञानं ध्रुवमेव श्रीनीलकण्ठानां अतः वयं संभावयामः यत् दिल्लीं निकषा स्थितं मथुरानगरं काव्यविषयत्वेन वर्णयितुं शक्यम् इति मुकुन्दविलासे साभिप्रायं वर्णनं कविना कृतम् । अपि च स्वैरं शासतां राज्ञां निर्देशं कर्तुं कविः ऐच्छत इति

दैत्येश्वरैः स्वीकृतराजवेषैः प्राप्तो भरो भारतवर्षसीम्नि । (मु. १.५२)

इति वर्णनेन वयं कल्पयितुं प्रभवामः ।

पृथिव्या कृते स्वपीडानिवेदने न खलु कस्यचन कंसादेः राजविशेषस्य निर्देशं वयं लभामहे अपितु सामान्यतया सर्वेषामेव राज्ञाम् । वस्तुतस्तु अग्रिमे कथाभागे कंसस्यैव शासनेन जनता भृशं पीडितेति वक्तव्ये पृथिवी सर्वेषामेव राज्ञां दोषघोषणां करोति इति काव्ये परस्परम् असङ्गतिं वर्णने पश्यामः । ततः कंसशासनं दुष्टशासनस्य निदर्शनमिति वर्णयितुं कविना संकल्पः कृतः आसीदिति स्फुटं प्रतीयते । दिल्लीवत् अन्यत्रापि अविनीताः राजानः वर्धन्ते इति कविः स्वयम् अपश्यत् । सर्वत्र दैत्याः एव प्रवर्तन्ते । ते गर्वोद्धताः विना कारणं युध्यमानाः जनधनं नाशयन्ति । सर्वज्ञंमन्यास्ते हिंसानृतेर्ष्यारुचयः । (मु. १.५२ तः ५६) एवमेव स्वदेशीयराज्यस्थितिवत् दिल्ली–विजापुर–गोवळकोंडाप्रभृति धनाढ्य–प्रबल–यवनराज्यतः समापततां शलभायमानानां यवनानां निपातेन उत्साद्यमानं समाजजीवनं प्रजादुरवस्था च तैः काव्ये संसूचिता इति वयं साक्षात्कुर्मः ।

त्रस्ता पृथिवी ब्रह्मदेवं विज्ञापयति—

दृष्टा न किं दानवदैत्यसंघाः प्रादुर्बभूवुः परमेकशस्ते ।
संप्रत्यसंख्या शलभा इवेमे भीहेतवे×कति संबभूवुः ॥ १.५३

राज्यशासनस्थविरोधेन यवनराज्ये हिन्दवः स्वीयानुत्सवानपि कर्तुं न प्राभवन् । निजामाधिष्ठितं हैद्राबादराज्यं पुरा अधितिष्ठन्तः जनाः अद्यापि तां दुःस्थितिं स्मरन्ति । कंसराज्ये देवानां जीवने तथा प्रसंगः कविना वर्णितः। कंसतस्तु चकिता गृहे गृहे गूढमुत्सवमवर्तयन्सुराः (मु ४.३) ।

बाह्यवेषः—

अस्मिन् काव्ये आरम्भे श्रीनारायणदीक्षितान् स्वपितृपादान् उद्दिश्य कविना वन्दनं प्रणीतम् । अप्पयदीक्षितानां निर्देशः आरम्भे नास्ति परं सर्गावसाने पुष्पिकायां स पूर्ववत् शोभते। अत्र प्रथमसर्गद्वये अत्र इन्द्रवज्रोपजात्योः वृत्तयोः निपुणः प्रयोगः । तृतीयसर्गे प्रसंगोचिता वियोगिनी तिष्ठति । चतुर्थसर्गे स्वागतावृत्तेन कृष्णजन्मनिवेदनम् । सर्गसमाप्तौ वसन्ततिलक–शिखरिणी–शार्दूलविक्रीडितानां मनोहरो विन्यासः ।

उपसंहारः—

प्रकृतमुकुन्दविलासकाव्यं खण्डितमुपलब्धमपि इन्द्रधनुःखण्डमिव नितान्तमनोहरं वर्तते । 'स स्वामी मम दैवतं तदितरो नाम्नाऽपि नाम्नायते' इति गर्जनया स्वं परमशैवत्वं साभिमानं घोषयन् श्रीनीलकण्ठदीक्षितः हरिहराभेदं कथं मन्यते इति काव्यम् इदं निवेदयति। नीलकण्ठदीक्षितस्य मनसि तदानीन्तनानां विविधराज्यशासनानां निरीक्षणेन उद्भूतः परिणामः तत्र तैः कृतं चिन्तनमत्र चित्रितं प्रस्तुतकाव्ये उपलभ्यते इति वयं पश्यामः । अपिच अस्य महापुरुषस्य मनः न खलु दक्षिणस्यां दिशि वर्तमानेन पाण्ड्यप्रदेशेन व्याप्तम् अपितु समग्रो भारतेदेशः तेषां चिन्ताविषयः आसीत् । हिंसारुचीनां, मत्सरानृतेर्ष्यापीडितानाम् अन्योन्यं विवदमानानां स्वेषां परेषाम् अवैदिकानां च यवनराजानां दुःशासनात् प्रजाः मोचयितुं धर्मस्थापकस्य प्रभोः आवाहने ते कथम् आकुला आसन्निति काव्येनानेन संसूचितं तिष्ठति इति अस्य काव्यखण्डस्य काव्यान्तरातिशायीविशेषः ॥

APPENDIX A

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETINGS

1. THE OLD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at the Vikram University, Ujjain, at 6.30 p. m. on October 25, 1972. The following members were present:

D. C. Sircar, S. Shankar Raju, Ramaranjan Mukherjee, Anantalal Thakur, Ram Gopal, V. Venkatachalam, C. B. Gupta, S. N. Gajendragadkar, M. F. Kanga, M. A. Mehendale, H. S. Shan, Jagannath Agrawal, and R. N. Dandekar. Dr. D. C. Sircar, General President, was in the chair.

The following business was transacted at the meeting —

(1) The General Secretary placed before the meeting the draft resolution of condolence to be moved at the Inaugural Session. It was duly adopted.

(2) Minutes of the various business meetings held on the occasion of the 25th Session, which had been already circulated, were formally adopted.

(3) The General Secretary presented the audited statements of accounts for the years 1969, 1970, and 1971 (see appendix B). They were duly adopted.

(4) It was resolved that Messrs Patki and Soman, Auditors, Poona, be appointed Auditors of the Conference for the years 1973 and 1974 and that they be paid a remuneration of Rs. 100/–for each year.

(5) The General Secretary reported that the following Volumes of the Proceeding of the AIOC were ready:

(i) Proceedings of the 24th Session, Varanasi : Rs. 45/–
(ii) Proceedings of the 25th Session, Jadavpur : Rs. 40/–

(6) The General Secretary placed before the meeting the reports of the referees for the Dr. V. Raghavan Prize. It was resolved that the Dr. V. Raghavan Prize for the 26th Session be awarded to Dr. Prasant Kumar Dasgupta.

(7) It was resolved that the Dr. V. Raghavan Prize for the 27th Session be awarded for a paper in the Vedic Section.

(8) The Executive Committee considered the letter from Dr. G. Ramakrishna, dated 14-12-1969, regarding the Proceedings of the Conference. It was resolved that the letter be recorded.

(9) The General Secretary placed before the Executive Committee the letter from Shri S. K. Jain, dated 12-11-1971, offering a prize for a paper in the Prakrit and Jainism Section. The General Secretary was authorised to take the necessary steps in the matter.

(10) The Executive Committee considered the letter, dated 14-9-1971, from Acharya Prabhakar Chatterji regarding the starting of the Āyurveda Section in the Conference and resolved that no such separate Section be started.

(11) It was resolved to recommend to the Council that the following ten persons, whose names had been suggested by the Local Committee, be co-opted as members of the Council:

1. Dr. Shiv Mangal Singh 'Suman' Vice-Chancellor
2. Shri V. Shankaran, Registrar
3. Dr. B. D. Sharma, Principal, P. G. B. T. College
4. Dr. B. L. Nigam, Principal, Madhav College
5. Dr. H. N. Sharma, Principal, Madhav Science College
6. Shri Upendra Pandey, Principal, Sanskrit College
7. Prof. Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya, Head, A. I. H. Culture
8. Dr. Brij Gopal Sharma, Madhav College
9. Shri Shriniwas Rath, Dept. of Sanskrit, Vikram University
10. Ku. Ajita Trivedi, Lecturer

(12) The Executive Committee made the necessary arrangements for the Sections whose President-elects were absent.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

D. C. SIRCAR
Chairman

2. THE COUNCIL

A meeting of the Council of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at the Vikram University, Ujjain, at 11.15 a. m. on 27th October 1972. Dr. D. C. Sircar, Gereral President, was in the chair.

The following business was transacted at the meeting —

(1) It was resolved to co-opt, as recommended by the Executive Committee (as per Rule 10. b. i), the following ten persons as members of Council:

1. Dr. Shiv Mangal Singh ‘Suman’ Vice-Chancellor
2. Shri V. Shankaran, Registrar
3. Dr. B. D. Sharma, Principal, P. G. B. T. College
4. Dr. B. L. Nigam, Principal, Madhav College
5. Dr. H. N. Sharma, Principal, Madhav Science College
6. Shri Upendra Pandey, Principal, Sanskrit College
7. Prof. Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya, Head, A. I. H. Culture
8. Dr. Brij Gopal Sharma, Madhav College
9. Shri Shriniwas Rath, Dept. of Sanskrit, Vikram University
10. Ku. Ajita Trivedi, Lecturer.

(2) The Council then proceeded to elect the eighteen members of the New Executive Committee. The Chairman nominated Messrs S. K. Guha and S. D. Laddu to act as scrutineers.

The meeting terminated after a vote of thanks to the Chair.

R. N. DANDEKAR	D. C. SIRCAR
General Secretary	*Chairman*

The following was the result of the election to the New Executive Committee. (The number of votes secured is given against each name.)

1.	Dandekar, R. N.	...	126
2.	Venkatachalam, V.	...	88
3,	Satyavrata	...	83
4.	Gupta, C. B.	...	79
5.	Agrawal, Jagannath	...	77
6.	Ram Gopal	...	77
7.	Raju, S. Shankar	...	74
8.	Shan, H. S.	...	73
9.	Upadhye, A. N.	...	73
10.	Mehendale, M. A.	...	61
11.	Mukherjee, Ramaranjan	...	59
12.	Jani, A. N.	...	58
13.	Gajendragadkar, S. N.	...	56
14.	Ghatage, A. M.	...	56
15.	Kanga, M. F.	...	56
16.	Thakur, Anant Lal	...	56
17.	Devasthali, G. V.	...	55
18.	Bapat, P. V.	...	53

R. N. DANDEKAR	D. C. SIRCAR
General Secretary	*Chairman*

3. THE NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the New Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at the Vikram University, Ujjain at 10 a. m. on 28th October 1972. The following members were present :

R. N. Dandekar, V. Venkatachalam, Satyavrata, C. B. Gupta, Jagannath Agrawal, Ram Gopal, S. Shankar Raju, H. S. Shan, M. A. Mehendale, Ramaranjan Mukherjee, A. N. Jani, S. N. Gajendragadkar, M. F. Kanga, and A. L. Thakur. Prof. M. F. Kanga was voted to the Chair.

The following business was transacted at the meeting ...

(1) The New Executive Committee unanimously elected the following Office-bearers :

General President : Prof. P. V. Bapat, Poona
Vice–President : Prof. Sukumar Sen, Calcutta
General Secretary : Prof. R. N. Dandekar
Joint Secretary : Prof. V. Venkatachalam
Treasurer : Prof. M. A. Mehendale

(2) It was resolved to co-opt the following persons on the New Executive Committee in the vacancies caused by the election of the Office-bearers :

B. R. Sharma, D. Malvania, S. A. Upadhyaya and H. C. Bhayani

The New Executive Committee thus formed consists of :

General President : Prof. P. V. Bapat, Poona
Vice–President : Prof. Sukumar Sen, Calcutta
General Secretary : Prof. R. N. Dandekar
Joint Secretary : Prof. V. Venkatachalam
Treasurer : Prof. M. A. Mehendale

1. Prof. Satyavrata
2. Prof. C. B. Gupta
3. Prof. Jagannath Agrawal
4. Prof. Ram Gopal
5. Prof. S. Shankar Raju
6. Prof. H. S. Shan
7. Prof. A. N. Upadhye
8. Prof. Ramaranjan Mukherjee
9. Prof. A. N. Jani
10. Prof. S. N. Gajendragadkar
11. Prof. A. M. Ghatage
12. Prof. M. F. Kanga
13. Prof. A. L. Thakur
14. Prof. G. V. Devasthali
15. Prof. B. R. Sharma
16. Pandit D. Malvania
17. Prof. S. A. Upadhyaya
18. Prof. H. C. Bhayani

(3) It was resolved to accept with thanks the invitation of the University of Madras (conveyed to the Executive Committee by Prof. S. Shankar Raju on behalf of the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University) to hold the 27th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Madras under the auspices of that University. It was further resolved to authorise the General Secretary to fix up the dates etc. for the Session in consultation with the authorities of the Madras University.

(4) The General Secretary placed before the Executive Committee the proposal received by him that the fourth Section be renamed as Islamic Studies and Turkologo. It was resolved that the name of the Section be not changed for the time being.

(5) A joint meeting of the New Executive Committee and the Sectional Presidents of the various Sessions was then held to elect Sectional Presidents for the 27th Session. The following was the result of the election :

1.	Vedic	Prof. M. A. Mehendale
2.	Iranian	Dastur K. M. Jamaspasa
3.	Classical Sanskrit	Prof. A. N. Jani
4.	Islamic Studies	Prof. Amjad Ali
5.	Arabic and Persian	Prof. Hadi Nabi
6.	Pali and Buddhism	Prof. D. P. Guha
7.	Prakrit and Jainism	Prof. S. N. Ghoshal
8.	History	Dr. S. V. Sohoni
9.	Archaeology	Prof. R. N. Mehta
10.	Indian Linguistics	Prof. S. Shankar Raju
11.	Dravidic Studies	Prof. D. Javare Gowda
12.	Philosophy and Religion	Dr. Miss E. A. Solomon
13.	Technical Sciences and Fine Arts	Prof. Ramaranjan Mukherjee
14.	South-East Asian Studies	Prof. H. B. Sarkar
15.	West Asian Studies	Prof. Rafiq Mahammad

After a vote of thanks to the Chair, the meeting terminated.

R. N. DANDEKAR	M. F. KANGA
General Secretary	*Chairman*

APPENDIX B

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Receipts & Payments Account

RECEIPTS

	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
To **BALANCE AT COMMENCEMENT**		
Cash on hand	27–70	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Poona-4 ...	3,410–74	
In S/B Account with Poona Central Co-operative Bank Ltd., Deccan Gymkhana Branch Ltd., Poona-4	149–04	
4% Treasury Savings Certificates ... in Safe Custody with Reserve ... Bank of India, Bombay ...	12,000–00	15,587–48
„ **INTEREST**		
i) On Securities	480–00	
ii) On S/B Account ...	5–45	485–45
„ **MEMBERSHIP FEES**		
i) Life-Membership Fee ...	1,781–50	
ii) Full Membership Fee ...	60–00	1,841–50
„ 2/3rd OF E TO GENERAL SECRETARY FOR SALE OF CONFERENCE VOLUMES; FROM HONORARY SECRETARY, B.O.R. INSTITUTE, POONA-4 ... FOR THE YEARS: 1966–67; 1967–68		6,118–20
„ **BENEFACTORSHIP** ...		1,000–00
	G. F.	25,032–63

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

C/O BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE : POONA-4

for the year ending 31st December, 1969

PAYMENTS

	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
BY POSTS & TELEGRAMS AT POONA & OUTSIDE		653-55
„ PRINTING EXPENSES : ...		
i Paṇḍit Pariṣad Vol. of Srinagar Session ...	2,293-63	
ii Aligarh Session Volume ...	9,930-40	
iii Miscellaneous for Calcutta Session	411-50	12,635-53
„ REMUNERATION TO ACCOUNTANT ...		50-00
„ REMUNERATION TO CLERKS ...		485-00
„ PEONS' PAY		80-00
„ RAILWAY FREIGHT & CARTING CHARGES		318-80
„ STATIONERY		93-95
„ MISCELLANEOUS		190-17
„ FULL MEMBERSHIP FEE, RECEIVED BY THE CENTRAL OFFICE, HAS BEEN SENT TO THE REGISTRAR, JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY 25th SESSION OF AIOC ...		45-00
„ AMOUNT SUBMITTED TO THE TREASURY OFFICE BANK (CENTRAL GOVT. BRANCH) TO ADJUST THE GAUHATI SESSION OF AIOC PAṆḌIT PARIṢAD ACCOUNTS ...		2,000-00
„ BALANCE AT CLOSE		
Cash on had	21-75	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Poona-4	2,326-69	
C. F. Rs.	2,348-44	16,552-00

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Receipts & Payments account

RECEIPTS

	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
B. F.		25,032-63
To 1/2 Share of Full Membership Fee received from 24th Session of AIOC, by Vice-Chancellor Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishva-Vidyalaya, Varanasi ...		6,022-30
Total Rs.		31,054-93

AUDITORS' REPORT

Examined and found correct as per books of accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our audit.

Poona-2

Sd/- Patki & Soman
Chartered Accountants

Date : 6th Dec. 1971

C/O BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE : POONA-4

for the year ending 31st December, 1969 (Continued)

PAYMENTS

		Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
	B. F.	2,348-44	16,552-00
In S/B Account with Poona Central Co-operative Bank Ltd., Deccan Gymkhana Branch, Poona-4	...	154-49	
4% Treasury Savings Certificates in Safe Custody with Reserve Bank of India, Bombay	...	12,000-00	14,502-93
		Total Rs.	31,054-93

Poona-4

R. N. Dandekar
General Secretary

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Receipts & Payments Account

RECEIPTS		Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
TO BALANCE AT COMMENCEMENT			
Cash on hand ...	...	21-75	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Poona-4	...	2,326-69	
In S/B Account with Poona Central Co-operative Bank Ltd., Deccan Gymkhana Branch, Poona-4	...	154-49	
4% Treasury Savings Certificates in Safe Custody with Reserve Bank of India, Bombay	...	12,000-00	14,502-93
„ **INTEREST**			
i) On Securities	...	480-00	
ii) On S/B Account	...	5-34	485-34
„ **MEMBERSHIP FEE**			
i) Life-Membership Fee	..		290-00
„ 1/2 SHARE OF FULL MEMBERSHIP FEE, RECEIVED FROM JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY, CALCUTTA: FROM JADAVPUR SESSION: CALCUTTA	...		7,667-50
	C. F.		22,945-77

C/O BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE : POONA-4
for the year eding 31st December, 1970

PAYMENTS

	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
By **Posts and Telegrams at Poona & Outside**		131-70
„ **Printing Expenses** ...		
i) Paṇḍit Pariṣad Vol. of Srinagar Session ..	271-37	
ii) Varanasi Session Vol. ...	4,007-00	4,278-37
„ **Remuneration to Accnutant** ...		50-00
„ **Remuneration to Clerks** ..		475-00
„ **Peons' Pay**		80-00
„ **Stationery**		42-25
„ **Miscellaneous**		7-46
„ **Auditor's Fee for the Year 1968**		50-00
„ **Balance at Close**		
Cash on hand	12-30	
In S/B Account with Poona Central Co-operative Bank Ltd., .. Deccan Gymkhana Branch, Poona-4	159-83	
In Fixed Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Poona-4, deposited as Dr. V. Raghavan ... Prize	2,000-00	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Poona-4	11,742-42	
4% Treasury Savings Certificates in Safe Custody with Reserve Bank of India, Bombay ...	12,000-00	25,914-55
C. F.		31,029-33

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Receipts & Payments Account

RECEIPTS

	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
	B. F.	22,945-77
To 2/3rd of E to General Secretary, for Sale of Volumes of the Proceedings of AIOC from Hon. Secretary, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4 for the Year 1968-69 ...		5,853-26
„ Amount received from Dr. V. Raghvan for "Dr. V. Raghavan Prize" ...		2,000-00
„ Postal Charges received from Ministry of Education, Govt. of India, spent for despatch of Srinagar Session Vol. II to various Institutions, as per Govt. List ...		230-30
		31,029-33

AUDITORS' REPORT

Examined and found correct as per books of accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our audit.

Poona-2

Dated :- 6th December 1971

Sd/- **Patki & Soman**

Chartered Accountants

C/O BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE: POONA-4 for the year ending 31st December, 1970 (Continued)

PAYMENTS

	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
	B. F.	31,029-33
	Total Rs.	31,029-33

Poona-4

R. N. Dandekar
General Secretary

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Receipts & Payments Account :

RECEIPTS

	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
To **Balance at Commencement**		
Cash on hand ...	12–30	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Poona–4.	11,742–42	
In S/B Account with Poona Central Co-operative Bank Ltd., Deccan Gymkhana, Poona–4 ...	159–83	
In Fixed Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Poona–5, deposited as Dr. V. Raghavan Prize	2,000–00	
4% Treasury Savings Certificates in Safe Custody with ... Reserve Bank of India, Bombay	12,000–00	25,914–55
„ **Interest**		
i) On Securities	480–00	
ii) On S/B Account ...	5–34	485–34
„ **Membership Fee**		
i) Life-Membership ..	500–00	
ii) Full-Membership ...	40–00	540–00
„ **Miscellaneous**		13–45
	Total Rs.	26,953–34

AUDITORS' REPORT

Examined and found correct as per books of accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our audit.

Poona–30

Dated: 22th Sept. 1972

Sd/- **Patki & Soman**

Chartered Accountants

C/O BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE : POONA-4

for the year ending 31st December, 1971

PAYMENTS

	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
By Posts and Telegrams at Poona & Outside		594-55
„ Printing Expenses		
i) Varanasi Session Volume ..	1,350-00	
ii) Jadavpur Session Volume ...	399-58	1,749-58
„ Remuneration to Accountant		50-00
„ Remuneration to Clerks ...		480-00
„ Peon's Pay		105-00
„ Stationery		184-60
„ Miscellaneous		38-80
„ Auditors' Honorarium		
i) For the year 1969 ...	50-00	
ii) For the year 1970 ...	50-00	100-00
„ Full Membership Fee sent to the Local Secretary of Ujjain Session of AIOC ..		40-00
„ Balance at Close		
Cash on hand	34-97	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Poona	9,410-67	
In S/B Account with Poona Central Co-operative Bank Ltd., Deccan Gymkhana, Poona-4 ...	165-17	
In Fixed Deposit Account with Central Bank of India, Poona-5, deposited as Dr. V. Raghavan Prize	2,000-00	
4% Treasury Savings Certificates in Safe Custody with Reserve Bank of India, Bombay ...	12,000-00	23,610-81
	Total Rs.	26,953-34

Poona-4

R. N. Dandekar
General Secretary